









THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

*CRITICAL JOURNAL :*

FOR

AUG. 1820 . . . . . NOV. 1820.

*TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.*

---

---

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

---

---

VOL. XXXIV.

EDINBURGH:

*Printed by David Willison,*

FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH:

AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND BROWN,

LONDON.

---

1820.



# CONTENTS OF No. LXVII.

---

ART. I.	1. Recherches sur les Causes qui ont empêché les François de devenir libres et sur les Moyens qui leur ont servi pour le devenir. Par Mr Mounier.	p. I
2.	Statistique Élémentaire de la France, &c. Par Mr Jacques Peuchet.	
3.	Rapport fait au Conseil-General des Hospices par l'un de ses Membres sur l'Etat des Hopitaux et des Hospices, ainsi que des secours à domicile, du 1er Janvier 1804 au 1er Janvier 1814.	
4.	Administration des Hopitaux, Hospices civils secours à domicile, enfans trouvés, &c. au 31 Mars. 1819.	
5.	Rapport Général sur les Travaux du Conseil de Salubrité pour 1819.	
6.	Mémoire sur le Cadastre et Détails Statistiques sur le nombre et la division des taxes de la contribution foncière, sur le revenu commun des Propriétaires de Biens Fondés en France, &c. Par Mr le Duc de Gaeta.	
7.	Réflexions sur l'Organisation Municipale et sur les Conseils Generaux de Departemens et les Conseils d'Arrondissemens. Par Mr Duvergier de Hauranne.	
8.	Considerations sur la Politique et sur les Circonstances actuelles.	
9.	Petit Catéchisme à l'Usage des François, &c. Par Mr de Pradt	p. I
II.	Classificazione Delle Rocce secondo i piu, Celebrî Autori. Per servire allo studio della Geologia	39
III.	Plan for a Commutation of Tithes	61
IV.	Memoirs of the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds; with some Observations on his Talents and Character. By Joseph Farington, R. A.	79
V.	Travels in Nubia. By the late John Lewis Burckhardt	109
VI.	Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq.—Begun by Himself, and concluded by his Daughter Maria Edgeworth	121

# CONTENTS.

<b>ART. VII. The Jacobite Relics of Scotland, being the Songs, Airs, and Legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart. Collected and Illustrated by James Hogg, Author of the Queen's Wake, &amp;c. &amp;c.</b>		p. 148
<b>VIII. The Sketch Book. By Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.</b>		160
<b>IX. Magnus Konongs Laga-Bætters Gula-things-laug—Regis Magni legum reformatoris leges Gulathingenses, sive Jus Commune Norvegicum</b>		176
<b>X. 1. Endymion: A Poetic Romance. By Jō. Keats.</b>		
<b>2. Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, and other Poems. By John Keats, Author of Endymion</b>		203
<b>XI. Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance. By John Foster</b>		214
<b>Quarterly List of New Publications</b>		255

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

AUGUST, 1820.

---

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVII.

---

- ART. I. *Recherches sur les Causes qui ont empêché les François de devenir libres et sur les Moyens qui leur restent pour le devenir.* Par MR MOUNIER. 1792.
2. *Statistique Elémentaire de la France, &c.* Par MR JACQUES PEUCHET. 1805.
  3. *Rapport fait au Conseil-General des Hospices par un de ses Membres sur l'Etat des Hopitaux et des Hospices, ainsi que des secours à domicile, du 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1804 au 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1814.* Paris, 1816.
  4. *Administration des Hopitaux, Hospices civils secours à domicile, enfans trouvés, &c. au 31 Mars, 1819.*
  5. *Rapport Général sur les Travaux du Conseil de Salubrité pour 1819.*
  6. *Mémoire sur le Cadastre et détails Statistiques sur le nombre et la division des taxes de la contribution fonciere, sur le revenu commun des Propriétaires de Biens Fonds en France, &c.* Par MR LE DUC DE GAETA, Membre de la Chambre des Députés. 1818.
  7. *Reflexions sur l'Organisation Municipale et sur les Conseils Generaux de Departemens et les Conseils d'Arrondissemens.* Par MR DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE, Deputé de la Seine Inferieure. 1818.
  8. *Considerations sur la Politique et sur les Circonstances actuelles.* 1820.
  9. *Petit Catéchisme à l'Usage des François, &c.* Par MR DE PRADT, Ancien Archevêque de Malines. 1820.

THERE is nothing so common as to mistake a knowledge of the recent events in a nation's history for a knowledge of

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 67. A

its true state and condition. ~~But~~ there can scarcely be a greater delusion. Where the events have been numerous and important, it is generally extremely difficult to ascertain what has been their general result, even in what is called a *political* point of view, or as to the parties and principles immediately concerned—so much and so variously do they modify and balance and neutralize each other—and so frequently do parties change their names, and qualify their principles in the alternations of success and defeat that occur in a protracted struggle. This, however, is a kind of equation for which, at all events, a diligent study of the history will furnish the necessary terms—and to which a reasonable approximation may generally be made by proper pains and precaution. But it is a thousand times more difficult, and in fact often impossible, to gather or infer from the modern annals of any country, what is the actual condition of its people, or even what are the changes which the events there recorded have wrought in its condition. The practical results of political innovations are often so different from what had been contemplated, either by their advocates or opposers—the collateral effects of all exclusive changes are generally so much greater than the direct, and the new interests that are silently generated from the contention of old ones so often of far more importance than those to which they have succeeded, that events which would have been of the greatest moment in the former state of things, become altogether insignificant in the present, and men continue fighting and debating about measures which can no longer exert much influence on their fortunes.

All these remarks, we think, are eminently applicable to the recent history and present situation of France. For the last twenty-five years, the world have been occupied almost exclusively with the great events of which that country has been the theatre and the spring—and yet there are very few, we are persuaded, even among its own politicians, who are thoroughly aware either of the changes which these events have produced on the bulk of the population, or of the effects which these changes must still have on the institutions which are now on their trial. We have all heard of its Revolution—of its long and unexampled successes in war—of its reverses—of the fate of its ambitious ruler—of restoration the first and restoration the second—of charters—of chambers of deputies and chambers of peers—of ministries and parties and laws of election. But it has seldom been considered of what elements those things were compounded, or in what way the changes in the state of the nation rendered other changes indispensable or insignificant. Our travellers indeed

continue to resort to Paris in vast numbers, and go the usual round of sights and introductions: occasionally take part with *Ultràs* or with *Liberals*, with Bonapartists, with Bourbonists; but few have thought of inquiring what sort of thing the People of France actually is at this moment?—we do not mean the politicians of Paris only, but the thirty millions of souls which compose the population of the kingdom. We have lately taken some pains to inform ourselves upon this great question—and shall now lay before our readers the sum of the knowledge we have acquired.

A very large proportion of the French nation, composed of mere country labourers, found themselves unexpectedly raised to the rank of Proprietors by the sale of national lands in small parcels at the beginning of the Revolution. A prodigious impulse was given to industry by this change of situation; and the love of property it originally produced has continued ever since to increase. The competition for the acquisition of land is such, that a farm in the neighbourhood of any village, if sold in small lots, is sure to bring a considerable advance of price. There are instances of sales at the rate of 80 or even 100 years' purchase—the new proprietor depending for his subsistence in a great degree on the produce of his personal labour and that of his family. Children usually inherit equal shares of the paternal property, although the law allows the father to dispose of one-third if he leaves only two children, and one-fourth if he leaves a greater number. This is another and a constantly increasing principle of division of property, and with it of population, every fractional proprietor thinking he can marry upon his small patrimony.

A change, no less important, has taken place in the condition of Artificers: the Gothic system of corporate bodies of tradesmen (*Jurandes et Maîtrises*) endowed with exclusive privileges, was abolished at the Revolution, as well as the regular course of apprenticeship, companionship, &c. Society has so far gained, that natural abilities, and superior industry have freer scope, and the skilful and the strong win the race easier than they would have done otherwise—at the same time that those of inferior capacity are sooner distanced. Some of the old regulations were tyrannical and absurd: they might have been amended with evident benefit; but it is not certain that the public or the workmen themselves have gained upon the whole by their indiscriminate abolition.

The continental system had given to French industry a monopoly which some of the great manufactories established under



its protection did not survive: but the workmen attached to these establishments have most of them set up individually in the same line. It is a fact, that for every extensive establishment relinquished for want of sufficient encouragement, many small ones have started up, and a race of needy manufacturers has arisen, who are reduced, by their want of capital, dispersion, and limited market, to fall back in the scale of improvement, and do less work with more labour. Innumerable patents are taken by individuals, classed under 488 distinct heads, a very great proportion of whom work harder for a less and more precarious reward, than mere journeymen, living, as the French Statistical Tables express it, on the *produit brut* of the useful arts.

All the establishments of Education, good and bad, were destroyed during the Revolution: those which came in their place might be better in theory, but they were neglected in practice: both primary schools and central schools remained in the most deplorable state, and but a very small portion of the lower people enjoyed the benefit of any teaching, before the Lancaster schools (*l'Enseignement mutuel*), of which we gave an account in a late Number, were introduced in France. The mass of the people have acquired some political experience; but in other respects they must be as ignorant as the Revolution found them. It is a well known fact, that for the last twenty years, the Government has experienced the greatest difficulty in procuring individuals fit to be *Maires de Communes*; and these places are generally wretchedly filled. The difficulty of forming proper juries is also such, that a sense of shame alone prevents the institution being given up at once in despair:—it certainly is not popular.

During Bonaparte's long course of victory, the Civil and Military departments, abroad as well as at home, opened such a vast field to the ambition of individuals, that all promising young men were brought up with a view to advancement in the conquering branch of industry; and none who felt any talent or spirit would consent to be farmers or in trade. The chances of war have taken back what they had given; rendering the most able and active part of the nation mere supernumeraries, a burthen to themselves and to society; and many of the suicides which take place at Paris, 30 to 35 a month, are occasioned by the disappointments experienced by this class of men, who, although forming but an inconsiderable fraction of the people, occasion, nevertheless, some uneasiness to those who wish for peace and tranquillity, at the same time that all who have any humanity must feel for their misfortunes.

A curious view of the composition of the vast population of France is exhibited in the Duke of Gaëta's *Memoires sur le Cadastre*, 1818. His Tables present 10,414,121 taxable properties, great and small, forming so many separate *items* in the accounts (*rôles*) of the direct tax on real estate for 1815, as follows.

7,897,110 properties, rated at 21 francs a year or under, producing		47,178,649 francs.
(Average 6 fr. for each property.)		
704,871 Do.	rated 21 to 30 fr. producing	17,632,083
699,637 Do.	31 to 50 fr. do.	27,229,518
594,049 Do.	51 to 100 fr. do.	41,181,488
(Average of these three different rates, 43 fr. for each property.)		
459,937 Do.	101 to 500 fr. do.	90,411,706
(Average 196 $\frac{5}{100}$ fr.)		
40,773 Do.	501 to 1000 fr. do.	27,653,016
(Average 678 $\frac{2}{100}$ fr.)		
17,745 Do.	1001 and above, do.	31,649,468
(Average 1783 $\frac{5}{100}$ fr.)		
(ties,		
10,414,121 sum tot. taxed proper- producing 282,935,928 fr.		

This statement does not give the number of *proprietors*, many of them holding properties in several *communes*, and being taxed in each. Mr de Gaëta, however, reckons that there are 4,833,000 individual proprietors; but as many of these are heads of families estimated at 5 persons, he gives 14,479,830 as the amount of the class of proprietors: According to this view, very nearly one half of the population of France belongs to that class.

More than three-fourths of these 4,833,000 proprietors, say—	
3,665,300 pay, upon an average, 12 $\frac{8}{100}$ francs yearly tax upon their property or properties, representing a yearly income of 64 francs, or 51s. Sterling; they are in fact day labourers, with a cottage and garden belonging to themselves	fr. 47,178,649
928,000 pay, upon an average, 92 $\frac{2}{100}$ fr. representing a yearly income of 464 fr. or 17l. 11s. Sterling a year	86,043,089
242,636 pay, upon an average, 425 $\frac{4}{100}$ fr. representing a yearly income of 2127 fr. or 85l. Sterling	90,411,706
4,805,936 carried over.	Carry over 223,633,444

4,805,936 Brought over.	Brought over 223,633,444
18,848 pay, upon an average, 1468 fr. representing a yearly income of 7340 fr. or 293 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i>	
Sterling - - -	27,653,016
8,216 pay, upon an average, 3854 $\frac{1}{100}$ fr. representing ing a yearly income of 19,272 fr. or 771 <i>l.</i>	
Sterling - - -	31,649,468
<hr/> 4,833,000	fr. 282,935,928

The Agricultural class in France then consists, of—

- 1,421,000 proprietors and their families, living wholly, or mostly,  
on the net proceeds of land, with an income ~~of from~~  
two to twenty thousand francs a year ~~for each family,~~  
(80*l.* Sterling to 800*l.* a year.)
- 13,059,000 proprietors and their families, of the class of peasants,  
living partly by their labour, with an income of from  
64 to 464 francs a year for each family.
- 4,941,000 agricultural labourers, who are not proprietors.

Therefore one half of the population of France is composed of proprietors great or small, and one-sixth of agricultural labourers; and altogether *two-thirds* are employed in agriculture. In Great Britain, on the other hand, proprietors and farmers together (the latter with us may fairly be rated among proprietors, having a large capital vested in stock and improvements on land) do not appear to amount to more than 2,975,000 individuals, and agricultural labourers to 2,654,142. Altogether not more than one-third of the British population (17,000,000) is concerned in agriculture. \*

---

\* Colquhoun's *Wealth and Power of the British Empire*. London, 1814. p. 124.

Freeholders of the better sort in Great Britain and Ireland, and their families,	385,000	} 2,975,000
Lesser freeholders ditto	1,050,000	
Farmers ditto	1,540,000	
Labourers, people employed in agriculture, mines and minerals - - -	3,154,142	} 2,654,142
Supposing miners to be half a million—to de- duct - - -	500,000	
	<hr/> 5,263,142	
Carry over	5,263,142	

The remaining *third* of the population of France is composed of—

4,309,000 manufacturing and commercial labourers without property; and

5,270,000 merchants, manufacturers, or individuals living on the interest of their capital, the emoluments of liberal professions, public offices, &c.

The remaining *two-thirds* of the population of Great Britain are composed as follows—

5,163,389 labouring workmen, employed in trade and manufactures; and

6,207,469 merchants and manufacturers, individuals living on the interest of their capital, professions, public offices, or in any other way not agricultural.

In order to render this comparison clearer, we shall reduce the respective numbers to fractional parts of the same denominator (30,000).

	Landed Proprietors living on the net proceeds.	Landed Proprietors living partly, or mostly, by their labour.	Agricultural Labourers.	Manufacturing and Commercial Labourers.	Manufacturers, Merchants, individuals living on the interest of their capital, or in any other way not agricultural.
France	1,500	13,500	5,100	4,450	5,450
G. Britain & Ireland	5,250	—	4,683	8,194	11,873

Individuals composing the families of proprietors and farmers.—There are very few labouring proprietors.

The proportion of landed proprietors appears from this statement to be nearly three times greater in France, than with us;

		Brought over	5,629,142
Aquatic labourers in the merchants' service, fisheries, rivers, canals.	320,000, and miners taken from above,	500,000	820,000
Artisans and labourers in manufactories, and works of all kinds	-	4,343,389	5,163,389
Remaining for all other classes, including army and navy	-	-	
			6,207,469
			<u>17,000,000</u>

(most of the French proprietors are labourers likewise); and the number of agricultural labourers also is something greater in France. Upon the whole, there appears to be in England a saving of about one half the labour bestowed upon land in France; and thus, owing to a better system of husbandry, larger farms, and more pastures, we can afford a double proportion of our population for commercial and manufacturing labours, the liberal and the useful arts, and a life of leisure and enjoyment: And yet, if we look to the result of this state of things in the two countries, for the last few years, we shall find no great reason to boast. In France, a whole army of more than 400,000 men was disbanded in 1816; the men originally raised by the conscription were most of them the sons of proprietors; they dispersed in all directions, each of them taking the nearest road to his native cottage; neither robberies nor assassinations took place, and travelling through all parts of the country remained perfectly safe. A general failure of crops occurred immediately after this, and the scarcity amounted almost to a famine. In several departments, this occasioned some trifling disturbances on market days; but the peace of the country was never seriously endangered. All Europe, and even the United States of America, have since experienced unexampled commercial and manufacturing distresses, and France has had her share; yet complaints were comparatively less there than anywhere else, and we have heard of no riots in that country. Taxes are no doubt high—that on land is equal to above one fifth of the net produce, yet they are punctually paid. We annex here an official statement of the number of trials, condemnations and acquittals for the whole kingdom (a population of 29 millions), from 1813 to 1818—with which a similar statement, for the same years, in England, forms but a melancholy contrast.

## FRANCE.

(Population of 29 millions.)

	1815	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818.
Individus traduits en jugement devant les cours d'assises -	8042	5485	6551	9890	14,146	9722
Condamnés -	5345	3402	4376	6307	9,431	6712
Acquittés -	2699	2083	2175	3083	4,715	3010
Ce Tableau général se subdivise de la manière suivante.						
Crimes contre la chose publique	191	174	319	546	438	166
contre les personnes -	1130	902	1206	1589	1,638	1262
contre les propriétés -	4525	2831	3111	4722	7,086	5547
Condamnés à mort -	307	185	256	414	538	324
aux travaux forcés à perpétuité -	346	247	326	458	511	393
à la déportation -	-	-	-	57	52	6
aux travaux forcés à temps	1401	867	1080	1534	2,605	1992
aux travaux forcés et à la féttrissure -	184	96	96	110	278	184
à la reclusion -	1916	1198	1511	2217	2,774	2116
reclusion et féttrissure	40	23	36	35	69	70
au carcan -	6	1	3	8	4	4
au bannissement -	7	5	53	66	12	2
à la dégradation civile	3	1	1	2	2	5
à l'emprisonnement et à l'amende -	1133	780	1014	1906	2,629	1619

## IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

(Population of 10 millions.)

	1815.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.
Accused	164	6390	7818	9081	13,932	
Condemned	4422	4025	4883	5797	9,056	
Acquitted or not prosecuted	2742	2365	2935	3294	4,876	
Sentence of death -	715	554	553	890	1,302	1254
Transportation for life	30	53	38	60	103	
for 14 years	95	78	94	133	157	
for 7 years	922	625	826	861	1,474	
Imprisonment -	2759	2574	3218	3663	5,700	
Whipping and fines	183	137	154	190	320	
Out of the above capital condemnations, the executions have been only -	120	70	57	95	115	97

N. B. D'après les renseignements recueillis jusqu'à ce jour la diminution dans l'année 1819 sera encore plus considérable.

The people of France, without great proprietors; without corporations; with a mere shadow, as we shall immediately see, of municipal administration; with a very imperfect and confined establishment of juries; \* with aristocrats setting forth absurd

\* The courts of justice in France present, from the number of judges who sit together, something like the exterior of a jury, but without any of its peculiar advantages,—that of mixing with the immutability and rigour of law which governs the Bench, something of the common sense and common feelings of men,—making strict rule bend to unforeseen circumstances, and placing arbitrary power in transitory hands least likely to abuse it.

The judicial organization is as follows.

*Justices of the Peace* about 2700, appointed by the Government during pleasure, with a small salary. They try civil causes to a certain amount, beyond which they act only as mediators between the parties, who cannot proceed at law before this preliminary reference. Many compromises are effected through their means.

*Tribunaux de première instance*, composed of 355 to 360 courts, and 3300 judges and assistant judges. An appeal lies from all these to the *Cours d'Appel*.

*Cours d'Appel*, or *Cours Royales*, composed of twenty-seven courts, and about one thousand judges or assistant judges.

*Cour de Cassation*, composed of 49 supreme judges—divided into three distinct chambers. 1. For criminal cases. 2. & 3. Admit or reject petitions for new trials in civil cases, on the ground of defects of form.

*Tribunaux de Commerce*, composed of merchants serving without a salary, presented by the body of merchants, and appointed by the Government; deciding in all commercial cases to a limited amount, without appeal. 212 or 215 courts, of five judges each.

Criminal Cases are classed as follows.

1. *Contraventions*. 2. *Délits* (Misdemeanors.) 3. *Crimes*.

*Justices of the Peace* try cases of *contravention*, and can inflict five days' imprisonment at most, and a fine of fifteen francs. An appeal lies to the *Tribunaux Correctionnels*.

*Tribunaux Correctionnels*, composed of judges of the *Tribunaux de première instance*. They try *misdemeanors* without a jury, and can inflict five years' imprisonment, and a fine of twelve thousand francs. An appeal lies to the *Cours d'Appel*.

*Cours d'Assises*, composed of five judges (those of the *Cours d'Appel*), try crimes with a jury, and can inflict capital punishment.

*Conseils de Guerre*. They sit permanently in each of the twenty-one military divisions of the kingdom; are composed of about 200 judges, all military men. They try, without a jury, not military cases only, but any crime committed by a military man even a

pretensions, but no aristocracy; with an ecclesiastical establishment which commands but little reverence; without any institution older than the present century, scarcely even excepting *Royalty*, which is now a thing wholly different from what it was formerly,—presents an anomaly among nations. All political passions seem extinguished among the body of the people, except that for *Equality*. This was proclaimed at the time they became proprietors. The restoration of high and low in society is connected, in their mind, with the restoration of national property, with tythes and seigniorial privileges. They could do extremely well without *civil liberty*; but *equality* they must have. Their *habeas corpus*, or laws answering the same purpose, may be taken away or suspended without exciting material discontents. They are likewise unconcerned enough about the liberty of the press, whatever journalists may say to the contrary, and would not be sorry to get rid of trial by jury: But the very name of *aristocrates* is capable of exciting an insurrection at any time. In other respects, *le peuple en France a donné sa démission*—a witty but mortifying confession which one of the ablest of the French reformers suffered to escape from his lips.

From this slight outline, it is easy to see that the political machine among our neighbours is at this moment of very simple construction, consisting of two unconnected and opposite powers—the People, a promiscuous mass, in one scale—the King and Army in the other. If the king be warlike, he will have the army on his side, and soon find means of overruling the Legislature—if he be for a course of years weak or pacific, the Legislature elected by the people must in the end establish something very like a republic, of which a *soldat heureux* will in due time become the master. There is in that country no intermediate body, able to rally round the constitution when invaded by either of the opposed powers, and to resist the inroads either of despotism or of anarchy. Moreover, there are no materials to compose such a body. The old aristocracy has proved itself signally unfit for a duty of this description. Its marking character is an antipathy to all constitutional establishments.

---

gainst an individual not military! An appeal lies to a *Conseil de Révision*, composed likewise of military men.

N. B. This part of the Code is about to be amended.

There are in France altogether about 5600 judges, exclusive of justices of the peace;—a prodigious judicial establishment, compared to the twelve Judges in England, ten Masters in Chancery, and the Chancellor.



Under this point of view, it is a matter of regret, perhaps, that the government of Bonaparte did not last some years longer. He seemed to have felt the loneliness and consequent insecurity of his power, and the necessity of filling the immense and widening gulph between him and the promiscuous multitude, by some intermediate class which the nation could respect and confide in. He attempted, therefore, with great industry and perseverance, to reconstruct an aristocracy. The materials prepared were his Senate, his Legion of Honour, his titles of Nobility, his *Majorats*; but the transitory creation wanted the breath of life—*independence*. The senate was not a substantial, but a nominal power—not an auxiliary, but a mere servant of the Prince. As to the old noblesse, which through a mistaken policy, or rather through a childish vanity, Bonaparte was so anxious, during the latter part of his reign, to place in his household and government, and which was not at all backward in accepting the favour, the ill-assorted and base alliance could form no link between him and the people, and proved indeed a material injury to his popularity. His natural sagacity would in all probability have taught him to correct the defects of these institutions, for the sake of his own power, or rather of his dynasty; for although his own Sovereignty might be safe, enveloped as it was in the blaze of unrivalled glory, yet that of his posterity plainly required another base; and he could not but know a balanced constitution to be the only safe one. Europe in arms crushed in him the common enemy of their independence; but at the same time, perhaps, the only man who could arrest awhile the unsound and vicious tendency to perpetual political changes which haunts its repose, and afford time for something permanent to take root, some agglomeration of interests to be formed, some fortresses to be built on the debatable land of opinion, and check the sudden inroads of daring and restless innovation.

The history of Bonaparte affords, no doubt, a useful lesson to conquerors; but all princes might find in it something else to learn: for if *his* talents, his fame and his energy, could only silence for a while the spirit of civil liberty, or, if they please, of audacious independence, which burst forth the moment he fell; they, with their bare legitimacy, respectable and useful in principle as it undoubtedly is, cannot reasonably hope to overcome it effectually; and must see the necessity of compounding on reasonable terms, and keeping the conditions of the treaty faithfully, for their own sakes.

In order to form an opinion of the present state of France, we have thought expedient to compare some of the earliest and

some of the latest publications of the revolutionary period of which its ill-fated inhabitants have reached the thirty-first year, without being quite sure that it is the last. The first in date, M. Moutier's book, published in 1792, '*On the Causes which opposed the Establishment of Public Liberty in France*,' is justly deemed the best production of that distinguished patriot, and perhaps the best that has yet appeared on the subject; and the list is closed by the last week's *brochure* of M. de Pradt, who appears before the public in his usual character of political skirmisher.

French writers are accused of going farther back than is strictly necessary for the occasion, and giving to their readers the history of the first Oak,—*apropos*, of a treatise on ship-building. An inquiry into the nature of the aristocracies of Greece and Rome, might perhaps be deemed out of place in a political pamphlet on the *circonstances actuelles de France*: yet the question of an aristocracy or no aristocracy—what an aristocracy is, was, and ought to be—is so closely connected with the business of the day in France, that we find no fault with the historical learning of our author.

An aristocracy of birth, of wealth, of talents, and personal respectability and influence, exists under every form of government. It is very little to the purpose, therefore, to inquire whether an aristocracy suits certain abstract principles of liberty, since it is impossible to prevent its existence: And the only question is, whether it had not better be regulated than proscribed—whether it should not rather be rendered useful, than left to hover in secret enmity beyond the pale of the social institutions. Montesquieu observes, that a sovereign aristocracy is distinguished by peculiar moderation; a result less of the paternal spirit which is so often pretended, as of the fear of exposing a corporate power to the usurpation of ambitious individuals, on the one hand, or the resentment of oppressed numbers, on the other.

The feudal aristocracy of the middle ages, at all events, was the very reverse of a paternal one. Its relation to the people was that of conquerors to the conquered, without '*any judge but God*' between them. The former encamped on the land of the latter; lived upon them at discretion for nearly seven centuries; yielding a sort of loose and reluctant obedience to the old General under whom they held their fee, or share of the conquered lands. The fate, however, of this species of aristocracy was not the same in different parts of Europe. In England, the descendants of the conquered were admitted to a sort of alliance with the descendants of the conquerors, for the purpose of re-

sisting the encroachments of kingly power; and a salutary combination of interests took place, the effect of which has been observable from the days of King John to our own.

In France, the descendants of the conquered remained a long while passive spectators of the quarrels of the conquerors among themselves; or in other words, of the King with his feudal nobles. Louis le Gros granted, of his own record, to the former, certain liberties by special charters, in order to strengthen himself. The alliance, there, was between the King and people, against the nobles. Submissive as the latter professed to be to the will of the monarch, they were in general the very reverse. A vague notion of equality prevailed among them;—a noble was like another noble, in his own estimation; and the King was but one of them. Henry IV., in the warmth of his heart, chose to call himself *le premier Gentilhomme de son Royaume*; and that other chivalrous king, Francis I., used the same expression. Their noblesse were naturally disposed to take them at their word. We must hear M. de Pradt on the subject (p. 145.) ‘ Depuis ce seigneur Dupujet, qui de sa tour de Montfort soutenoit la guerre contre Louis le Gros, jusqu’au Duc Epemon, les rois n’ont pas cessé d’être combattus ou contrariés par ce qui les environnoit de plus près. La retraite d’un seigneur dans ses terres équivaloit à une déclaration de guerre. Jusqu’à la Fronde, les princes et les grands avoient leurs places fortes et leurs régimens; les gouvernemens des provinces, les grandes charges étoient autant de propriétés d’où ils bravoient le mécontentement du prince. Il fallut Louis XIV. pour faire cesser ce desordre, &c. La puissance résultant autrefois de la féodalité a été remplacée dans les temps modernes par les grandes richesses des courtisans et l’établissement royal fait à chaque prince. En France on ne conçoit pas plus un prince sans une cour, que le Roi lui-même sans cet entourage de la souveraineté; il n’y a de différence que dans la quotité. Ces attributs de la souveraineté sont propres aux princes, comme au Roi lui-même, les dénominations de leurs officiers sont les mêmes que celles du souverain. Au lieu d’un Roi il y en a plusieurs; de grandes dotations, des places éminentes de puissans moyens d’influence forment l’apanage des hommes qui approchent du monarque et des princes, &c. Le regne de l’infortuné Louis XVI. fut un tissu de machinations de ce genre qui ont beaucoup contribué aux malheurs dont il fut la victime, &c. Tous les autres états de l’Europe sont exempts de ce fleau: il n’est connu qu’en France. En Autriche, en Prusse, en Angleterre, en Russie les princes n’ont aucune participation au gouvernement: ils sont sujets comme les autres: on ne voit pas autour d’eux des gardes particulières, attribut exclusif de la souveraineté; on n’apperçoit pas davantage le cortège d’officiers sous les mêmes dénominations que ceux de la couronne, &c. Ces idées de pompe sont propres au midi de l’Europe; les cours y sont

gala de tous les jours qui peut n'être pas fort amusant pour le prince, mais qui est l'élément nécessaire d'un peuple d'oisifs et de parasites.'

As late as the 17th century, all who could afford to follow exclusively the profession of arms at their own expense, were deemed *Gentilshommes*. They formed the greatest part of the army, and might be entitled to the immunities they enjoyed, as a compensation for their services; but, since the system of standing armies was introduced, all military service has been requited with suitable pay: And yet in France, till the time of the Revolution, the nobles enjoyed the monopoly of the army and navy; (even in 1789, a lieutenant in a marching regiment had to prove his nobility for four generations); and all places of any importance were understood to belong to them. The *familles de robe* (very inferior to the *noblesse d'épée*) divided with the higher class of plebeians the judicial functions, which became almost hereditary among them.

In time, the exigencies of the treasury suggested the expedient of selling a variety of trifling offices conferring nobility on the purchasers. The practice began under Charles IX.—Louis XIV. granted five hundred *lettres de noblesse* in a single year (1696)—the price was in general about two thousand crowns;—and Louis XV. continued the practice. The ready money these sales produced was convenient for the moment: but the loss of revenue resulting from the exemption of taxes enjoyed by the new nobles, soon turned the scale the other way; and rigorous inquiries were instituted from time to time against those deemed *faux nobles*. A person of this exalted class turning farmer (on other people's lands), or merchant, or seeking profit by any trade, lost his cast—became a plebeian or roturier,\* but might buy in again by what was called *lettres de rehabilitation*. A compendious mode of making room for new purchasers of nobility was adopted in the last year of Louis XIV.'s reign,—all ennoblements by offices merely titular, obtained since the year 1689, being annulled by a royal edict of 1715,—regardless, it seems, of *bona fide* purchasers! The number of noble families in France, just before the Revolution, although much less than in the preceding century, was still seventeen or eighteen thousand, including about 90,000 individuals. Among these, the ancient families did not reach two hundred,—but the number of pretenders to nobility was immense; and as titles were very easily obtained, they were also very easily assumed; and France was overrun by needy adven-

---

\* *Roturier* is derived from a word of low latinity, *ruptuarius*—one who breaks the earth. a labourer.

turers, calling themselves *Comtes* or *Marquis*, whose multitude and mode of life could not fail to bring nobility into contempt. The well known joke of the celebrated *Arlequin* *Cadin* owes its currency to the sarcastic justness of the reflection it conveys: 'Quel dommage que Pere Adam n'ait pas songé à acheter une charge de secretaire-du-Roi—nous serions tous nobles !'

It was in this way that nobility was first discredited. The throne had not suffered less in public opinion—the last half of Louis XV.'s reign having been profligate beyond all former examples: But the people were not yet ripe for a revolution, which the virtues of his unfortunate successor, and the many valuable improvements in the Government made during his reign, could not arrest in its progress twenty years after. It seemed as if all the powers of the State conspired their own ruin; for the magistrates, in a fit of ill humour with the Court, appealed to the people, by declaring themselves incompetent to sanction taxes. The words *Etats Generaux* were uttered for the first time within the walls of the *Parlement* of Paris, and gave undoubtedly the signal of the Revolution.

The King's Judges, under the name of *Parlement de Paris*, were the assessors of the *peers of France*, forming the King's Council; and they assumed by degrees the name of *Cour des Pairs*, even when the peers were not present. The King's edicts were recorded in *Parlement*: this had led to an usurpation of power on their part, or at least to an inconsistency, that of not recording when they thought proper, and defeating, in fact, the legislative power of the King; although they admitted, in principle, that he was absolute,—*sans dependance et sans partage*. Any officer of the King, acting under a royal edict not recorded, and therefore not known by the Court, was exposed to rigorous, and even capital punishment. The predecessors of Louis XVI. came more than once to their *Parlement de Paris* with a military retinue (Louis XIV. affected even to appear, on one of these occasions, booted and spurred, with a whip in his hand), to have their edicts recorded in their presence; and the refractory magistrates were sometimes imprisoned, exiled, or suspended. Their obstinacy prevailed generally whenever their own privileges were in question; and they rarely yielded, except when the interest of the people was concerned: Rebellious, during the minorities of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., they raised armies against the latter when a child, but were perfectly obedient to these monarchs in the zenith of their power. In short, the resistance of the *Parlemens*, unconnected, irregular, and partial as it was, had all the inconveniences of a democratic

democratic check, without any of its advantages. Such, however, was the aversion to arbitrary power, that even this phantom of a representation was revered; and when Louis XV. dissolved, public opinion soon compelled him to recal them. Factions, however, as they were, it is but justice to say, that no set of men ever exhibited higher models of private and public virtues—if that name can be applied to mere fidelity to a party. The purity of their administration of justice was quite unimpeached, although arbitrary in a great degree. Judges in their own cause, they found means of punishing those who ventured to question the legality of their pretensions.

From this outline of the legislative and judicial departments, we may judge what the government was in other respects. The finances had always been a profound mystery, even to those who were officially bound to understand them; and Europe saw, with astonishment, two Ministers, successively at the head of that department, unable to determine between them whether the deficiency in the public revenue was *ten* or *eighty* millions a year. Every province of France had its distinct privileges, and was administered by different and inconsistent laws. The fiscal despotism of the *Intendants* clashed with the paternal despotism of the *Parlemens*; and the people were at the mercy of both. Lines of customhouses divided the interior of the kingdom, and made the circulation of the crops or manufactures from one province to another as difficult as if they had been foreign countries; while enormous differences of duties tempted unfortunate smugglers to violate absurd laws, for which they often forfeited their lives.

The *noblesse* and clergy enjoyed certain exemptions from taxes, and many personal privileges, every one of which constituted not merely an indignity, but a positive oppression, to the people at large. Individual liberty was everywhere at the mercy of authority; but the tremendous power was used mildly against the upper ranks of society; and the whole weight of abuses fell upon the lower class: For instance, the poor of the capital were constantly watched by the agents of the police; and when their extreme poverty became too apparent, although they might not be absolute beggars on the streets, they were carried off in the dead of night, whole families at a time, from their wretched abodes in the Faubourg St Marceau, or St Antoine, and taken to certain receptacles of vice and wretchedness, known by the name of *dépôts de mendicité*, where prostitutes and pickpockets, the sick and the insane, infancy and old age, were huddled together without distinction, and often swept off by malignant diseases. The whole labour of repair-

ing highways (*corvées*) fell upon the peasantry, who used them the least.

We shall add to this melancholy catalogue some facts collected from an official report published in 1816, on the comparative state of the Paris Hospitals now and in former times. The *Hotel Dieu*, the oldest, probably, in Europe, existed as early as the seventh century, and was distinguished by the almost incredible vices of its administration. It appears that formerly the tenants of this horrid abode were often four in a bed, sometimes six, the allowance of room for each being only eight or nine inches; and there have been instances of one or two more being lodged over the tester of the bed! The places of those who died were instantly filled with new victims;—the clothes of those brought in were thrown together into a common store-room, to be returned to those who survived, loaded with the combined effluvia of the mass of dirt and corruption! The mortality, although vast, seems to have been less than might have been expected, (2 out of 9 yearly); but this is explained by the practice of receiving into the hospital many poor in good health, and who, therefore, did not die. A great fire, which happened about the year 1770, cleansed the Augean stable, and it never was so bad afterwards; but the great improvement did not take place till within fifteen or twenty years. The sick are now placed single in a bed; the space of air allowed for each is equal to 10 or 12 cubic toises of 6 feet, instead of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 they had formerly; the average mortality of all the hospitals is now 2 out of 15, including lying-in women, whose mortality is 1 out of 24, instead of 1 out of 14 as it was formerly.

With all this, France had never been in so fair a way to see the defects of its old institutions corrected, and civil liberty introduced with success, as it was just before the Revolution.—A reform of criminal jurisprudence had begun; torture was abolished; the administration of prisons and hospitals was greatly improved; provincial administrations, the most beneficial, perhaps, of any improvement in its consequences, had been tried; *servage* of all kinds, and the *corvées*, were at an end; several of the grievances of the Protestants had been removed, and the exercise of their religion allowed. The scandalous fortunes made by favourite Ministers in former reigns, were unknown under Louis XVI., and the general aspect of the country was that of a progress both towards happiness and freedom: But the restless impatience of reformers could brook no delay. A cure without their specific, and otherwise than by their hands, was no cure to them; and they found associates in a vicious court,

where men of the first rank took a pride in the designation of *roués*, meaning, literally, *felons on the wheel*). Society was infected throughout with this profligacy, disguised under the shallow and crude philosophy of the day. Those generalisations admit, of course, of very many exceptions—but that such were the great outlines appears undoubted:—We need, indeed, no other proof than the peculiar atrocity and extravagance of the revolution that ensued;—for the people, in all civil commotions, show themselves the more ferocious in proportion as they are less enlightened and more enslaved.

It would have required an abler and firmer hand than that of Louis XVI. to guide the helm in such a tempest. ‘*Il est affreux de penser*, M. Mounier says, *qu’avec une ame moins bien-faisante, un autre prince eut peut-être trouvé le moyen de maintenir son pouvoir*.’ This is not improbable, and it is a melancholy and humiliating consideration: Yet we think a greater share of sincerity, or at least of consistency and perseverance, without less goodness and virtue, might have extricated him more effectually from his difficulties, and with far greater glory. Profoundly corrupt as the French people were at that period, they were even then, as they are now, and have always been, peculiarly susceptible of a sudden impulse of generosity, and apt to be carried away by any great and magnanimous example: The measure of assembling the States-General in 1789, without arranging previously the mode of voting of the three orders of the State, and bringing inveterate enemies face to face, with arms in their hands, by way of settling their differences, was in the highest degree imprudent and unwise; yet, even after this mistake and its immediate consequences, if the monarch had boldly and frankly come forward in the National Assembly, big as it was with the elements of mischief, with nearly such a charter in his hand as his brother did five-and-twenty years after—if he had proposed nearly such bases as those of our government, the extreme popularity of the measure would have given him an ascendancy equal to the occasion, not only over the great mass of the people, but over the Nobility themselves, who must have seen the necessity of submitting to an exchange of their frivolous honours and privileges, which were lost at any rate, for any purpose of constitutional influence or legislative power; as they submitted without a murmur, under Bonaparte, to the same sacrifices without any compensation. The monarch, thus armed, as he would have been, with the irresistible will of millions, would have found himself all at once stronger than the strongest of his royal an-



cestors:—stronger even than the conqueror who afterwards usurped his throne.

Hume shows that the elements of our constitution existed in France formerly, and were imported thence into England: This piece of history was urged with great force by the Comte de Lauraguais before the opening of the *Etats Generaux*, and since by M. Lally de Tollendal, and by Mr Montlaugier as an argument *ad hominem* against the charge of innovation. But what are precedents under circumstances wholly dissimilar, and at a distance of seven centuries? The true reason for adopting or reviving such a government was, that with it the King might still reign—without it he could not. But the nobles and clergy, although willing to relinquish pecuniary privileges, made a desperate stand for the right of voting *par ordre*, or, in other words, of deciding all questions two to one against the people. The committee (*bureau*) in which *Monsieur*, now Louis XVIII., presided, had been alone in the Assembly of the *Notables* for the double representation of the *Tiers Etat*, making it equal to the two others.

Nothing can show more strongly the advantage of governing with public opinion, legally represented in a legislative assembly, than the well known fact, that when Necker declared in 1781, that there was a yearly deficiency of ten millions in the revenue, which his successor soon after stated at eighty, neither of them could find any remedy, but in a surrender at discretion of the old absolute monarchy: and yet the new representative monarchy raised lately on its credit, and at a moment's warning, a capital more than equal to this great deficiency; and this it was enabled to do during an invasion,—just after one great revolution in the government, and with some apprehensions of another, simply because the state of the finances had been laid open to public inspection, and it was known that their administration would in future be the annual object of Parliamentary inquiry. Taxes, far heavier than were formerly deemed insupportable, had been paid without difficulty. Bonaparte has the merit of this discovery: But the capacity of *credit* remained unknown; and nothing ever appeared so inexplicable to him as the resources of our own budget.

The nobles, against whom the Revolution was principally directed, fled without an attempt to defend themselves,—abandoning at once their station, property, privileges and country, which a timely compromise on moderate terms might have saved. Their greatest enemies were among the middling classes; for the labouring multitude took no active part in the Revolution, till the divisions between the great and the small proprietors, the no-

blesse and the tiers état, had made an opening for them to invade at once property, liberty and life, and lay society prostrate at their feet.—‘*Le pouvoir démocratique*, says the author of the ‘*Considérations, resté seul maître du champ de bataille, s’acharnait avec fureur sur le cadavre des vaincus, et dispersa, si l’on peut s’exprimer ainsi, jusqu’à leurs cendres!*’ Their animosity, however, was always directed much more against the privileges of the Nobles than the prerogatives of the King: and they shed the blood of Louis XVI. far more out of hatred to the aristocracy that deserted him, than to the royalty which he adorned.

A period of anarchy followed, under the *Directory*, during which a double opposition, the one Terrorist, the other Royalist, distracted the country with their alternate successes and defeats. The author before us compares the situation of France at that period to that of Rome under the *Triumvirs*.—But the French Directors were neither Marius nor Sylla, neither Pompey nor Crassus:—The heterogeneous institutions over which they presided had no roots in the soil, and were overthrown with ease by the strong hand of a soldier, then hailed as a deliverer. When Bonaparte came to power he found all ranks of people confounded together;—a promiscuous multitude, frightened, ruined, and bleeding—weary of the name of liberty, anxious to be rescued from impending anarchy and jacobinism, but still alive to military glory; no man was so well able as himself to give them what they most desired, and preserve them from what they most dreaded: In his hands the army soon became the sole aristocracy in France.

Fifteen years of military glory seemed to have eradicated from the minds of this volatile people all idea of civil liberty. Scarcely an individual of the rising generation had heard the name; factions were unknown under Bonaparte: But the spell of his power was no sooner broken, than the Utopian theories of 1789 were revived, together with the opposite principles of the old monarchy. The *Voltigeurs de l’Assemblée Nationale* and the *Voltigeurs de Louis Quatorze*,\* came out at the very same time from their respective hiding-places, and met together in the presence-chamber of Louis XVIII.; while the discomfited party of the *gloire militaire* was ready to side with whoever should hold out the best hopes of preferment in the way of their trade.

---

\* Sharp-shooters of Louis XIV.’s time. A current joke, not particularly liberal nor humane perhaps on the old royalists, who showed themselves at court soon after the Restoration:—alluding to their antiquated dress and infirm figure.

But the old regime received them with coldness and disdain; the wives of the marshals were slighted at court; the army was reorganized in a manner which left no hopes of advancement to an immense mass of young officers reduced to half-pay; in short, most of the military party, or Bonapartists, enlisted irrevocably under the banners of the Liberals,—whose constitutional opinions furnished them with artillery against the common enemy.

Up to this time, ancient institutions all over Europe were giving way gently and silently; but the sudden restoration of many old governments suggested the possibility of making a successful stand. The friends of these ancient institutions assumed courage, and renewed the combat.—‘*L’Europe*,’ says Mr de Pradt, ‘*est dans la position où se trouva le monde payen, à l’apparition du christianisme. Avant de déménager, le vieil Olympe défendit ses autels tant qu’il put . . . Jupiter tonna avec ce qui lui restait de foudres; vain fracas; après trois cents ans de combats, il fallut céder la place, et de tout ce cortège de divinités fantastiques; il ne reste rien que dans Homère et dans Virgile, que dans les arts et les constellations. De même à l’époque de la réformation, une lutte de cent ans fit disparaître l’ancien régime religieux, de tout l’espace qu’atteignit la réformation. Il en est de même aujourd’hui; le monde subit une nouvelle réformation; ceux qu’elle atteint se débattent contre elle. On ne cède pas ces places pour rien. D’un bout de l’Europe à l’autre, toutes les anciennes prééminences cherchent à se raffermir, et agissent dans un concert forcé et naturel: Carlsbad appuie Paris, et Paris Carlsbad. Il n’en faut savoir mauvais gré à personne,—cela est dans la nature des choses.*’

It was a natural, but at the same time a very gross and fatal mistake in the party of the court, not unaptly called *Ultra royalistes*, to suppose that the restoration of the Royal family, to which, so far from contributing, they had been the greatest obstacle, implied the restoration of themselves. Completely the dupes of their feelings, they looked upon charters and representative governments as mere revolutionary inventions, which might be tolerated for a while, but must evidently be set aside in the end; and they did not doubt but an opportunity would soon occur. They completely spoiled the two restorations. ‘*La restauration de 1814*,’ says Mr de Pradt, ‘*fut une fête Européenne. Tout étoit usé, déshabillé, on ne sentait plus que le mal du moment, et il étoit immense. Toutes les espérances avoient été déçues; toutes se rattachoient au changement. Il portoit avec lui l’idée de la fin de tout ce qui blessait; les guerres, les violences, les conscriptions, l’interdiction des mers. Malheureusement la contre-révolution n’avoit pas été écartée avec assez de soin.*’—And the ci-devant Archbishop

adds, ' sous son inspiration parut l'ordonnance des Processions et celle des \* Dimanches : on vit le reste.'

There were at first very few constitutionalists in France. The people at large knew nothing and cared little about abstract liberty; but the remotest hint of bringing into question the sales of national property, or of the restoration of tithes and seigniorial rights, alarmed them extremely; while their long habit of submission to an arbitrary administration made them look for security to particular men, and not to particular institutions. The hatred of the first years of the Revolution against the nobles, which had been in a good measure forgotten under Bonaparte, was revived in all its original force the moment they avowed expectations of recovering their forfeited estates and privileges; and the Royal family, whose return was unfortunately associated with these offensive claims, suffered from the popular feeling against those in whose company they were returning. The latter missed an opportunity of compounding with the new proprietors. Such a transaction would then, we think, have been very generally practicable, and would have extinguished for ever the irreconcilable claims of some thousands of families against eight or ten millions of new proprietors. These, we have every reason to believe, were in the first instance disposed to compromise; but the dispossessed royalists insisted on the indefeasibility of their rights of property, as they had done before on that of their feudal rights and privileges; and few of these compromises could be effected.

The King had given a charter to his people: The Liberals cavilled much at the word *given*; and late events have revived this unpromising controversy. This charter however declared, among other things, that the Chamber of Deputies should be

---

\* The zeal of the Reverend Author against the counter-revolution misleads him a little here. It is easy to show, that the observation of Sunday is clear gain for the labouring poor; for, though allowed one day's rest in seven, which is assuredly not too much, the wages of the other six must necessarily be such as to afford them bread for the seventh. But they get no more when they work *every* day; their wages being always ground down to the smallest possible sum which can enable them to subsist; the gain is then exclusively their employers', while the loss of rest is theirs:—yet it is evident, that the allowance of one day's rest must be general; no labourer can take it if his neighbours do not, for he would starve;—a cogent reason for Government to interfere. As to the other ominous circumstance mentioned by Mr de Pradt, we shall only observe that a *ci-devant* Archbishop of the church of Rome impeaches his past or his present sincerity, when he laughs at processions,

renewed yearly by fifths; that the electors should not be less than thirty years of age, nor pay less than 300 francs of direct taxes; and that the members elected should not be less than forty years of age, nor pay less than one thousand francs of direct taxes. The details were left to a future law, which was passed accordingly in 1816-17. This law, made under the influence of the liberal party, and with the view of strengthening it against the royalists who had shown themselves in a very hostile attitude in 1815, gave a paramount influence to the class of small proprietors, including most of the purchasers of national domains, and to such traders in towns as had paid 300 francs for their patent, and by confining the place of election to the chief town of the department, often at a great distance from the residence of the country electors, prevented the attendance at the poll of the most moderate amongst them. Three yearly elections \* have already taken place under this law; and each has sensibly reduced the number of *Royalists* in the Chamber, and added to that of the *Liberals*.

The cautious and conciliating policy adopted by the King at his restoration, disconcerted and alarmed the Ultra royalists:—and, in their wisdom, they devised a secret police of the kingdom, a sort of extra-government, under the auspices of persons of the highest rank, which meddled so unwarrantably with the measures of the ostensible government, that public functionaries scarcely durst obey the latter without the express permission of the former. Innumerable facts established beyond a doubt the existence of this illegitimate *imperium in imperio*.

The civil list of the Crown in France amounts to the enormous sum of thirty-four millions of francs, nearly one half more than that of Great Britain. A very considerable part is well known to be devoted to humane and charitable purposes, but enough remains, we suspect, to secure the friendship of most of the active politicians of the capital, if it was so applied; yet, by a perverse policy, of which however those who are afraid of the power of the Crown should be the last to complain, these great means have hitherto served only to keep up a deadly opposi-

\* One, especially, of these nominations was intended as an insult. In this country it would have been silently resented, and allowed to recoil on those who had offered it. But our neighbours do not understand the silent expression of feelings: Wherever they exist they must explode, and make a noise. Rousseau remarks somewhere that the Parisian *dilettanti* beat time with their hands and feet at the opera, that their musical sensibility may not be questioned. It appears that they beat time in politics also, as diligently as at the opera.

tion to the Government. Those who played the high and irregular game, to which we have just alluded, very probably deceived themselves: They meant, by their opposition, no more than protection to the Throne, which they believe did not know how to protect itself; and the opinion, we must say, seems justified by the very fact of their imprudent and criminal interference being tolerated for years. The fatal example, however, was not lost on their opponents; and a sort of secret tribunal was speedily organized at Paris, composed of men who were in substance desirous of the establishment of a Republic—under a President as in America,—under a Directory,—under an elective King,—under any thing, in short, or any body, but the present family; against whom they seemed to have declared *guerre à mort*. The formation of this junta, and the alarm inspired by its boldness and activity, naturally threw the Government more into the scale of the Ultra royalists: and as the period of election approached, all its agents, high and low, prefects, judges, police-officers, *gendarmes*, might be seen most clumsily employed in canvassing for their masters, and influencing the electors, as they believed, in favour of Government, but in fact most fatally injuring its cause.

The result having shown the weakness of this influence, the Government made an unsuccessful attempt, at the beginning of the Session 1818–19, to procure a less unfavourable law of elections. This was renewed in the end of last year; and a contest, unexampled for its violence, except in the early days of the Revolution, took place between two parties nearly equal in numbers, for the long period of eight months—both sides contending, not for power merely, but for existence. During this arduous struggle, two or three sets of ministers were appointed and displaced—a Prince of the Royal Family lost his life by the dagger of an assassin, whose political fanaticism was no doubt heightened by the violent controversies of the day; blood was shed in the streets of the capital for several successive days, and France appeared on the eve of a new revolution! The knowledge of two very important facts, however, rose out of this critical situation; 1. That the lower classes were not disposed to take an active part in abstract political questions, or perhaps had not yet lost the habit of implicit obedience acquired under their Imperial ruler; 2. That the Government was rather stronger than had been supposed, and could depend in some degree on the military,—a consideration of infinite weight in France. Under these circumstances, a compromise took place; by which 172 deputies are to be added to the present number of 258. These 172 will be elected (2 in each of the 86 departments) by one fourth part only of the present electors, taking only those who

pay the highest taxes. The other 258 will be elected, as heretofore, by those who pay 300 francs and upwards; with this difference, that the elections will take place in each *arrondissement*, instead of the departmental town. The law passed ultimately by a great majority,—154 to 95; and has probably secured, for the present, the peace of the country—we trust without materially diminishing its chance for permanent freedom. There is reason, however, to fear, that the obstacles to the establishment of civil liberty in France lie deeper than any law of elections can reach—in the habits, manners, and prejudices of the people and of their rulers; and it is to this subject that we now wish particularly to direct the attention of our readers.

The number of voting proprietors paying 300 francs and upwards of direct taxes, is not readily ascertained from the Duke of Gaëta's Table, of which we have already given an abstract; but an official estimate makes it 93,900; and another document divides that number as follows—

61,000 electors	paying from	300 to	600 fr. direct taxes.
32,000 do.		from	600 to 3000.
621 do.		from	3000 to 4000.
232 do.			4000 and upwards.

---

93,853 electors.

Great proprietors are astonishingly few in France, or rather the largest landed estates are very small; but such as they are, the law now gives them a great preponderance of political power. 23 thousand of the greatest proprietors will elect exclusively about two-fifths of the members to the chamber of deputies, and, jointly with the 70 thousand lesser proprietors, the other three-fifths, the former voting twice. At present about one proprietor out of 45 is an elector. This arrangement might be deemed sufficiently aristocratic; and yet the probability is, that the elections will still give a majority of *liberal* deputies. The legal qualification to be eligible, paying 1000 fr. direct taxes and upwards, restricts the number of candidates from which deputies can be chosen to little more than eight thousand for the whole nation, a great proportion of whom are nobles (*gentilshommes*); yet the electors will find no difficulty in selecting, among that small number, 430 individuals, who, from principle or calculation, will adopt their opinions; and these opinions will generally be *liberal*—republican we might almost say—from this circumstance among others, that most of the *electors* are not qualified to be eligible. In that point of view, the restriction on eligibility has in fact a hidden republican tendency.

There is a disposition in men, of which they are not always conscious, to level all distinctions down to themselves,—at the

same time that they maintain strictly those below. We might venture to predict, that those ineligible electors will not remain long satisfied; and that, sooner or later, a law will be passed by their deputies to enable them to elect themselves. It is no less probable, that the great mass of proprietors, the 44 out of 45 who pay less than 300 francs of direct taxes, and who are now mere spectators of the election, will feel dissatisfied at those who pay 300 enjoying political rights from which they are debarred. The narrower the line drawn between them, the more they will feel inclined to pass it. The Constituent Assembly, in 1790, thought it had guarded sufficiently against an appearance of aristocratic principle, by requiring only the payment of direct taxes to the amount of three days' labour, to enable any body to be an elector; but the *citoyens passifs*, finding themselves most numerous, very soon made themselves *actifs*! The multitude, especially when the spirit of liberty is new, and political institutions bear the stamp of antiquity, is apt to find a peculiar charm in republican institutions, and still more in democratic ones; but such a system requires, to be at all safe, a population wholly composed of proprietors, as in the United States; and although an unusual proportion of the population of France belongs to that class, yet most of these being very little above the condition of day-labourers, there is every reason to think that the experiment of a Republic would end as it did before, in the usurpation of an able demagogue, or a successful General. As soon as the great mass of a people, long subjected to an arbitrary monarchy, comes to have a taste of republican institutions, they are but too apt to go into all kinds of excesses to secure the inestimable benefit of equal rights, and the semblance at least of self-government. After all, however, the advantages of republican government, under any modifications, seem to be very questionable. Even the most splendid of the antient models, where liberty was the ruling passion, exhibit a monstrous assemblage of gentle manners in private life, and a cruel policy for the public—purity, disinterestedness, filial piety, wonderful courage and unshaken constancy in adversity; but, on the slightest suspicion of designs against liberty, or indeed in favour of the liberty of the subjects or slaves of the republic, the same virtuous people became capable of the most dreadful excesses, proscriptions, murders, civil wars, spoliations,—and, by a strange illusion, the perpetrators of these crimes fancied they were setting a pattern of heroic virtue. It ought always to be remembered, too, that a perfect equality of property is the necessary condition or consequence of a perfect equality of political rights. Whenever universal suffrage is actually established, agrarian



laws may be expected to follow; yet an equal division of the land would be impossible in practice, if it were only from the smallness of the shares into which it would be split: and from this, as well as other causes, the property of the soil will ultimately fall into the hands of a despotic administrator, who distributes the proceeds amongst the needy multitude. A Despot is thus the natural representative of the *proletaires*, who are the Sovereign: And under his rule property gives few enjoyments, and subjects the possessor to cares and dangers, while poverty is independence. No man then will build or plant for posterity; agriculture will be neglected, and famines ensue. In proportion as population diminishes, the remaining inhabitants find it more difficult to provide a scanty subsistence: Such was the state of Italy in the worst times of Rome, when the Northern barbarians finally achieved its conquest;—and so it is in our own days at Algiers and Morocco.

Notwithstanding all its vices, the Despotic form of government has in it the elements not only of durability, but of popularity also; for it coincides, in many things, with the apparent interest of the multitude, though certainly not with their true interest, and favours their strongest propensities. The rabble of Constantinople know no superior between them and the Sultan or his immediate viceregents; no intermediate class of proprietors, with political rights from which they are excluded; neither a constitutional aristocracy, nor an aristocracy of birth, wealth, or talents. The whole population stands on a dead level, which the Despot alone overtops. From his eminent but unstable situation, he may stretch down his hand to any one in the crowd, and raise him up to power at once; or the multitude may lift up theirs to him and pull him down to their feet. Taxes under a despotic government are sparingly laid—this is one of its characteristics: Nations, it seems, can only yield a certain quantum of money and of obedience to such a government; and when it wants more of the one, it must be contented with less of the other. It is the hard, but necessary and not inglorious fate of the republican principle, in a well regulated monarchy, to check merely, and control rather than direct, the measures of the Government. If it governed habitually, it would as certainly change the monarchy into a republic, as the direct influence of the *proletaires* would change a republic as well as a monarchy into a wild democracy. Now it appears to us that the republican principle predominates at present in the French monarchy; and the transition from a republic to an arbitrary government is easier there than anywhere else, from the military bias of the nation—and because their present love for *equality*

is not accompanied with an equal attachment to, or any fixed principles of *civil liberty*.

A distinguished orator on the liberal side (General Foy), made lately in the Chamber of Deputies the following candid and spirited declaration of what the nation does not like, and of what it likes.

‘ Les François n’ont pas l’esprit tourné à l’aristocratie ; après la liberté et la gloire, ce qui va le mieux à leur inclination, c’est un seul entre tous, *auguste*, placé dans une sphère élevée, *resplendissant* de l’éclat de la nation à laquelle il *commande*.—Vous avez beau leur dire que les classes supérieures sont la décoration d’un monarchie—que la perpétuité des familles assure la durée des empires, et que leur prépondérance est nécessaire au maintien de la liberté—ils ne nous croiront pas ; et leur incrédulité ne date pas d’hier. Notre histoire n’est que le récit de la longue guerre du Tiers Etat et de la royauté contre la noblesse—notre révolution est, il faut l’espérer, la dernière bataille de cette guerre, couronnée par le complet et glorieux affranchissement du Tiers Etat.’

This General might as well have said at once, that Bonaparte’s government is the only one his countrymen like, and are fit for ! The French cannot divest themselves of the idea that an *aristocracy* is necessarily *feudal*, or necessarily composed of *noblesse*, or that the nobles have of course *privileges* ; and it must be admitted, that their nobles have taken great pains to confirm these opinions. In that point of view, Spain, where the nobility have not yet quarrelled with the people, and have preserved their estates, and where the high dignitaries of the church are very popular, and in general deserving to be so by the exemplary simplicity of their lives, their learning, and their virtues, presents incomparably better bases for the establishment of civil liberty by a mixed monarchy, than the *table rase* of France, where the materials are to be recomposed from their simplest elements.

A change of dynasty has been considered as the proper seal to a charter between king and people, the best pledge and token of its validity : And it is quite true that a new prince generally feels the necessity of making up for the deficiency of his title by the popularity of his measures. In France, however, from various circumstances, such as the revolutionary tenure of a great proportion of the lauded property—the prejudices against the *noblesse* which surrounds the throne, &c.—legitimacy actually stands in the way of the present royal family ; and as much may be expected from them as a compensation for this new species of blemish in their title, as, under other circumstances, for the opposite defect. It is asserted, and we are inclined to think correctly, that any other prince but a Bourbon, provided he

was military and pleased the army, might dissolve the Chamber of Deputies at any time, call no new one, and govern gently, but arbitrarily *par des ordonnances*, with little opposition from the great mass of the people, and in defiance of the murmurs of the constitutional party. We certainly do not mean to insinuate that the Bourbons are, more than other princes, particularly fond of the *liberty* of the people: They may be still less so; but they are peculiarly bound to respect it for their own sakes. *Si les François n'avoient pas de Bourbons il faudroit en faire*, was the late remark of a man who assuredly cannot be suspected of any bias in their favour—the celebrated friend of Bentham, and editor of his works.

The unfavourable results of the late elections are imputed by one party to the Government itself. The principles of the Charter, it is said, have been reluctantly and tardily applied, with a bad grace, in a manner implying mistrust of the people, and with some degree of insincerity. The few coming among the many must make up their minds to trust them. Henry IV. entered Paris, after the siege, bareheaded and unarmed; yet he was a conqueror, which his descendants are not! It is observed, on the other hand, that the faction opposed to the Bourbons evinced from the beginning such a fixed determination to overturn them at any rate, as to justify a reluctance on their part to deliver themselves up into the hands of implacable enemies. Ever since the dissolution of the Ultra Chamber in 1816, the Government has been moving—slowly, perhaps, and unwillingly—but still it has been moving towards the principles of this party. This, however, was not enough for their impatience: It seemed indeed as if they would have been better pleased with better grounds to be displeased. The Bourbons have pardoned as many enemies as would have established a reputation for clemency in twenty kings of the old regime;—yet they are accused *de n'avoir rien oublié!* Civil liberty, such as it is in France, dates from their restoration,—yet *ils n'ont rien appris!*—The very abuse with which the press teems against their government, and the severity with which its measures are publicly convassed, contradict these exaggerations.

French writers are fond of drawing comparisons between their institutions and ours. The following is an eloquent summary of their opinions.

‘ Une des chances les plus heureuses qui pût rencontrer la révolution de la Grande Bretagne a été, sans contredit, de s'opérer par la première-classe de l'ordre social. Des résistances opiniâtres lui ont été ainsi épargnées, et l'exécution, en rencontrant moins d'obstacles, n'a pas eu à se défendre des écarts et de l'exagération qui succèdent aux efforts d'une nombreuse réunion d'hommes. Il est ar-

rivé de là que le parti aristocratique, ou celui de la grande propriété, s'est trouvé place de plein droit en tête des intérêts populaires. Cette circonstance a été très-favorable au repos de ce royaume, à la suite de ses troubles politiques ; la querelle n'ayant existé qu'entre le trône et les grands, son issue n'a point laissé d'orages après elle. C'est une chose dont nous sommes forcés de convenir : mais de quelque avantage qu'aient été de pareils antécédens, l'observateur attentif n'y découvrira-t-il pas le principe de ce mal aisé qui travaille actuellement la Grande Bretagne ? En effet, la révolution, s'y exécutant par une classe déjà puissante, a bien pu répandre des germes de prospérité dans le sein de la nation qui y a accédé plus qu'elle ne l'a faite ; mais ses principaux bénéfices ont dû appartenir à ses fondateurs. Où le regne d'un seul a cessé, le regne multiplié des grands a prévalu. Réunis dans un petit nombre de mains, les richesses et les emplois publics s'y sont concentrés encore davantage. La nation Anglaise a décuplé le produit de ses terres et celui des objets importés dans son île par le travail industriel de ses machines et de ses manufactures ; elle a couvert les mers des deux mondes de ses vaisseaux avec une telle profusion, que l'on a cru voir sortir de la Tamise la Grande Bretagne elle-même transformée en une multitude de villes flottantes ; l'Indoustan est devenu sa conquête et sa province, comme les quartiers St. Germain et St. Honoré sont les faubourgs de Paris ; ses comptoirs dominent tous les rivages et tous les archipels ; enfin, l'Angleterre existe presque partout sur le globe ; et cet immense mouvement de vie, qui déborde à deux mille lieues de distance, s'exécute au seul profit d'un très-petit nombre d'hommes connus sous le nom de Lords ou de marchands Anglais ! Sur cette île, dont l'empire est si prodigieusement étendu, le peuple est-il heureux ? Le peuple trouve-t-il dans la forme de son gouvernement, de vraies garanties d'une situation qu'il puisse chérir et d'une indépendance honorable ? Je ne le crois pas. Admiré au-dehors, il manque de pain chez lui ; redouté dans l'Inde et sur plusieurs points de l'Europe, il tremble au milieu de ses murailles ; il fait mouvoir des milliers de machines, et ses malheureux artisans restent les bras croisés ; il est glorieux de sa terre natale ; et pour ne pas y expirer de faim, il va être bientôt réduit à la fuir. A quoi attribuer ces contrastes déplorables de grandeur factice et de misère réelle, si ce n'est pas à une chose dont nous sommes heureusement préservés—que notre révolution a éloignée de nous pour un temps indéfini, et que par des vues fausses et courtes on voudroit y établir.

« Ai-je besoin de nommer la grande propriété au nom de laquelle on nous prépare des innovations qui gâteraient notre avenir, et compromettent un présent auquel il ne manque que de savoir apprécier ce qu'il renferme de bon et d'honorable ? En vain vous tourmenterez vous pour établir hors de la chambre des pairs des prééminences aristocratiques dans notre beau royaume. L'esprit de ses habitans vous repousse, et la Providence elle-même a donné un dementi à votre doctrine funeste en disséminant les propriétés. Quatre millions

d'hommes possèdent aujourd'hui les terres en France ! Rendez en grâces au ciel, dont la sagesse assure ainsi le repos des temps qui dorment encore dans les saintes obscurités de ses décrets. N'allez pas hâter les jours de la dissolution des empires par la puissance de quelques-uns, et le dénuement hideux du plus grand nombre. Voyez la lèpre de la Grande-Bretagne—jetez les yeux sur ses deux millions de mendiants, et aimez votre pays, tel qu'une puissance préservatrice la fait. Gémissiez, si vous le voulez encore, sur les malheurs de notre révolution ; mais au moins recueillez en le fruit. N'a-t-il pas été assez chèrement payé pour ne pas le fouler aux pieds ? La coupe du bonheur et de la joie, après bien des peines, est présentée à beaucoup ; il n'y a qu'une main méchante qui puisse repousser le vase et renverser la liqueur.

We shall certainly not undertake the defence of our poor-laws ;—they are the result of a humane but mistaken policy, grown into an intolerable abuse. Yet we must be permitted to observe, that there have been laws for the compulsory relief of the poor in all countries ; and we find them at this moment in full operation in Switzerland. At Paris, however, the evil seems at its height ; public documents show, that there are in that city considerably more than one hundred thousand individuals, or more than one-seventh of the whole population, who receive support from public charity ; and it is, if possible, a still more appalling fact, that *one-third* of the inhabitants of that splendid and luxurious metropolis, dies in its hospitals. \* The number of common beggars about the streets of Paris, and on the high roads of France, is beyond all comparison greater than with us.

Our elections, it is said, are corrupt.—It would be nearer the

---

\* The *Rapport au Conseil General des Hospices, &c. &c.* states the number of sick admitted into the different hospitals of Paris, in 10 years, from 1804 to 1814, to have been 352,913 dead 47,861  
 Those admitted into the different hospices } 50,464 dead 12,577  
 during the same period - - -

---

403,377 60,438

Another official *rapport* for the two last years, shows a great increase. 42,442 individuals have been admitted in the different hospitals and hospices of the capital in the year 1818. 7043 have died ; and the total number of deaths at Paris has been 22,382. In 1819, 7,310 have died in the hospitals and hospices, out of a total number of deaths at Paris of 22,137.

The number of individuals more or less assisted at public expense at Paris, has been for the first period of 10 years, 104,000 annually ; in 1818, the number was 108,742, including 17,247 foundlings.

truth to call them inconsistent, irregular and strange; and we are very far from saying that the system does not require improvement: yet when foreigners, who profess liberal opinions in politics, see such members as Mr Tierney, Mr Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh, returned for boroughs in the immediate dependence of the high aristocracy, they might pause before they ventured to pass an indiscriminate censure upon anomalies that frequently lead to such results. Their own mode of elections has certainly not the rust of antiquity to plead in extenuation of any of its defects; yet we are told that Corsica, with less than forty electors, sends two members to the Chamber of Deputies, while Paris, with nine thousand electors, sends only eight; that the Department of the *Basses Pyrénées*, with less than four hundred electors, sends three members, while the *Tarn*, with more than 1200 electors, sends only two; and many other strange, but harmless irregularities, in the application of the law.

As to our mobs and riots, again, it is obvious to remark, that a people constantly agitated by the publication of all sorts of opinions, and among whom every demagogue is at liberty to fling his firebrand—a people fully aware of its own importance, naturally impatient of any superior, and laudably jealous of power—may run into excesses of which the ready slaves of any tyrant who shows them the point of a bayonet can have no notion. Artificers, too, long accustomed to a plentiful and luxurious mode of living, may become unruly and factious, when the sources of their enjoyments happen to be momentarily dried up, by events out of the power of man to control. If the latter had never known the indulgences of wealth, and the former never felt the pride of independence, they would bear their evils in silence, like the poor and the oppressed of other countries. Foreigners are apt to be misled by what they read in our newspapers, or hear from our own travellers. Complaints against the Government, and dismal forebodings about the loss of liberty, are nowhere so frequent and so loud as in those countries where there is on the whole the least reason for such apprehensions.

- One half of the population of France are proprietors of the soil, while little more than one sixth of ours are so. We have already admitted this superiority of our neighbours over us, and wish the salutary measure of the *restoration* of cottages and garden ground, which have almost disappeared, may be extensively adopted by our great landed proprietors, in order that the situation of their *labourers* may be assimilated to that of the French peasantry, as far as is desirable. It is, however, well worth observing, and every impartial observer acquainted with

the two countries will admit, that the respective dwellings of our agricultural *labourers*, and the French *proprietors*, form a striking contrast, in point of neatness and comfort, wholly in favour of the former. The difference, however, is easily explained: nearly the whole time of the English *labourer's* wife is dedicated to domestic employments; while the wife of the French *proprietor* labours with him in the fields: the latter, in looks and manners, might be taken for the servant of the former. The fact is, that the far greatest number of the French proprietors are not much better off than our labourer, the salutary feeling of property excepted. The further subdivision of that property, already so divided, threatens the most serious consequences; such as the total want of capital for any improvement—the total want of resources in years of scarcity—the difficulty of finding individuals with sufficient leisure, and in circumstances sufficiently independent, to accept offices of public trust without emolument, or for whom the emolument would not become the first and only object. The class of landed proprietors, thus lowered, will become more and more subordinate to the trading and manufacturing class, which will be at no very distant period the only governing class in France.

The general application of the principle of the division of labour, and the rapid improvements of machines, may have multiplied the produce of our industry faster than the reduced markets of the world required, and encouraged our manufacturing population beyond the safe and permanent means of subsistence. The system of large farms, preferable undoubtedly on the score of *net* proceeds, may also have repressed our rural population too suddenly; but the same spirit which led to the excessive application of wholesome principles, will infallibly correct the abuse of them. We think ourselves warranted in saying, that most of the abuses and troublesome results of our institutions, may be traced directly to some principle of exuberant vigour shooting beyond the mark; they are the price we pay for overbalancing advantages—the wrong side of a good government; and the reasoning of those who condemn them on that account, would prove, if admitted, that a bad government is the best!

The Constituent Assembly wanted to give France a monarchy without intermediate powers—a *Royal democracy*—the very name implying a false conception of the thing. A republic followed of course; and what republic, every body knows! The same idea is still afloat in the same heads in France. Those among them who tolerate a constitutional aristocracy, maintain that the Chamber of Peers is that aristocracy. These Peers have been

chosen at different times on the spur of the occasion, for the sake of their individual votes in the Chamber—some from the old nobility, some from the new;—the poorest for life only—the richest (those who can secure ten thousand francs a year, by a settlement on real estate, or in the funds, to their posterity) for ever. Those who were Senators under Bonaparte, retain their salary of 24,000 francs a year (1000*l.* Sterling); the others have had smaller pensions assigned to them, more or less as pleased the King. Most of them live obscurely at Paris; very few are known out of that capital, or have any interest or influence in the country; and we are persuaded that the *constitutional* fine cloak, hat and plume, à la *Henri IV.*, might be shifted to the heads and shoulders of any other set of worthy old gentlemen, without the nation finding out that the actors in this dramatic representation of an aristocracy had been changed. The peerage has been defined the legal and *privileged* representation of the natural aristocracy of the country *without privileges*; but if the latter do not exist in the country, the peerage represents nothing. Aristocrats without an aristocracy, the peers of France are a mere fiction of the law.

The *natural* aristocracy of a country cannot be created by laws; for confidence is not a legal privilege, but must be won fairly from the good will of those who have it to grant. Individuals in affluent circumstances, residing habitually on their estates in the country, and devoting their time without remuneration to the service of their fellow-citizens, in the municipal and provincial administration—on juries—as justices of the peace—supplying the poor with work, and the rich with amusement—affording advice and protection to all in inferior condition—liberal in their private transactions with their neighbours—able and willing to defend the rights of the people on all occasions;—those, and those only, are the *natural aristocracy* of a free country: And their claims as candidates for the popular branch of the Legislature, are not weaker, in a political point of view, for being founded principally on mere personal gratitude: For, of all the motives by which votes can be determined in any country, this is perhaps, on the whole, the least exceptionable, and the most beneficial in its consequences. Such an aristocracy, far from alarming the pride of the people, affords it a continual gratification. It is not obnoxious, for it does not govern. Continually recruited from the people, by the accession of the great and the good, or at least of the skilful and fortunate, this popular aristocracy is indebted, for its weight with the Crown, to its influence over the people, and, for its influence over the people, to a friendly in-



tercourse with them. Instead of rebuilding it thus from the foundation, the friends of an aristocracy, in France, begin from the third storey :—no wonder if it should not stand.

A judicious organization of municipal and departmental administration, would tend to establish, in the great mass of the people of France, hitherto so loose and unconnected, that mutual correspondence of parts, and aggregation of interests, which can alone give solidity and duration to liberal institutions. —People who are not trusted with the administration of the internal affairs of their own village, and are under perpetual guardianship for their most trifling concerns, can scarcely be deemed competent to choose the deputies who are to legislate for the whole nation.

When the feudal nobility ceased to be an object of dread under Louis XIV., the commons began to excite some jealousy, and the doctrines of the Reformation, which subjected church authority to popular scrutiny, served as a warning to political rulers. The institution of *intendants* of provinces, or rather the extension of their powers, by which that of corporations and municipal administrators was abridged, preceded, by two years, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But the municipal offices of *maires*, *conseillers*, *echevins*, *capitouls*, &c. &c., did not cease to be elective by the *communes* till 1771, when government suddenly assumed the right of disposing of them for money, unless where the towns or *communes* redeemed their right by purchase. Things remained in that situation—till the Revolution, suppressing all existing institutions, substituted to these venal officers new ones elected by every man paying taxes to the amount of three days' labour. The municipality of Paris, elected in this manner, and composed of 147 members, presided by the Mayor, was destined to act a notorious part in the worst times of the Revolution : But the Convention, dreading even the aristocracy of the democracy, soon deprived the municipal magistrates in the provinces of the local administration. It was afterwards restored to them for a while, to disappear again before the system of universal centralization established by Bonaparte—in whose time it remained a dead letter in the code, explained away, as all his laws were, by the supposed interests of his despotism. The smallest want of the smallest *commune* was referred to the central power.—The repairs of a bridge, for example, across a brook in a remote village, required the following preliminary steps. 1. There was a petition to the mayor; 2. The mayor applied to the *sub-prefet*; 3. He obtained of the *prefet* permission for the municipal council to assemble; 4. The municipal council being assembled, appointed commissaries, (*ex-*

*parts* ; 5. The commissaries reported ; 6. The municipal council deliberated, and sent the opinion to the *sub-prefet*, and he to the *prefet* ; 7. The *prefet* applied to the minister of the interior : 8. He to his Imperial Majesty, giving an opinion on the case ; 9. His Imperial Majesty affixed his signature, and the paper went to the *Conseil d'Etat, section de l'intérieur* ; 10. The president of the section of the interior appointed a *rapporteur* ; 11. The latter explained the business to his *section* ; 12. The business was called up in due time before the *Conseil d'Etat*, a decision obtained, and sent back to the secretary of state, who sent it to the minister of the interior, who sent it to the *prefet*, who sent it to the *sub-prefet*, who sent it to the mayor, who gave permission for the bridge over the brook to be repaired !—Any mistake in point of form, the omission of a stamp or other irregularity in any of these proceedings, made it necessary to begin the whole process anew. Of all the authorities consulted, not one knew any thing about the matter, except the mayor and municipal council ; and the whole might as well have been left to these local authorities. The proceeds of the *octrois* of towns, or municipal duties, although levied expressly for local purposes, were always remitted to Paris ; and the money necessary to defray local expenses sent back again from Paris, where no proper check could exist on either receipts or disbursements. When Holland belonged to Bonaparte, it was necessary to send to Paris, before a dyke, the state of which threatened the whole country with submersion, could be repaired.

This omnipresent administration of despotism, we are sorry to say, has been preserved entire under the restored dynasty ; and the people are so fashioned to it, that they scarcely suspect its existence, while in fact shackled in many respects beyond what they were under the old monarchy. Many a worthy *bourgeois de Paris*, going to St. Cloud or Versailles with his family, thinks it necessary at this day to provide himself with a passport ; and in fact any body without one is liable to be arrested by the first *gendarme* or *agent de police* he meets ; and, if not sent to prison, he is indebted for the favour to their forbearance, and to his own ready acknowledgement of their authority. Industry is far more free in France than it was of old ; and that is almost the only instance of *freedom* resulting from a revolution which has produced so much *equality* in the mode of subjection.

The consequence of the system of centralization is, that the time of a French secretary of state is so entirely taken up with details, that he has none to give to the general direction of affairs ; and the number not only of his clerks, but of his *hurons* is so great, that he scarcely knows them all, their proper

functions, or indeed his own;—and all this is to enable him to do so imperfectly for the people, what they might do so much better for themselves. The following remark of Mr Necker shows that these evils were established and felt even in his time. ‘*En ramenant à Paris tous les fils de l’administration,*’ (said he in his *Mémoire sur les Administrations Provinciales*,) ‘*il se trouve que c’est dans le lieu où l’on ne sait que par des rapports éloignés, où l’on ne croit qu’à ceux d’un seul homme, où l’on n’a jamais le temps d’approfondir, qu’on est obligé de diriger et de discuter toutes les parties d’exécution appartenantes à 500 millions d’impositions, subdivisées de mille manieres, par les formes, les espèces, et les usages.*’

There is at Paris a small set of speculative politicians called *doctrinaires*, and sometimes *niais* (noodles), by those who mean to speak of them civilly; for the champions of the two great parties which divide the State give them much harsher names. These politicians object to a system of election founded solely on a certain rate of property, which, be it high or low, gives electors all of one sort—and exhibits a narrow line drawn as it were through the nation, excluding, either in direct terms or otherwise, all who do not come exactly under it. Instead of this, they would prefer *a system of elections classing together similar interests, and giving to each cluster its special representation*. We incline decidedly to their opinion; and the difficulties in the way of realizing it would be no reason for despairing of success, with a people less impatient and less prejudiced. Without entering here upon the practical means of attaining this end, we shall only say, that a good system of municipal administration appears the first step requisite. Some permanency of property is equally essential: For the entire dispersion of families has not only an immoral but impolitic tendency. The father of a family, with a moderate landed property, and several sons, is obliged to send them to seek their fortune, and remains alone in his latter days, with the melancholy prospect of his house and fields being sold to strangers the moment he is dead, and the proceeds divided among impatient co-heirs, to whom it will afford but a momentary assistance. The main incitement to a country life is thus destroyed, while there can be no permanent connexion between the class of electors and that of candidates. The latter accordingly are found mostly at Paris, and the former in their villages; so that the idea of personal choice, or attachment, is utterly excluded.

By the present French code, the father of a family may dispose of *one-half* of his property by will, if he leaves only one child—of *one-third*, if he leaves two—of *one-fourth*, if he leaves

a greater number; the remainder being divided equally among the children. This arrangement seems to reconcile the natural claims of younger children, and the political claim of the eldest son; for the former cannot be left destitute, and the latter may preserve the family estate from partition, if he is enabled, by the father's using this limited power of testation in his favour, by the fortune of his wife, or other personal means, to pay off the portions of his brothers and sisters. The inhabitants of the left side of the Loire, accustomed to the Roman law, which favoured the eldest son, generally contrive in this way to preserve the family estate; while those on the right side of that river (*pays coutumier*), do not avail themselves of the provisions of the law. The feelings of parents, which must usually be adverse to any difference between their children, are entitled to respect, and political considerations are of little avail against the claims of nature; yet as protection is not due to property on its own account, or for the benefit or pleasure of those alone who possess it, but for the advantage of society at large, the legislature might, with perfect propriety, make the provisions of the code obligatory instead of permissive. The right of property was emphatically denominated *political* by Montesquieu, meaning that it is not purely personal: At the same time, as a law at variance with public feelings and opinions can rarely be carried into effect, the adoption of sounder views must perhaps be left to time, and a dispassionate consideration of the subject.

It appears to us that the final establishment of a good government in France now depends upon the people themselves, rather than upon any new laws and institutions which might be imposed upon them. If they really wish for the permanent establishment of civil liberty, they must consent to the sacrifices necessary to obtain it;—and, above all, they must wait in patience for the gradual ripening of those institutions, and the development of those habits, interests, and feelings in the body of the nation, by which alone either the value of the present system, or the necessity or safety of any farther changes in it, can be ascertained.

---

ART. II. *Classificazione Delle Rocce secondo i piu, Celebri Autori. Per servire allo studio della Geologia.* Milano, 1814. Duodecimo. 330 pp.

IN our 45th Number, we took occasion to examine a work on the classification of Rocks from the pen of Mr Pinkerton, and to point out the insufficiency of the author for the task which

he had undertaken. It is scarcely necessary to inform our geological readers of the oblivion into which that work has deservedly fallen. The ardour with which this particular branch of science has since been cultivated, had led us to hope, that the blank in this most indispensable part of its elementary knowledge would, ere this, have been supplied by some one of those who are now ardently pressing forward in this course in Britain. Nothing however has yet been done in this country; and it is chiefly with a view to excite the industry of those who may be possessed of the information required for such a work, that we are induced to notice the present compilation.

It may perhaps appear extraordinary to our readers, that while our presses have groaned under the Systems of Mineralogy which have been produced in such rapid succession for the last few years, no arrangement of Rocks has been formed, except the abortive production above mentioned. This dearth, or rather, absence of such works, is, however, not difficult of explanation. Excepting the collection of Essays which stands at the head of this article, and some others of no greater moment, which it is unnecessary to mention, no systems of this nature have been published from which our makers of books could have borrowed their materials: And these Essays are not of a nature to admit either of being reconcocted or garbled by the compilers whose motto is 'nil dictum quod non dictum prius.' There are not, on this subject, the Lectures of Werner, nor the System of Haüy, into which the manufacturer of a voluminous work may dig for his materials:—he must have recourse to the great mine of Nature—a mine closed to those 'homines trium literarum,' whose talents are limited to the art of 'pouring out of one phial into another,' and who, when they have transposed a few specimens from the top to the bottom of a cabinet, imagine that they have made wonderful progress in science. Let us but see one tolerable arrangement of rocks, and we venture to predict, that no long time will elapse before similar works will swarm around us; from the bulk of two or three 8vo volumes, to that of the mini-kin productions of Mr Mawe.

The present work contains the Essays of Brongniart, De la Métherie, Tondi (published by Lucas), and Brochant,—names well known to our geological readers; together with an appendix on volcanic rocks, comprising the schemes of Dolomieu, Thomson, Haüy, and Faujas de St Fond. We shall attend principally to the four first authors, who have treated that part of the subject which is the most general and important: of the latter Essays, a brief notice will suffice. Of these four,

the two first have adopted an arrangement founded on *Mineralogical* principles, or on the mineral characters of the rocks, whether simple or compound: while the two latter have arranged the rocks which they describe, according to the order or the analogies which they hold in nature towards each other, and to the general structure of the earth; thus adopting a *Geological*, instead of a mineralogical principle of arrangement. Each system has its advantages, and each has its inconveniences; and as we are of opinion that the whole question of present utility and future improvement hinges upon the choice which is here open to us, we shall take the liberty of examining this part of the subject in some detail.

Our readers who are conversant with the works of these several authors, will not be surprised to learn that Brongniart alone has given the reasons for preferring a mineralogical to a geological method. These are detailed at some length in his prefatory observations. De la Metherie propounds his arrangement without defending it; and the other two, though not with equal vigour, follow, as is usual with the pupils of that school, in the infallible track which leads from Freyberg through all the obscure regions of nature. If we shall be found to coincide with them in the principle of arrangement, it is not because, like them, we have drank of the 'fons Caballinus;' but because we approve of the principle which the sagacity, rather than the philosophy, of Werner, has led him to adopt. To that sagacity, to his persevering industry and accuracy in minutiae, we are always ready to render justice; but we must be permitted to express our doubts of his capacity for generalization, or for those wide views without which no man ever emerged from the haberdashery of experiment or observation. It has been said, that 'Si Dominus Deus non fecisset Papam infallibilem, Dominus Deus non fuisset discretus;' and the same maxim appeared for some time to be adopted by the pupils of this celebrated school. But Jack and Martin have begun to cut off the epaulettes; and we trust, in no long time, to see the reformation established on the more solid basis of extended observation and cautious generalization.

'Rocks,' says Brongniart, 'may be considered under two different views; *first*, according to their composition, that is, according to the nature, the quantity (or proportion), and the disposition of the substance of which they are formed; *secondly*, according to their position, or to the places which they occupy in the structure of the globe, and the analogies or relations which they bear to each other. From these considerations there result two principles of classification; and we shall proceed to consider,' &c. &c. The arguments for and against the two principles of arrangement are then brief-

ly stated: But as we do not consider that the excellent author has examined this subject with much care or affection, we shall not proceed with our extract, but rather endeavour to lay before our readers our own views of this important question.

A classification of rocks on a Mineralogical principle must unquestionably be considered, in one sense at least, as a natural arrangement; associating those combinations of minerals which are actually found in nature, just as in the organized world we associate certain combinations of forms. It may also be contrived in such a manner as to distinguish the simple from the compound rocks, and thus to refer the former to their proper places in the system of mineralogy; while it is more exclusively occupied in the classification of the latter.

As, in nature, the same compounds occur in different Geological positions, it follows, that any arrangement on a Geological principle must involve repetitions, which cannot occur in one founded on mineralogical characters. It is also evident, that from the present imperfect state of the science, much must be assumed or conjectured respecting the general order of succession among rocks, and the analogies which they bear to each other; so that, to a certain degree, every geological arrangement must be hypothetical, while no hypothesis is involved in a mineralogical one.

Were a sufficiently extensive nomenclature provided and received, it is evident that a mineralogical arrangement would furnish a name for every rock; and that it would thus be enabled accurately to limit the same term to the same compound, whatever might be its position in nature. To all which advantages it may lastly be added, that the knowledge of rocks classified on this principle, demands no geological investigations; and is open to every one who has acquired the previous knowledge of minerals in their simple state.

Now we most readily admit, that, as far as the *mineral history* of the species or varieties of rocks is concerned, a mineralogical classification is the best that could be adopted; and that it would, if perfect, materially facilitate the examination or description of a cabinet of specimens. Such a classification could only, however, be considered as part of a system of mineralogy. As yet, all these systems must be considered as artificial; classing, in the manner most convenient for investigation, those substances of which the obscure and involved affinities have as yet prevented all possibility of a natural arrangement. If the simple rocks, therefore, are to be described among the simple minerals, as in the system of Brongniart, the compound, to render the system uniform, should be enumerated in the co-

catalogue of accidents to which each mineral is liable with respect to mixture or association. If this be not adopted to its full extent, it is obvious that rocks, objects of such importance, not only in the history of the earth, but in that of the minerals themselves, become separated into two distinct works or catalogues. As it is also not uncommon for a single mass of rock to be compounded in one place and simple in another, it would be necessary to search for it in two distinct catalogues; and possibly, in the imperfect state to which all new arrangements must be subject, in the works of two different authors.

The difficulties to which we have just alluded, which have hitherto prevented us from establishing a natural, and at the same time an useful classification of minerals, interfere even in a greater degree with any attempts to form a natural and an useful arrangement of rocks on a mineralogical basis. The most important characters of these are frequently to a considerable degree independent of the minerals which enter into their composition. Not unfrequently, also, a rock will retain all its most essential qualities, although undergoing considerable mineralogical changes, by the loss of one, or the acquisition of another substance. It must also be evident, that the capricious, and almost endless modes in which the minerals that constitute rocks are intermixed, would lead to an enumeration of species that would confound the student by its excess, or, if curtailed, defeat the object of the contriver.

It is, therefore, an important defect in such a classification, that it bears no necessary relation to some of the most interesting characters of rocks. But it is also difficult to propose any mineralogical method which is uniform and unexceptionable; even were we to overlook the advantages derived from one which should fulfil that condition to which we have just alluded. Let us suppose, for example, that the presence of some particular mineral is made the ground of association. In such a case, it is evident, that substances most widely separated, not only in their natural affinities, but even in their characters as mere specimens, or rocks, may be associated together; since the minerals which enter into their composition are very few, and are repeated under many different combinations throughout a great number of rock species. We need not quote examples to the geological reader of the confusion that would thus ensue, for example, by assuming either quartz, mica, or felspar, as the common bond of a class, or of any interior division.

If, again, the predominance of some one mineral be made the groundwork of a division, it is easy to see that the same rock might be separated into different classes or subdivisions of



an inferior kind. This, for example, would often happen in the case of granite; which may contain in excess any one of the different minerals that enter into its composition.

In the next place, let it be imagined that the *texture* of a rock is assumed as a common bond of union, and it will be equally apparent, that under the granitic, the porphyritic, or the schistose, cognate substances may be widely separated, and those which are entirely different in other more essential circumstances be associated. The same reasoning applies to any attempt to arrange rocks according to the *number* of the substances of which they are composed. Thus, if a binary, or a ternary proportion be made the groundwork of any association, similar effects will follow; as it is not unfrequent for the same rock to vary in the number of its ingredients. It would be abundantly easy to illustrate all these objections by a reference to well-known rocks; but the enumeration is scarcely required, and would extend these remarks too far. It must, indeed, be obvious, that any mineralogical arrangement, even should it combine all these methods in the most careful manner, must in a great degree be arbitrary; and that it must hold out the shadow, rather than the substance, of a natural method.

If we even imagine such a system to be perfected, it is evident, as we have hinted above, that it would require a very numerous, as well as an appropriate set of terms; and this, as far as it has been executed by the able author who stands first in the work under review, it actually does. Let us consider, then, how this would affect geological descriptions, the principal object for which a knowledge of rocks is required. There is no necessary relation between the composition of a rock and its place in the order of nature; and many varieties of composition, as we have just seen, occur in the same mass of rock,—as in the familiar instances of the porphyries and gneiss. Many terms would, therefore, be required in such cases, to describe one geological fact, or one set of connexions; and it would also follow in other instances, that such connexions would appear to be implied where they did not exist; merely in consequence of the terms by which rocks, similar in composition, but different in geological characters, were designated. The circumlocutions and difficulties that would follow, in the first of these cases, and the confusion that would result in the latter, are too obvious to be stated.

There is another objection to a mineralogical arrangement, which appears to us of no small importance. It renders of equal value those rocks which are rare, and in some measure accidental, and those which are of the greatest consequence and

interest, as far as the structure of the earth, or the natural history of these substances, is concerned. The most rare modifications, the most limited varieties, would thus claim as much attention as those which are the most constant and the most common; while differences, which may be of the greatest importance in geological science, but would not excite much attention from their mineralogical composition, may thus pass with much less notice than they demand. Hornblende schist will furnish the reader with an easy illustration of this remark. In the same Geological connexions it may be simple, or it may contain a few particles of felspar; but, according to a Mineralogical system, it must be designated by two distinct terms; and, what is worse, the simple rock will not even be found in the arrangement at all, but must be sought for among the simple substances in the system of mineralogy.

If, therefore, in one sense, a mineralogical arrangement of rocks is natural, it is, in a much more important view, unnatural, or artificial; as it disjoins the wider and more interesting affinities by which these substances are connected with each other and with the general structure of the earth. It is, in fact, an artificial system, with the imposing appearance of a natural one; founded on a minute set of appearances, and negligent of the larger features, and the numerous important circumstances of affinity, or difference, which prevail among the objects of its contemplation. Thus it in some measure resembles the artificial arrangements of the ancient botanists as compared with the more philosophical views of the moderns in their establishment of Natural Orders. Mineralogists, indeed, appear in this instance to have been misled by the example of Linnæus, and by the valuable consequences that have resulted from his systems in the organized departments of natural history; forgetful of the important and radical differences by which these departments are distinguished from the peculiar objects of their study.

Were it possible to make any arrangement, however artificial, which should facilitate the study of rocks as constituent parts of the earth's structure, it would form a valuable acquisition to the geologist, as well as to the collector of specimens. But if, in teaching the latter to arrange his cabinet, it misleads the former—it is injurious and not beneficial. In the present state of our knowledge, it appears indeed a vain attempt, as well as an inconvenient and injurious sacrifice to the formalities of an imaginary logic.

In proceeding to consider the comparative advantages and defects of a Geological arrangement of Rocks, we think that the authors under review have not been sufficiently careful in dis-

tinguishing between the study of minerals and that of the structure of the earth. The connexion of the former with the latter is doubtless an important part of their history; but the knowledge of minerals can never form a proper basis for the arrangement of the great masses of which our globe is composed. If our sole object in the study of rocks were a knowledge of their mineralogical composition, such an arrangement would doubtless be the best. But the main end of that study is to investigate their proportions, their gradations, their analogies, their mutual dependence or connexion, their order of succession and disposition—in short, their general relations of all kinds, to each other and to that structure which forms the object and business of geology: And this, as it appears to us, can only be attained by a classification founded on a geological basis. Such a classification has, for its foundation, the most extensive affinities and the most important characters of the objects to be arranged; and it thus in some measure resembles a classification of plants, according to their natural orders. While it instructs us in the history of rocks as constituent parts of the earth, it does not exclude their history as mineral compounds: since we are enabled to combine with the former the most minute subdivisions of varieties; and at the same time have it in our power to separate the accidental and unimportant from the constant and essential. It also appears to us that it affords equal facility for reference as a mineralogical arrangement, by the very simple expedient of brief synoptic tables; thus combining their greater and their lesser analogies; their order in nature with their mineralogical affinities.

It cannot however be denied, that the objections to such a system of arrangement are both numerous and weighty; and it is only by comparing these with the advantages now stated that we can be guided in our choice.

The most formidable objection is the imperfect knowledge which we at present possess of the true order of rocks in nature. Whatever system therefore we adopt as the basis of such an arrangement, must confessedly be imperfect. But it may still be such as to be capable of perfection; and it offers a basis not only susceptible of correction, but gradually increasing in correctness; since every step adds something to the mass of facts on which it is founded.

It must also be admitted, that a geological arrangement cannot be logically correct; since it cannot be founded on one simple and consistent principle. While the larger divisions are derived from the general order which rocks hold in nature, the smaller are necessarily founded on mineralogical characters.

Hence also follows this very obvious inconvenience, or rather irregularity, namely, that, as the latter are subject to the form-  
~~er~~, the same mineral compound may occur, as it in fact some-  
times does, in more than one of the larger or geological divi-  
sions. This defect appears at present irremediable; but, such  
as it is, it must be examined, like the system itself, not on logi-  
cal principles, but on the principle of utility.

In the other departments of nature, the objects are, in gen-  
eral, definite, constant, and connected by simple and invariable  
relations. A rigid adherence to an adopted system of arrange-  
ment thus becomes as useful as it is easy. It is the utility, in  
fact, rather than the consistency of any such system, which  
constitutes its merit, and in transferring to another class of ob-  
jects those rules to which, from their nature, they are not a-  
menable, we mistake the end for the means. This is to be an-  
xious about words, and negligent of things. An arrangement of  
rocks ought in fact to be considered as a branch of geological  
science, and a history of their natural affinities, as far as that is  
practicable. To the elucidation of that science, all minor con-  
siderations ought to be rendered subservient; even at the risk  
of some inconsistencies of order, or the sacrifice of logical  
forms. Our first object should be to select that order of ar-  
rangement which is most useful: if an unexceptionable regu-  
larity could be superadded to utility, such a system would be  
perfect; but a precision which tends to no useful purpose is a  
mere piece of pedantry and delusion.

We are by no means inclined to suppress the objections to a  
geological arrangement; on the contrary we are anxious to  
point them out, as they must be known before they can be re-  
medied: and we have therefore studied to add to those which  
Brongniart has suggested. The number and value of these ob-  
jections will perhaps be rendered most apparent by examining  
the conditions required for a perfect geological arrangement,  
and by noting where these are defective.

In the first place, the order of every rock in nature ought to  
be known; and, to render such a system of arrangement per-  
fect, it ought also to be constant. Not only should every rock  
be constant in its geological relations, but its mineral charac-  
ters should be definite and invariable. Further, it would be  
requisite that under every principal substance, whether it be  
called genus or species, a distinct set of varieties should be  
found, and under those only.

But, unfortunately, no constant and definite order of succession  
among rocks has yet been discovered: and it is indeed now  
certain, that no order can be assigned which is not subject to nu-

merous exceptions, both in the larger features, and in the minute details. Besides this, individual rocks are subject to frequent changes of their mineralogical characters; often passing into each other by imperceptible gradations: an objection, however, which was already noticed as militating against a mineralogical arrangement. It is, lastly, a cause of great inconvenience, that certain rocks, resembling each other in composition, are sometimes found in situations far remote in geological connexion.

We might have dwelt in greater detail on these defects, and illustrated them by examples, but our limits do not admit of it; while to the geological reader, for whom alone such details could have any interest, it can scarcely be thought necessary. However serious they may be considered, and however they may detract from the regularity or perfection of a geological arrangement, they do not destroy its utility. Many of the defects admit of a remedy, by adopting some repetitions, and by making some small sacrifices to order: trivial inconveniences, which still leave the classification in a great degree equally useful for practical purposes.

Having thus acknowledged the defects of a Geological classification of rocks, as they have struck us, it is a justice due to Brongniart, and to others who are the advocates of a Mineralogical arrangement, to state their objections also; to most, if not all of which, we think we can make satisfactory replies, if indeed some of them have not already been anticipated in the preceding remarks.

It is considered an objection, that the simple and compound rocks are included in the same arrangement; the description of the former being superfluous, as they have already been found in the mineralogical system. But we, on the contrary, consider this as an advantage; as the geological relations of these rocks are frequently the same, and as they often pass imperceptibly into each other. Even admitting the propriety of describing the simple rocks in a system of mineralogy, great inconvenience must follow from omitting them in a classification of rocks; from causes too obvious to require mention.

In some instances in nature, the same rock occurs in two distinct geological positions, as we have already noticed; and it is therefore considered as an objection that it would appear in two places in a geological arrangement. The inconvenience, such as it is, appears to us very trifling, and indeed admits of an easy remedy by some method of reference. But we even consider the arrangement as advantageous in this case; since it is an important part of the geological history of a rock, to know that it occurs under different positions and in different associations.

It is further objected, that a geological arrangement is hypothetical and difficult of application. Every day diminishes the validity of this objection; and it will cease altogether whenever the science shall be perfected. But it may be retorted also, on the other hand, that if the rival system is free from hypothesis, it is only because it labours under the much greater defect of excluding the natural affinities of rocks, and is thus nearly useless for the purposes of science.

The last objection which appears to possess any weight, is, that different mineral compounds are sometimes enumerated under one name, and the same compounds under different names. This certainly is an evil by no means irremediable; but it is a question how far, in the present state of the science, it admits of a remedy without introducing still greater inconveniences. It involves the difficult question of a nomenclature: a difficulty from which the mineralogical method is not exempt, and which, if we are to judge from Brongniart's attempt, it has by no means overcome. In a nomenclature merely mineralogical, the multiplication of names could produce no great inconvenience beyond that arising from their numbers. As in mineralogy, it would merely serve to regulate and describe a cabinet of specimens. A nomenclature founded on mineralogical characters, is indeed perhaps necessarily minute; but the numerous combinations of minerals, and the endless varieties of aspect thus presented, render it impossible to apply distinct names to all. So that, even in this respect, a mineralogical arrangement is almost unavoidably imperfect; to say nothing of the new terms which would be required to render it even tolerably complete, and which are always productive of inconvenience.

But as the study of rocks, according to the view which we have taken of this question, is principally required for the purposes of Geology, so, it appears to us, the nomenclature should as far as possible be rendered subservient to that end. It is in the first place obvious, that, for the purposes of geological description, general terms are absolutely required. Otherwise, as numerous substances occur under one general relation, unavoidable confusion, as well as tedious details, would be the inevitable consequence. These general terms should also be founded on the geological relations; or should be such at least as are likely, from their former application, to convey a true notion of the positions and analogies of the rocks in question. With regard to the inferior terms required for the details of varieties or inferior divisions of any kind, it seems indifferent from what

source they are drawn; provided they do not trespass on established associations, nor interfere with the leading objects of the nomenclature. As, in the study of natural objects, it is necessary to combine accuracy in the details with comprehensive general views, so, in any system of nomenclature, this leading and important object should be kept in sight. The minutiae of arrangement, and the trivial details of a highly refined nomenclature, are often injurious by diverting the attention from the greater and more important relations of the objects under consideration. It may sometimes even follow, that analogies which are only apparent, and dependent on the construction of the catalogue, or the nature of the names, may be transferred to the more important positions of the substances, and thus convey prejudices or false views relating to the structure of the globe.

To render a geological system of arrangement complete, its advocates should be allowed the privilege which Brongniart has in his Essay assumed; namely, that of framing terms adapted to the wants of their system. More than this indeed is perhaps required; as, to the existing imperfect nomenclature may easily be traced many of the defects which appear, on a superficial view, to result from the arrangement. As, in the revolutions of Chemistry, it has been found necessary repeatedly to reform the nomenclature; so, in the progress of Geology, it may hereafter be found equally requisite to make important changes in the nomenclature of rocks. The present nomenclature originated in a period of ignorance, and it has been but partially modified through one of comparative knowledge. Rocks have been named, sometimes from their structure, sometimes from their composition, sometimes from their geological positions: while many are still denoted by ancient and unmeaning terms, which are not perhaps the worst with which the catalogue is deformed. To adopt terms derived from so many sources, and to preserve the consistency of a catalogue or an arrangement, is impossible; nor is it easy to make a partial selection, or useful alterations, without great inconveniences. In the present state of the science, it would be a rash experiment to reform the nomenclature altogether, as the science is not ready for such a reform. To supersede the use of terms long associated with all our ideas is at all times a proceeding which nothing can justify but the most decided advantages, and the most absolute certainty that we are proceeding on a correct basis. We consider it far better to submit to the defects as they now stand, than to incur the risk of others, certainly far worse; and would much rather endure both repetitions and circumlocutions, than encounter the

confusion, which invariably results from the ambiguous use, and the frequent changes of terms. The attempts of the advocates of a Mineralogical classification to introduce new terms, have not been attended with success; although less productive of inconvenience, and flowing from high authorities. To make such an attempt in a geological system of arrangement would demand both authority and advantages proportioned to the greater inconveniences by which it would be attended.

In examining the present nomenclature for the purpose of seeing more distinctly in what manner it interferes with the consistency of a geological arrangement, it will immediately be seen, that the most prominent fault is the adoption of a double principle of nomenclature. Rocks are thus, as we already remarked, named, sometimes from their nature or their composition,—sometimes from their position, or their geological character; while that inconvenience is increased in many instances by the capricious mode in which either of those principles is adopted. An example will illustrate our meaning. There is often no difference between the argillaceous schists of the primary, and those of the secondary strata; and there is often a perfect resemblance between certain granitic compounds, occurring in the primary rocks, and in the traps of the latest origin. But in the first case, from difference of position merely, these rocks are called respectively clay slate and slate clay, or shale; while the common term, greenstone or syenite, is applied to two rocks, differing most widely in their geological positions. We need scarcely here notice the greater confusion arising from an application of the term greenstone to stratified and to unstratified rocks; as this is rather one of the collateral evils which arise from neglect, from systems or from ignorance. It appears most important to preserve consistency in this respect: For otherwise this practice may be made to serve the purpose of almost any hypothesis. The relative position and geological nature of a rock may thus be determined from its mineral composition; and that again from its geological position, and the system made quite smooth and easy by a vicious reasoning in a circle. To enumerate the cases where this convenient process has been adopted, would be to extend these remarks beyond the space we can spare for them; but geologists will be at no loss to recal them to their recollection. It is time indeed to draw to a close; and in so doing we shall barely observe that, in the present state of things, there seems no remedy for the evils arising out of this ambiguity, but that of accompanying any geological arrangement of rocks that may hereafter be adopted, by adequate definitions, or explanations of their geological connexions, and



of the views of the author respecting the places which they occupy in the structure of the earth, and the analogies by which they are mutually related.

Having thus stated the arguments and objections that seem of chief importance in this dispute, and, as we trust, shown sufficient cause for preferring the geological method of arrangement, we shall give a brief sketch of the classifications of the four authors in the Essay under review. The disadvantages of a mineralogical arrangement, for the purposes of geological science, will thus become practically apparent on the one hand; although, on the other, it will be seen that the two last authors, treading in the antiquated steps of their master, instead of following the path of Nature, have left us nothing but the shadow of a hypothetical classification.

The superiority of Brongniart's work, no less than the reputation of its author, induces us to give his classification complete, but in the briefest abstract which we can make. The others must be passed over more hastily. We have not room to indulge in many remarks, nor will they be necessary to the geological reader: a few will suffice to point out the places of the more prominent defects. We shall translate the foreign terms that may be required into the synonyms most in use; but we have too little confidence in the eventual adoption of the author's neology, to think it necessary to give an English physiognomy to the Gallicized Greek compounds in which he deals. The brief form into which this arrangement is here condensed, will render its defects much more apparent than they are in the original.

#### CLASS I. CRYSTALLIZED ROCKS. (ISOMERES.)

##### *Genus 1st. Felspathic.*

- Sp. 1. Granite, — common granite, with mica only.
- 2. Protogine, — the same, containing steatite, talc, or chlorite.
- 3. Pegmatite, — graphic granite.
- 4. Mimose, — a compound of pyroxene and felspar.

##### *Genus 2d. Amphibolic.*

- Sp. 1. Syenite, — granite containing hornblende — hornblende schist containing felspar, &c.
- 2. Diabase, — greenstone — hornblende schist containing felspar — greenstone porphyry — orbicular granite of Corsica.
- 3. Hemithrene, — a hornblende rock containing carbonat of lime.

#### CLASS II. CRYSTALLIZED ROCKS. (ANISOMERES.)

##### *Genus 1st. With a base of Hyaline Quartz.*

- Sp. 1. Hyalomictic, — quartz and mica — probably a variety of quartz rock.

*Genus 2d. With a base of Mica.*

- 2d *Gneiss*, - this division contains a very imperfect list of varieties.

6. *Mica Schist*, - one of the enumerated varieties is a gneiss.

*Genus 3d. With a base of Schist. (Clay slate.)*

- Sp. 1. *Phyllade*, - includes many varieties of argillaceous schist—micaceous, or containing imbedded minerals, and even bituminous marl slate—it appears also to contain a variety of gneiss, and some graywackes.

2. *Calschiste*, - a mixture of clay slate and carbonat of lime.

*Genus 4th. Base of Talc.*

- ~~Sp. 1. Steinschiste~~, - includes talc slate and chlorite slate, together with many other compound substances.

*Genus 5th. Base of Serpentine.*

- Sp. 1. *Ophiolite*, - serpentines which contain imbedded minerals.

We cannot help remarking, that as well in this case as that of the phyllade, we have a striking example of the great inconvenience of a system which separates the simple from the compound rocks; and from a circumstance so unimportant, in the case of serpentine, as its occasionally containing chromat of iron, or garnets.

*Genus 6th. Base of Carbonat of Lime.*

- Sp. 1. *Cipolino*, - limestone containing mica.  
 2. *Oficalce*, - limestone containing serpentine, &c.  
 3. *Calciphyre*, - limestone containing various imbedded minerals.

We cannot see that any of these incidental varieties have a claim to the title of species; nor is the division even consistent with itself; as the presence of garnet, hornblende, or augit, might as well confer on the varieties of the 3d Sp. the rank of separate species,

*Genus 7. Base of Cornéenne. (this is very indefinite.)*

- Sp. 1. *Variolite*, - certain amygdaloids.  
 2. *Vakite*, - other amygdaloids.

*Genus 8. Base of Amphibole.*

- Sp. 1. *Amphibolite*, - a sweeping term, which comprises many different rocks, in which either hornblende or actinolite enter as ingredients.  
 2. *Basanite*, - this also appears intended to comprise every rock which has a base of basalt.  
 3. *Trappite*, - roches de trapp—we quote the author in the original; as we can form no definite idea of this species; and as little, we may add, of the former,

4. Melaphyre, — certain varieties of dark-coloured porphyry.

*Genus 9. Base of Amphibolic Petrosilex.*

This base is not very intelligible—is it a basalt or a dark clinkstone?

*Sp. 1. Porphyry,* — the last species has a base of ‘amphibole petrosiliceux,’ and in these varieties the base is ‘petrosilex amphiboleux;’—a distinction too refined for our state of information.

2. Ophite, — green porphyry—surely no more than a variety of the last species.

3. Amygdaloide,—including the varioites of Durance, and the orbicular porphyry of Corsica—it also comprises some more porphyries, we do not see why.

4. Euphotide, — Verde di Corsica.

*Genus 10. Base of Petrosilex, or of Granular Felspar.*

We do not comprehend how these two substances can mean the same thing.

*Sp. 1. Eurite,* — including whitestone (weiss-stein), clinkstone, some clinkstone porphyries (again), and floetz-trap porphyries—a very strange association.

2. Leptinite, — more weiss-stein—and apparently some granites—(hornfels.)

3. Trachyte, — more porphyries with base of petrosilex.

We confess that all this appears to us very disorderly.

*Genus 11. Base of Argilolite.*

*Sp. 1. Argilophyre,*— claystone porphyry.

2. Domite, — claystone with mica.

*Genus 12. Base of Pitchstone or Obsidian.*

Surely so excellent a mineralogist does not mean to confound these two substances.

*Sp. 1. Stigmite,* — pitchstone or obsidian porphyry.

*Genus 13. Base indeterminate.*

*Sp. 1. Lava,* — lavas and scorix simple and compound—a very short process for disposing of the volcanic rocks.

### CLASS III. AGGREGATE ROCKS.

*Genus 1. Cemented.*

*Sp. 1. Psummite,* — appears to contain quartz rocks, micaceous sandstones, graywackes, and graywacké schists; and is evidently, even in a mineralogical view, very injudiciously contrived.

*Genus 2. Imbedded.*

- Sp.* 1. Mimophyre, — more sandstones and graywackés.  
 2. Psefite, — some of the old red sandstones.  
 3. Potdingue, — this appears to comprise a great variety of rocks—some of them local, and others appertaining to the former.  
 4. Breccia, — these are to be distinguished by the angularity of the fragments.

It is abundantly evident that this arrangement is totally unfit for the purposes of geological description; but it is unnecessary to point out the causes, since they must be obvious to the most ignorant of our readers. The respect which we entertain for the author prevents us from noticing more of its defects as a mineralogical arrangement. We cannot either see the necessity or the propriety of the Neology which he has thought fit to adopt; but it is unnecessary to say more on the subject, as this system seems to have attracted little attention, though published in the *Annales de Chimie*, (from which work we have taken our abstract), as long ago as the year 1813.

The author next in the order of the Essays is De la Métherie; and his arrangement is preceded by a theory, which, as we do not very well understand it, we shall not attempt to analyze.

His system does not admit of a brief analysis, like the former; and moreover it is not deserving of one. We shall content ourselves therefore with a mere sketch of his plan.

It consists of three grand divisions; the aggregate crystallized, imbedded, and agglutinated. The two latter are again divided into primary, secondary, alluvial, and volcanic.

Under the First Division are twelve subdivisions—the quartzose,—argillaceous,—magnesian,—calcareous,—barytic,—strontianic,—zirconic,—glucinic,—gadolinic,—sulfurous,—combustible,—and metallic: all of these being supposed to form so many classes of aggregate rocks; a very latitudinarian use certainly of that term. In some of these subdivisions are to be found, as might be expected, the well known rocks, such as granite, gneiss, &c. in all the diversity of species and varieties; capriciously enough divided, but all apparently described from actual specimens. This is all very well; but they are accompanied by others, which are either accidental mixtures of minerals, and not rocks at all, or, what is worse, are purely imaginary. From this determination to fill up a visionary plan, we have such rocks, for example, as barytes and fluor spar, strontian and galena, emerald and granite, sulphur and gyp-

sum, anthracite and granite, gold and quartz, and so forth. This, we must say, is egregious trifling.

In the Second Division there are the same twelve subdivisions. But here, as might be expected from thus hunting down his system, the author gets into much greater absurdities, attended by no small confusion. The paste of the quartzose subdivision may be either quartzose, or argillaceous, or magnesian, or calcareous, or barytic. Or else it may be Keralic, or Petrosiliceous, or Tefrinic, or Leucostic, or Ophitic, or Variolitic, or Cornean, or a compound of many rocks. The imbedded substance may also consist of any siliceous mineral. So much for the felicity of this arrangement; to say nothing of these unnecessary terms, each of which would require a definition of its own. Let us see the result—the way in which all this order is applied to practice.

Under the Quartzose subdivision stands first the genus Porphyry, containing eleven species, besides varieties: to which are added the Decomposed porphyries, containing, among other matters, the claystone porphyry of Werner, which is certainly not a decomposed rock. Next comes the genus Amygdaloid, comprising however but two of the numerous varieties of this modification; namely, those which contain agates, and those which contain calcareous spar. The remainder appear to have been forgotten. The third genus is Variolite; containing five species, of which one is the orbicular granite of Corsica; another, clay slate, with occasional crystals of hornblende; another, mica slate, with similar crystals. This may be an arrangement in words, but it is surely nothing more. In the fourth genus we find amygdaloidal porphyries, with an imperfect enumeration of varieties under the name of Species.

After this follows a sort of episodic division, consisting of Porphyroids of primary formation—rocks which do not contain felspar. Such are, quartz and tourmalin, quartz and garnet, quartz and titanite, argillaceous schist and hornblende (the second time), the same and mica, the same and octoedral iron, mica schist and garnet, mica schist and hornblende (again), talc and bitterspar, steatite and tourmalin, chlorite schist and tourmalin, serpentine and oxidulous iron; together with many other similar compounds, all formally displayed under the requisite subdivisions, genera, species, and varieties. If this be an arrangement, we know not that any other division than Porphyroids would have been required; as it might, on the same principle, comprise every compound rock; and many things besides.

After all this (and we have been so confused with Divisions,

and subdivisions that the whole plan of the arrangement vanishes from our eyes), comes a First Section on the Breccias of primary formation; a second on Poudingues of the same nature, and a third on Grits;—which ends this strange eventful classification. Each of these contains, of course, the favourite twelve subdivisions already enumerated; although the author has been mightily puzzled to fill them, if we may judge by such ingredients as the following—a strontianic breccia, a zirconic breccia, a *metallic* breccia, and so forth. To be sure, he has the candour to acknowledge that some of these, such as a breccia composed of ‘yttria cemented by yttria, or gadolinic yttria,’ has never yet been found; and, we may add, never will.

But it is fruitless to examine further into this scene of confusion, which, under all the parade of logical arrangement, describes imaginary substances, and omits existing ones; confusing pretty nearly all the rest in such a manner as almost to defy the powers of analysis. Pinkerton was at least amusing.

The arrangement of Signior Tondi being a geological one, it is necessary to give a somewhat fuller account of it than of the last; and to enumerate the geological distinctions on which he thinks proper to found it.

He divides his rocks into masses, beds, transition rocks, stratified rocks (floetz), alluvial, and volcanic, substances. This distinction is Wernerian, and to a certain degree theoretical; and, as will be seen, it is productive of no small confusion.

The first class, that of the massive rocks, consists only of granite (that containing mica), which is exclusively called primary.

The next, consisting of bedded rocks, contains secondary granite (how is this ascertained?) as the first species. Subordinate to this are, quartz rock,—graphic granite,—mica,—compact felspar,—and speckstein. Now, quartz rock is found in enormous strata, and is assuredly not subordinate to any granite; graphic granite again is always found in veins; compact felspar occurs either in veins or large nodular masses; and mica is not a rock at all. Here therefore is a geological arrangement, if it can be called such, deficient in the first and essential principle of geological knowledge.

The second species in this class is weiss-stein, which might with more propriety have been placed under the versatile term subordinate; like many others which, with less propriety, have found their way into this convenient repository of ignorance. Gneiss and Syenite are made subordinate to this species; but, immediately after, gneiss constitutes a species of itself; having,

as subordinate to it, hornblende schist, which is very often connected with it in any way, and lepidolite, which is not a rock, but a rare and accidental mineral.

Mica schist forms the fourth species, with fluor spar (which also is not a rock) subordinate; and then follows a long list of rocks and minerals subordinate both to gneiss and mica schist, such as, porphyry, garnet, micaceous greenstone, anthracite oxidulous iron, &c.; and this again is followed by substances subordinate to mica schist only; comprising gypsum, disthene, oxidulous iron, and several other metallic minerals. Argillaceous schist (Thoreschiefer) then comes in, we know not well in what capacity, and that is followed by another list of rocks subordinate to granite, gneiss, and clayslate. These are, ~~greenstone~~ greenstone porphyry, variolites, the orbicular Corsican granite, and green porphyry. This is again followed by another list subordinate to gneiss, mica schist, and clayslate, including magnesian limestone, dolomite, compact talc, talc schist, and pyrites. Many other subordinations follow, such as those which rank under gneiss and clayslate, granite and clayslate, mica slate and clayslate, and clayslate alone.

This system of perpetual subordination in all the modes of refinement, seems indeed a favourite part of the author's plan. The very geological knowledge which it pretends to impart, is more than questionable; but it is, independently of this, evident, that, in thus constructing his classification, he has introduced inextricable confusion, and entirely mistaken the object of a geological arrangement. His method is moreover operose, as well as obscure; since a brief tabular and subsidiary view of the various alternations of his rocks would have conveyed all this knowledge in a far more intelligible form.

The species which follow mica schist, as far as we can make them out in this confused system of tabulation, are, topaz rock, primary limestone, magnesian limestone, siliceous schist, serpentine (which, by the by, is a massive and not a bedded rock), greenstone, oxidulous iron of two kinds, magnetic and micaceous (eisenglanz), disthene, porphyry, oxidulous iron (again), and amygdaloidal greenstone. Some of these have also their satellites or subordinate rocks; and the species porphyry contains further 16 varieties, besides subvarieties; among which are such substances as pearlstone, obsidian, semiopal, breccia and tuff (apparently both of the trap formation); and lastly syenite. This is an arrangement, we will venture to say, which is neither mineralogical nor geological, nor even commonly logical.

The transition class contains, as might be expected, argillaceous schist, greenstone, porphyries, amygdaloids, siliceous schist,

and limestone; besides granite, sandstone, syenite, ironstone and Jasper: the usual system of subordinate arrangements being further pursued. But we will not dwell on this class, as it adds to the confusion of its arrangement the additional obscurity arising from the theoretical assumption on which it is founded.

The fourth class comprises the floetz strata of the Wernerian school: and the arrangement, which appears to contain nothing very new, is as follows. Conglomerate, old red sandstone, bituminous marl slate, marl, mountain limestone, Jura limestone (lias), amygdaloidal limestone, gypsum, salt, variegated sandstone, 2d gypsum, shell limestone, calamine! 4th limestone, 3d gypsum, sandstone, chalk. We will not enter into the details of the subordinate substances. As to the geological arrangement, it would not be within the limits of our plan to show its incorrectness; and it has moreover been often before the public in the hands of the 'servum pecus' who are content to live in a 'damnable adherence unto authority.'

We are somewhat puzzled about the coal formation, as the author no doubt has himself been. It appears to form a kind of supplement in this class; and contains, if we understand the arrangement aright, three principal species of coal, with varieties, but without subordinate earthy strata, and followed by fifteen more species of rock, including, among various shales and sandstones, cinnabar, hornstone, clay ironstone, lithomaya, marl, porphyry, and Tripole. Surely this is not the arrangement of any series in nature.

The 'floetz trap' rocks are called independent stratified; so that it is pretty plain that our author's acquaintance with them is not of a personal nature. They appear also to have been of a very rebellious disposition, since they form another supplement in this class; and, as might be expected, they comprise basalt, greenstone, clinkstone, porphyry, wacké, amygdaloid, and some other matters. They are further followed by another division of rocks which, though they belong to this, occur also in other formations. These are pitchstone, obsidian, semiopal, sandstone, sand, shale, clay, compact limestone, marl, clay ironstone, chromat of iron, anthracite, wood coal, and jet. This is at least sufficiently confused; nor, as it appears to us, does the author appear to have meditated his subject, or to have formed for himself any definite idea of his own views in the promulgation of the arrangement. He has a rival, to be sure, in our own language, who, in this respect, will compete with him for the leaden crown.

This arrangement of Signior Tondi is terminated by the alluvial, volcanic, and pseudo-volcanic, rocks. We might here



make further remarks on some of this author's peculiarities, such as that of placing ' *acque termali* ' among the pseudo-volcanic rocks, in company with porcelain jasper; but it is unnecessary, for the object which we had in view, to indulge in minute criticism. We have fulfilled a duty in thus far analyzing the only literally complete classification of rocks on a geological system which has come before us; and, in so doing, are sensible that we may be supposed to have put arms into the hands of those who may differ with us on the expediency of this method of arrangement. But an example of bad execution is no proof that the method is erroneous; and it must be very evident, that the execution of any such arrangement must be materially modified by the different views which, in the present unsettled state of geological theory, may be entertained by different persons. But whatever system a writer may be induced to adopt, he should at any rate come to this task with all the geological information of his day; and, whatever plan he may chuse, he is bound to be consistent and clear in its execution, and moreover to put his readers in possession of the theoretical and general base on which his classification is founded. Otherwise, he does not present in his failure an argument against the utility of the system; but against his own knowledge, or industry, or habits of clear thinking and accurate arrangement.

Of the arrangement of Brochant it is unnecessary to say much, as it is merely a sketch of the well known Wernerian Geognosy, and is not accompanied, like the former Essays, by any details of the species or varieties. We have not here room to investigate the principles of this system, even if we were so inclined. It is unnecessary in fact to take any further notice of an author who, like some of our own, seems merely the gutter-pipe through which the Geognosy of Freyberg has flowed into the mouths of those who have had no access to the divine spring itself.

But we must draw this article to a conclusion, and must therefore omit all mention of the systems of Volcanic rocks, with which this little compilation is terminated: being the more inclined so to do, inasmuch as we are but too sensible that we could throw no useful light on a subject which requires a thorough review by some one intimately acquainted, not with a volcano alone, but with all the volcanoes of the globe,

ART. III. *Plan for a Commutation of Tithes.* pp. 37.  
London, 1819.

OUR readers must not expect too much from the title of this article. We have no intention of entering on the *verax* *questio* of the expediency or in expediency of making a public provision for the support of the Church. We are quite satisfied with the manner in which the principle of this question has been decided in England; but our approbation extends no farther. Instead of agreeing with those who consider tithes as the best means by which such a provision may be made, we consider them as the very worst that could have been devised: And it appears to us, that the adoption of any measure which, at the same time that it secured the just rights of the clergy, should put an end to the levying of tithes, would be productive of the greatest national benefit. The subject of commutation is confessedly one of no common importance, both as it affects the interests of the Establishment and the country. At the present period, too, it has a peculiar claim on the public attention. Tithes have hitherto been considered as falling exclusively on the landlords and occupiers of the soil; and the existence of this burden is now urged as a valid reason why they should be protected from foreign competition. We believe we shall be able to show, that this opinion is entirely erroneous; and that tithes, however objectionable in other respects, are an equal, not a partial tax. But, we must bespeak the indulgence of our readers while we state the grounds on which this conclusion rests. So much, and to so very little purpose, has been written on the subject of tithes, that it may be safely affirmed there is no part of political science so incumbered with error and misapprehension, or where it is more necessary to recur to first principles.

If land yielded no surplus to its possessors above the common and ordinary profit of the capital employed in its cultivation, it is plain, that were a *tenth* of the produce set apart for the use of the clergy, the cultivators would be indemnified for this sacrifice by an equivalent increase on the price of the remaining *nine-tenths*. The level of profit may be temporarily, but it cannot be permanently elevated or depressed in any particular branch of industry: And as there can be no reason why the agriculturists should content themselves with a reduced rate of profit, when all other employments are yielding a higher rate, as soon as tithes were imposed they would set about transferring a portion of their stock to some more lucrative business; and this transference would be continued until the diminution of supply

had raised prices to their proper level, and restored the equilibrium of profit. In such a state of things, tithes would indisputably operate precisely as an equivalent addition to the price of raw produce. But after various qualities of soil have been brought under cultivation, and *rents* have, in consequence, been pretty generally introduced, it is not so easy to trace their ultimate incidence and effect. They then appear to occasion rather a diminution of the rent of the landlord, than a rise of prices. Farms which are tithe-free always bring a proportionably higher rent than such as are subject to that charge; and it is naturally concluded, that, were tithes abolished, the depressed rents would be raised to the same level as the others. For this reason, in an advanced stage of society tithes are not considered as increasing the price of raw produce to the consumers; but as diverting a portion of the rent of the soil, to which the landlord has no just claim, into the pockets of its rightful owners, the clergymen and lay-impropriators. 'Taxes on the produce of land,' says Dr Smith, 'are in reality taxes upon rent; and, though they may be originally advanced by the farmer, are finally paid by the landlord. When a certain portion of the produce is to be paid away for a tax, the farmer computes, as well as he can, what the value of this portion, one year with another, is likely to amount to, and makes a proportionable abatement in the rent which he agrees to pay to the landlord. There is no farmer who does not compute, beforehand, what the Church tithe, which is a land tax of this kind, is, one year with another, likely to amount to.'\*

'Suppose,' says one of the ablest writers in defence of tithes, 'that the tenth or tithe were to be abolished, it would not put a farthing into the pocket of the farmer. It would be his landlord that would be the gainer, not he. The landlord would immediately advance his rent to the full amount of what was used to be paid in tithes, and would tell his tenant, that as he now lets his estate tithe-free, or in other words lets him the whole estate, of which he had before let him only nine-tenths, he expects an increase of rent, not only equal to what the clergy claimed, but considerably more; for farmers need not be told, how much more easy the clergy are in receiving their tithes, than those lay-impropriators, or private gentlemen, who have great tithes in their hands.'

\*And such beyond all doubt are the generally received opinions on this subject. That we may be able properly to appreciate their accuracy, it is necessary to recollect, that the exchangeable value of raw produce is not regulated by the expenditure required to raise it on the richest lands under cultivation, but by

that which is required to raise it on *the poorest*;—that is, on the *least fertile* lands which it is necessary to cultivate, in order to obtain a sufficient supply of raw produce. But it has been shown, that this last quality of land pays *no rent*; and, consequently, that the produce obtained from it is sold at its *natural* price, or the price which is necessary to cover the cost of its production, including therein the profit of the capital employed in its culture. However, as this principle is obviously of fundamental importance in tracing the effect of tithes or taxes on raw produce, we shall briefly recapitulate the reasoning by which it has been established, and endeavour to obviate one or two objections which have been stated against it.

On the first settling of any country abounding in fertile and unappropriated land, no rent is ever paid; and for this plain reason, that no person will pay a rent for what may be procured in unlimited quantities for nothing. It is only after the most productive lands have all been brought under cultivation, and when recourse is had to those of an inferior quality, that rent begins to be paid by the farmers of those which are superior. Suppose, for example, that, in a *stationary* state of society, none but the best soils are under cultivation, it is obvious they could afford no surplus in the shape of rent to their proprietors: For, if they did afford any such surplus, it would be advantageous for the proprietors of the soils of the *very next degree* of fertility, and which, in point of productive power, must differ extremely little from the first, to commence cultivation; and as, by the hypothesis, there could be no increased demand, the increased supply could not fail to sink prices until they yielded only the ordinary rate of profit to the proprietors of the best soils. But, supposing the country to be rapidly *advancing* in wealth and population, and that, to attain sufficient supplies of raw produce, it had become necessary to cultivate soils which, in return for the same expenditure as would have produced 100 quarters on the most fertile, yield only 90 quarters, a rent of 10 quarters would be paid by the occupiers of the former; for it is evidently the same thing to a farmer, whether he pays a rent of 10 quarters for a piece of land, which, with a certain outlay of capital and labour, yields 100 quarters;—or farms, without paying any rent, a piece of land which, with the same outlay, only yields 90 quarters. This extension of cultivation might be indefinitely continued; and when recourse had been had to lands which would only yield 80, or 70 quarters, the rent of the first quality would plainly be equal to the difference between its produce and that of the last, that is, to 100—70, or 30 quarters; the rent of the second to

the difference between 90 and 70, or 20 quarters, and so on. An increase of rent is not, therefore, as is very generally supposed, occasioned by improvements in agriculture, or by an increase in the fertility of the soil. Were none but the most fertile soils cultivated, no such thing as rent would ever be heard of. It results entirely from the necessity of resorting, as population increases, to soils of a *decreasing* degree of fertility; and therefore varies in its amount inversely as the profit of the capital employed in cultivation;—that is, it increases when the profits of agricultural stock diminish, and diminishes when they increase. Profits are at their *maximum* in colonies possessed of extensive tracts of fertile and uncultivated land, and generally in all situations in which no rents are paid; but it cannot be said that rents have attained their *maximum*, so long as capital yields any surplus in the shape of profit. But whatever may be the rent of the superior soils, the least fertile soils under cultivation never pay any rent. The price of raw produce must be such as will yield the cultivators the common and average rate of profit, and indemnify them for their expenses; and it cannot, for any considerable period, be either higher or lower. If it were higher, there would be an obvious inducement to apply fresh capital to the bringing of new land under tillage, or to the improvement of the old land; and, on the other hand, if it were lower, there would be an equally powerful inducement to withdraw capital from agriculture. In every case, therefore, —whether tillage be extending or diminishing,—the price of that portion of produce which is raised in the least favourable circumstances, and which *regulates the price of all the rest*, is its necessary price. It is the price at which it would be sold if rents were altogether unknown; and is not in the least affected by them.

It has been objected to this account of the nature and causes of rent, that it takes for granted that landlords would permit farmers to occupy their lands without paying any rent. But, in point of fact, it does no such thing. The price of raw produce is not kept down to its necessary price by the competition of farmers, but by that of the landlords themselves. Though there must necessarily be a very wide difference between the best and the worst soils in any country of considerable extent, the gradation from the one extreme to the other is regular, and nearly imperceptible. The best differ but little from those which are immediately inferior to them, and the worst from those immediately above them. And hence, whatever may be the state of cultivation at any given period, it would be impos-

able for any combination among the proprietors of the cultivated lands, (and none else could have any motive for entering into such a combination), factitiously to increase the price of their produce. Supposing such an attempt to be attended with a temporary success, soils of the next degree of fertility would instantly be brought under cultivation, and the redundant supply would infallibly depress prices. It is clear, therefore, that the appropriation of land does not make any change on the nature or quantum of rent;—that it does not enable the owners of the soil to obtain a monopoly price for their products;—and that it is equally true in England or France, as in Kentucky or New Holland, that the produce raised by the capital last applied to the cultivation of the soil, pays no rent.

Now this reasoning is conclusive as to the effect of tithes and other taxes on raw produce. If tithes were only levied from soils of a certain degree of fertility, they would not, after soils whose productive power was *one-tenth less* had been cultivated, occasion any rise of price, but would fall entirely on the rent of the landlord. But this is not the case with tithes. They affect every quality of land indiscriminately: and being exacted equally from the produce raised in the least favourable, as from that which is raised in the most favourable circumstances, occasion *only an increase of prices*. Suppose no tithes are levied, and that the wheat raised on *the poorest* lands, and which determines the price of the whole crop, yields a sufficient profit to the cultivator, and no more, when it sells for 72s. 9d. a quarter,—the price must rise to 80s. before the same profit can be obtained after tithes are imposed. In this case the tithe cannot possibly occasion any diminution of rent; for the poorest land under cultivation pays no rent; so that if it were not compensated to the cultivators by an increase of prices, they would be driven from their employment, and the necessary supplies would no longer be obtained. In every stage of society, therefore, from the rudest to the most improved, tithes operate exactly as an equivalent addition to *the price* of raw produce, and, like all other taxes, must be paid by the consumers—that is, by the country in general.

This account of tithes is nowise inconsistent with the admitted fact, that farms which are free from this burden bring a proportionably higher rent. The expenses attending their cultivation are not increased by the levying a tithe from the produce of other farms; but, as there cannot be *two prices*, their occupiers obtain the same *increased price* for their produce which is necessary to indemnify the cultivators of the tithed lands. There must, however, be an *equality of profits*, as well as of prices;

and hence, whatever advantage the occupier of a tithe-free farm may gain by being relieved from a burden to which his neighbours are subjected, is compensated by a corresponding increase of rent.

Thus it appears, that, if tithes were abolished, the rent of such farms as pay tithe would not rise to a level with the rent of those which are tithe-free, but the rents of the latter would fall to the level of the former. As raw produce is uniformly sold at its necessary price, or the price necessary to afford the customary rate of profit to the cultivators of the worst land, it would fall the moment they had been relieved from this heavy charge. And the advantage previously enjoyed by the proprietors of tithe-free lands, and which was the only cause of their obtaining a higher rent, being done away, their rents would decline to the level of those around them.

\* If rents were uniformly paid *in kind*, the imposition of tithes would undoubtedly diminish the share of the produce paid to the landlords; but as its value would be increased in the precise proportion that its quantity had been diminished, this reduced share would still exchange for the same quantity of all other commodities. Thus, if lands of the qualities Nos. 1, 2, 3, &c., respectively produced, in return for the same expenditure, 100, 90, 80, &c. quarters, the rent of No. 1. would be *twenty* quarters, of No. 2. *ten*, and so on. But they would no longer preserve that proportion after the imposition of tithes; for, suppose a *tenth* to be deducted from their gross produce, the remaining quantities would be 90, 81, 72, &c.; and, therefore, the corn rent of No. 1. would be reduced to 18, and of No. 2. to 9 quarters. It is clear, however, that their money rents, or their rents estimated in any other commodity except corn, would not be at all affected. If corn sold at 4*l.* before the imposition of the tithe, it would afterwards sell at 4*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.*; for, unless 90 quarters now brought as much as 100 quarters previously brought, the cultivators of those soils which paid no rent would not be able to realize the common and average rate of profit. Money rents would, therefore, continue unaltered; on the land No. 1. they would still be 80*l.*, and on No. 2. 40*l.*

It appears, therefore, that in every state of society, whether rents are high or low, and whether they are paid in kind or in money, the charge of tithes is defrayed entirely by the consumers of raw produce. They do not consist of a portion of the rent of land belonging to the clergy, or the lay proprietor; but they are a burden which falls equally on every individual in the kingdom—on the poorest beggar as well as the richest lord—in proportion to their respective consumption of the articles

from which a tithe is levied. Tithes are, therefore, liable to all the objections which have been urged against taxes on necessities. They must either directly reduce the wages of the labourer, and depress his condition in society, or they must indirectly produce this effect by lowering the rate of profit, and stimulating the transfer of capital to countries relieved from so heavy a burden.

The average price of corn in Great Britain during the last four or five years, has been very near 80s. the quarter; and the agriculturists contend, that this is the lowest price at which it can be raised on inferior lands. It is plain, however, that if 80s. be a remunerating price when tithes are levied, 72s. would be an equally high remunerating price if they were remitted. When wheat sells at 80s., tithes, supposing them to be rigorously exacted, are really equivalent to a tax of 1s. a bushel, or of 8s. a quarter. But, as the average annual consumption of the different kinds of grain by each individual, when reduced to the standard of wheat, has been estimated, apparently on good grounds, at one quarter, it follows that, when the medium price of wheat is 80s., a tithe on corn is really the same thing as a capitation tax of 8s., and consequently constitutes an item of 40s. in the expenditure of every family of five persons!

But, tithes are objectionable on other grounds. They are not a permanent and fixed tax, but they increase according as the difficulty of raising raw produce increases; and are infinitely more burdensome and oppressive in a year of scarcity, than in a year of plenty. If the price necessary to afford a sufficient supply of corn were 60s. a quarter, the tithe would be equal to a direct tax of 6s. a quarter; but if, in consequence of being forced to resort to inferior lands, the increased difficulties of production had raised the price to 80s., the tithe would be 8s.; when prices rose to 100s., the tithe would be 10s., and so on. Nor is this all.—The tithe is not only increased in value, but it is also increased in amount, according as cultivation is extended. When land of the first quality, and which we have supposed would yield 100 quarters, was cultivated, the tithe would be 10 quarters: But after land of the second quality, and which only yields 90 quarters, had been cultivated, the tithe would be levied on 190 quarters: When land of the third quality had been cultivated, it would be levied on 100 + 90 + 80, or 270 quarters, and would go on progressively increasing, both in value and quantity, as fresh soils were brought under tillage.

Not only, says Mr Ricardo, who was the first to explain the real nature of tithes, 'is the amount of the tax increased from 100,000 quarters to 200,000 quarters, when the produce is increased



from one to two millions of quarters, but, owing to the increased labour necessary to produce the second million, the relative value of raw produce is so advanced, that the 200,000 may be, though only twice in quantity, yet in value three or four times that of the 100,000 quarters which were paid before.

‘ If an equal value were raised for the Church by any other means, increasing in the same manner as tithes increase, proportionably with the difficulty of cultivation, the effect would be the same. The Church would be constantly obtaining an increased portion of the *net* produce of the land and labour of the country. In an improving state of society, the net produce of the land is always diminishing in proportion to its gross produce; but it is from the net income of a country that all taxes are ultimately paid, either in a progressive or a stationary country. *A tax increasing with the gross income, and falling on the net income, must necessarily be a very burdensome, and a very intolerable tax.* Tithes are a tenth of the gross, and not of the net produce of the land; and therefore, as society improves in wealth, they must, though the same proportion of the gross produce, become a larger and larger portion of the net produce.’ \*

The increased oppressiveness of tithes, from the increased difficulty of raising raw produce, has been fully admitted by those who consider them as falling entirely on the rent of the landlord, and as affording the best means of providing for the support of the Church. The Reverend Mr Howlett, Vicar of Dunmow, in Essex, and advantageously known by his pamphlets on Population and the Poor-laws, published, in 1801, ‘ *An Essay on the Influence of Tithes on Agriculture*,’ in which we meet with the following distinct recognition of this principle.

‘ Tithes, as legally and constitutionally settled in this kingdom, and as far as respects many of the fruits of the earth, are the tenth of the produce, subject to none of the expenses of cultivation, nor of severance from the ground; liable, however, to the land-tax, and parochial rates of every denomination; as also to the charges of collecting, and preparing them for, and carrying them to, market. Hence it is apparent that the real value of all such tithes increases faster than the value of the titheable lands, in the exact proportion of the increasing expense of cultivation, and of severance: and as these expenses have been rapidly advancing for many years past, the disproportion between the increasing value of tithes and of titheable lands, has been growing every day greater and greater.—Accordingly, when I look round this neighbourhood, I find that, in the course of the last fifty years, while the rents of farms have been advancing, upon an average, about ONE FOURTH, the real value of the tithes has been nearly TRIPLED; consequently they have been increasing about twelve times as fast as the rents of the lands from which they were pro-

*duced*; and hence it is also manifest that, in time, the tithes may be equal to, or greater than, the rent. This, indeed, is already the case with regard to some articles of expensive culture. It not unfrequently happens that the tithe of an acre of hops is nearly worth 3*l.* or 4*l.*, after the deduction of drying and duty—while, perhaps, the annual rent of the ground is only 40*s.* or 50*s.*; and I have known the tithe of an acre of carrot-seed worth seven or eight guineas, upon land let for less than a pound.—p. 3.

It is not possible to form any precise estimate of the value of the tithes paid to the clergy and the lay-impropriators. In Mr Cove's Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England, published in 1796, the tithes belonging to the clergy are estimated at 1,562,000*l.*, and those belonging to the laity at 192,000*l.*, amounting together to 1,754,000*l.* There cannot, however, be a doubt that this estimate was a great deal too low; as it was a principal object with Mr Cove to represent tithes as a trifling burden; and his computations are throughout extremely loose and unsatisfactory. The Reverend Doctor Beeke, in his valuable pamphlet on the Income-tax, published in 1799, has bestowed a good deal of attention on this subject; and the result of his investigation gives the entire value of the tithes then collected in England and Wales at 2,800,000*l.* But, the average price of corn for the last ten years has been considerably more than double its average price for the ten years ending with 1799; and when the increased extent of cultivation is also taken into account, we shall certainly be warranted in concluding, that the value of the tithes must now be at least double their value at the former epoch: And hence, supposing Dr Beeke's estimate to be nearly accurate, they must now amount to 5,600,000*l.*,—a sum which, great as it is, is yet, we believe, considerably underrated.

For we should form a very erroneous conclusion indeed, if we supposed that the value of the tithes received by the clergy and the lay-impropriators, is equivalent to the whole extent of the burden they occasion to the community. Exclusive of the lands formerly belonging to the greater abbeys, the rent of which is now supposed to exceed *two and a half* millions, and which are entirely exempted from tithe, a considerable extent of other lands, in virtue of claims of prescription, of payments of ancient moduses and compositions, or by special Act of Parliament, is nearly in the same situation. But, as we have already shown, the produce raised on these lands is notwithstanding sold at the same price as the produce raised on the lands which are fully tithed. In these cases, the landlords are in fact the proprietors of the tithes; and it is they, and not the public, who are

benefited by the exemption. An example will set this principle in a clearer point of view.—Suppose that an annual supply of one million of hats is required to meet the demand,—that they cannot be produced for less than 10s. each, and that the Government imposes a tax of 1s., or a *tithe*, on 100,000 of these hats;—it is obvious that in these circumstances the price of the whole hats would immediately rise to 11s.; for, if they did not, no person would buy the taxed hats; and their producers not being able to obtain the ordinary rate of profit, would invest their stock in some other employment. In this case, therefore, the Government, by levying a tithe on 100,000 hats would only acquire a revenue of 5000*l.*; but the total extent of the burden thus imposed on the public would really be equal to 50,000*l.*, of which 45,000*l.* would go into the pockets of the manufacturers of those hats which were exempted from this charge. Now, this is precisely the case with the tithes paid to the clergy and the laity. They increase the price of the produce raised on those lands which are relieved from them, to a par with its price on those from which they are exacted to the utmost extent.

It is easy from this to perceive, that it will not do to consider the additional burden thus entailed on the community, as limited to the increased rents obtained by the owners of tithe-free farms in *England*. The landlords of *Scotland* must gain equally by being exempted from this charge. The produce of this division of the United Kingdom, is freely admitted into those markets which are chiefly supplied by the produce raised on the tithed lands in the other divisions; and its value must, in consequence, be proportionably advanced. If tithes are really an advantageous tax, they ought undoubtedly to press equally on all qualities of land. As now levied, a very large proportion, perhaps not less than *one half* of their total amount, is not received by the clergy, for whose use they were originally intended, or by the lay-impropriator, but by the landlords of *Scotland*, and the owners of tithe-free lands in *England*.

It is true, that if an equal revenue were raised for the support of the Church by any other tax, which should vary proportionably to the expenses of cultivation, its effect, when considered only with reference to the sum taken from the pockets of the public, would be the same. But, as tithes are now levied, they amount, as we have just seen, to a much larger sum than is received by the clergy;—and, what is still worse, they are a perpetual source of divisions and contentions between the pastor and his flock. The clergy cannot certainly be blamed for exacting payment of that portion of the produce of the soil which the law has set apart for their support; nor is there any

set of men more deserving of a liberal provision, or whose labours conduce more to the public advantage. It is the manner in which they are provided for, that is vicious and objectionable. Perhaps the circumstance of the provision for the maintenance of the clergy, being chiefly derived from a heavy tax on the most indispensable of all necessaries, is the least revolting part of the system. It will not be denied, that the influence and usefulness of a clergyman must mainly depend on his possessing the esteem and affection of his parishioners. But, so long as stipends are paid by tithes, this esteem and affection, in most cases, if not in all, cannot be acquired, except by a sacrifice, on the part of the incumbent, of a portion of his income. 'The rate of tithe is a tolerable barometer of the love or dislike of parishioners; where they are higher than ordinary, you may be certain of finding a turbulent divine, who will have *his rights*, regardless whether he is liked or disliked. If, on the contrary, they are moderately exacted, the love and respect of his neighbours follows of course.' \* It would be of no use to tell a farmer, that the greater the rigour with which tithe is exacted, the higher must be the price of corn. He only sees the immediate sacrifice he is called on to make; and he does not give himself the least trouble about the ultimate effects which may result from it. Besides, prices would be equally high if the tithe was exacted from the worst lands only; and the farmers of the richer lands have, in truth, a real as well as an apparent interest to reduce the tithe to the lowest possible amount. It is undeniable, that this system holds out a bounty to extortion and rapacity, on the one hand, and to fraud and chicanery, on the other. It has often set the duty and the interest of the clergy in opposition to each other; and has done more to paralyze their exertions, and to deprive them of the esteem of their parishioners, than all the efforts of all the infidels and sectaries that ever existed. In the emphatic language of Mr Grattan, 'it has made the clergyman's income to fall with his virtues, and to rise with his bad qualities; just as it has made the parishioner to lose by being ingenuous, and to save by dishonesty.' No better plan could have been devised to disseminate the worst vices, and to make the ministers of the Gospel of Peace the unwilling instruments of endless litigation and implacable animosities.

To the credit of the Church of England it ought to be mentioned, that the clergy seldom carry their claim for tithes to its full extent; and that they are, in general, much less rigorous in their demands than the lay-impropriators. But, in despite of this moderation, tithes constitute an extremely heavy burden.

---

\* Survey of the County of Clare, p. 186

Mr. Stevenson, the well-informed author of the *Agricultural Survey of the County of Surrey*, published in 1809, states (p. 92.), that, although tithes are not more rigorously exacted there than in most other counties in England, it is the common opinion, that a farm tithe-free, is better worth 20s. an acre than a tithed farm, equally favoured in soil and situation, is worth 18s. This may, at first sight, appear a disproportioned difference; but a little reflection will satisfy us why it should be so great. Considerably more than the mere value of the tithe must be taken into account. The tithe is a variable tax. It increases not only according to the gradual increase of cultivation in general, but it increases proportionably to the greater expenditure of capital and labour on each particular farm. No doubt, in this, as in every other case, the farmer is completely indemnified for the tithe; for otherwise he would not expend this additional capital. But he does not think so. He pays his rent willingly to the landlord; but he considers the tithe-proprietor as an interloper who, without having contributed to raise the crop, claims a share of the produce. The fear of being subjected to this demand, unquestionably contributes to check the progress of improvement, and to cramp the exertions of the farmer. The occupier of a farm subject to this charge, can never be brought to consider himself as realizing the same profit from the capital he employs, as his neighbours in the tithe-free farms; and hence a considerably greater increase of prices is necessary to induce him to lay out additional capital, than would be necessary were he relieved from this tax. In this way tithes contribute indirectly, as well as directly, to raise prices—directly, by the positive addition which they make to the expenses of the cultivators of bad land—and indirectly, by generating an indisposition to apply fresh capital to the improvement of the soil. ‘Of all institutions,’ says Dr Paley, who cannot surely be reckoned unfriendly to the real interests of the Church, ‘adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of tithes. A claimant here enters into the produce, who contributed no assistance whatever to the production. When years, perhaps, of care and toil have matured an improvement—when the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and industry—the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain, he finds himself compelled to divide the harvest with a stranger. Tithes are a tax, not only upon industry, but upon that industry which feeds mankind, upon that species of exertion which it is the aim of all wise laws to cherish and promote.’

But it is to Ireland, and not to England, that we must direct our attention, if we wish to see the tithe system in its

worst form. In England, the vast majority of the inhabitants are Protestants, and the lands of the rich, as well as of the poor, are equally taxed for the support of the Church. But the reverse of all this has place in Ireland. *There*, the provision for a Protestant establishment is chiefly drawn from Catholics; and while the potatoe garden of the poor cottier is tithed to the utmost extent, the flocks of the extensive and opulent grazier are entirely exempted! Primate Boulter, whose administration commenced in 1724, and ended about 1742, in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole, thus writes. 'Since the Reformation, while the lands were mostly in Popish hands, the clergy took what they could get, thankfully; and very few went near their living to do their duty.' Matters continued in this state until the capitulation of Limerick restored tranquillity to Ireland, and threw almost all the benefices into the hands of Protestant rectors. Subsequently to this period, the clergy began gradually to reassume their constitutional rights; and about the year 1720, formally demanded payment of the tithe of agistment, or the tithe of cattle and other produce of grass lands. But although the right of the clergy to this tithe was equally clear and indisputable as their right to the tithe of tillage lands, it was vehemently resisted by the landlords. The clergy appealed to the Court of Exchequer, who, after a full and patient hearing of the case, decided it in their favour. This, however, did not put the question to rest; for, shortly after the decision of the Court, the Irish House of Commons resolved (18th March, 1735), that 'any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, should be considered as an enemy to his country.' By this extraordinary resolution, adopted when the cultivated land in Ireland was not the hundredth part of what it is at this moment, this honourable assembly robbed the clergy of the principal source of their income, and threw the burden of their support entirely on the proprietors of tillage lands. Such was the footing on which the tithe of agistment stood at the period of the Union, when Sir John Macartney, aware that the resolution of 1735 was not law, moved that the abolition of the tithe of agistment should stand as a part of the act. This proposition was intended only as a stratagem to defeat the Union.

'It was not expected that the minister would agree to such a measure; while on the other hand it was confidently believed that it would act like magic, in urging the body of landed proprietors to oppose the Union, which would be the means of making this tithe revert to its original owners. The minister, however, instead of resisting the measure, suffered it quietly to pass; and that which, before the U-

nion, was only a resolution of the House of Commons, is now a formal act of the Imperial Parliament.\*

Besides the striking injustice of having one part of society relieved from a burden imposed for the common benefit of the whole, this limitation of the tithe has been productive of still greater disadvantages. The clergy, whose incomes being chiefly derived from tithes levied from the poorest class of their parishioners, and who were almost all Catholics, were compelled, as well to save themselves from the odium and even hazard of personal interference, as from non-residence, to let their tithes, or to employ an agent, or tithe proctor, to collect them. It is easy to perceive what an immense field has thus been opened to oppression and injustice. The poverty of the cotters and other small farmers, render them in most cases unable to appeal to the law for redress against the unjust exactions of the tithe proctor. The consequence is, the prevalence of discontent, riot, and bloodshed. The levying of the tithe from potatoe crops led to the protracted and disgraceful outrages of the White-boys; and the handitti who, under the names of Steel-boys, Oak-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, Carders, Thrashers, &c. have in succession desolated this unhappy country, have almost all had their origin in the same cause. It deserves to be mentioned, that, with the exception of the White-boys, whose depredations were confined to Munster, the others principally consisted of the manufacturing and Presbyterian population of Ulster. Nor is the case very different even at this day. Mr Wakefield, who has left no subject untouched which could throw light on the state of Ireland, and the accuracy of whose information has not been disputed, states distinctly that there is infinitely more difficulty experienced in collecting tithes among the Protestants of the North, than among the Catholics in the South.

We have already shown, that no farmer will lay out capital either in the improvement of old land, or in the bringing in of new, unless the price of raw produce be such as will afford him the common and average rate of profit on the capital so expended. But in Ireland, the occupiers of the small patches of ground into which the country is so very generally divided, are entirely destitute of capital. These patches are sought after because they afford the means of prolonging a miserable existence; and, owing to the excess of population, the competition for them is so great that it is but seldom the rent is limited to what the land is fairly worth. Thirty-five years ago it was no uncommon thing for a cotter to pay 7*l.* per Irish acre.

\* Wakefield's Account of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 485.

for potatoe ground, and an additional 10s. or 12s. for tithe ! \*

The evil must have increased since ; and it is rendered more grievous and intolerable, from the prevailing custom of taking a promissory note from the cotters in lieu of the tithe. When this promissory note becomes due, the poor cotter is generally unable to pay it ; and his cow, as the readiest article, is laid hold of and exposed to public auction. ‘ Judge,’ says Mr Wakefield, ‘ what must be the feelings of the half-famished cotter, surrounded by a wretched family clamorous for food, when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden exposed to public sale ; or, if he has given a promissory note for a certain sum of money, to compensate for such tithe, when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring clinging round him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived, by the cow’s being sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creation of fancy ; the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland.—I,’ continues Mr Wakefield, ‘ have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor at the pound-gate. I have heard with emotions, which I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village as the cavalcade proceeded. I have witnessed the group pass the domain walls of the opulent grazier, whose numerous herds were cropping the most luxuriant pastures, whilst he was secure from any demand for the tithe of their produce, looking on with the most unfeeling indifference. But let us reverse the picture, and behold the effects which are produced by oppression so insufferable as to extinguish every sentiment in the breast, but a desire of revenge. I have beheld, at night, houses in flames, and for a moment supposed myself in a country exposed to the ravages of war, and suffering from the incursions of an enemy. On the following morning, the most alarming accounts of Thrashers and White-boys have met my ear ; of men who had assembled with weapons of destruction, for the purpose of compelling people to swear not to submit to the payment of their tithes. I have been informed of these oppressed people, in the ebullition of their rage, having murdered tithe-proctors and collectors, wreaking their vengeance with every mark of the most savage barbarity. Cases of this kind are not rare in Ireland ; THEY TAKE PLACE DAILY : And were a history of such tragical events collected, they would form a work which could not be read without horror, and which would be the best comment upon the system.’ †

If any additional evidence were wanting of the pernicious and destructive effects which have resulted from the manner in

---

\* Grattan’s Speeches, Vol. I. p. 148.

† Account of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 486.



which tithes are levied in Ireland, it might be found in the examinations of the leaders of the rebellion in the Houses of Lords and Commons. On Lord Clare's asking Mr Thomas Emmet, whether he thought Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform any objects with the common people, he answered, 'As to Catholic Emancipation, I don't think it matters a feather, or that the poor think of it; as to Parliamentary Reform, I don't think the common people ever thought of it until it was inculcated to them, that a reform in Parliament would cause a removal of those grievances which they *actually do feel.*' When Mr Emmet was questioned by Mr Foster, in the House of Commons, whether the Catholics peculiarly objected to tithes; he answered, 'They certainly have the best right to complain; but I rather think they object more as *tenants* than as Catholics—and in common with the rest of the tenantry in the kingdom; and if any other way of paying even a Protestant Establishment, which did not bear so sensibly upon their industry, were to take place, *I believe it would go a great way to content them.*' On Dr M'Nevin's being asked whether Mr Grattan's motion relative to tithes was not a short cut towards putting down the Established Church? he replied, 'If the stability of the Established Church depends on the payment of tithes, the Church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but of this I am sure—that, *if tithes had been commuted according to Mr Grattan's plan, a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.*'

Surely it is now high time to endeavour to devise some less partial and less oppressive means of providing for the support of the Establishment. For upwards of sixty years—from the era of the Whiteboys down to that of the Ribbonmen—Ireland has constantly, or with a few short intervals only excepted, been a prey to excesses arising from this cause. The gibbet, that ready and perpetual resource of weak and vindictive legislators, has groaned under the weight of criminals; and the country has been outraged and disgraced by the incessant recurrence of bloody and barbarous executions. But tranquillity has not been, and could not be restored, by such means. If we expect to free Ireland from these sanguinary atrocities, we must attack the evil in its sources, and not content ourselves with lopping off the limbs it has vitiated. 'The true principle with respect to your peasantry is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make it as light as possible. —I would exempt the peasant's corn and garden from tithes; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my

‘ power; I would consider his poverty as sacred, and protect against an extortioner, the hallowed circle of his little boundary.’—*Mr Grattan’s Speech, 14th July, 1788.*

As might have been expected, a variety of plans have been suggested for putting a stop to the gross and flagrant abuses of the tithe system, by raising an equivalent income for the clergy in lieu of tithe. To effect this most desirable object, it has been proposed to assess the landlords of the different counties in such a sum as would be sufficient to buy estates yielding a rent equal to the present value of the tithes, which should be exclusively applied for the support of the clergy. It would, however, be manifestly unjust to burden one class of society with the cost of a measure which would be so greatly beneficial to every other class. It is true, the increased facilities it would give to future improvements, would render the abolition of the tithe particularly advantageous to owners of estates; but the public in general would be equal gainers by the fall which it would occasion in the price of raw produce. Although, therefore, the landlords should be made to contribute a larger proportion than the others, the estates for the clergy ought certainly to be purchased by a tax levied from the country in general. But, besides the difficulty of raising so very large a sum as would be required for these purposes, this measure is liable to other objections. It would have the effect of adding prodigiously to the landed property in mortmain, and it would have a strong tendency to sink the character of the clergyman in that of the farmer. The clergyman ought not to be set at bargaining and higgling with squires, farmers, and labourers. The less he comes into contact with them, in this way, so much the better. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the two characters of a good farmer and a zealous and attentive clergyman.

However, if there were no other method of getting rid of this odious and oppressive burden, the objections against commuting tithes for landed property, would certainly be entitled to very little weight. But we incline to think, that the proposal for a commutation by means of a *poundage on rents*, would, on the whole, be more eligible. Were this plan adopted, some such machinery as that by which the Income-tax was collected, would suffice to levy the rate at a very small expense; and while the clergy would be secured in all their just rights, an end would be put to all disputes between the incumbent and his parishioners.

The same objection may perhaps be made to this plan that we urged against the former, that instead of distributing the burden of providing for the Church equally over the commu-

nity, it would throw it entirely on the proprietors of lands and houses. But a poundage on rent would not really have this effect. Rent, in its common acceptation, it must be recollected, includes not merely the sum paid to the landlord for the use of the natural and inherent powers of the soil, but also the sum paid him for the use of the necessary buildings and fences, and for the other improvements which may have been made on its surface. This portion of rent consists really of the profits of the capital vested in these buildings and improvements, and consequently would not be affected by a poundage or tax on rent. Neither a landlord nor a farmer would erect a steading, or lay out any capital, either in the bringing in of new, or the amelioration of old land, unless the price of raw produce were such as, exclusive of all expenses, would yield the common rate of profit. But as this profit would be denominated rent, and would, by the proposed plan, be subjected to a poundage, it is obvious that no such expenditure of capital would take place until prices had been proportionably advanced. It is not possible to say what portion of the rental of the kingdom is made up of interest of capital, and what of a compensation for the use of the powers of the soil. Unquestionably, however, the former amounts to a very large proportion of the rent derived from good soils, and to almost the whole of that derived from those of an inferior quality. Now, it is plain, that a poundage on this portion of rent would neither fall on the landlords nor the tenants, but on the consumers of raw produce, or, which is the same thing, on the country in general. Thus far, therefore, a poundage on rents would be an equal tax; and the additional portion, which would fall exclusively on the landlord, would not be more than a reasonable equivalent for the peculiar advantages he would derive from the abolition of tithes.

Should this plan be adopted, it would be proper to levy the poundage equally from rents of every description. It is alike inconsistent with justice and with common sense, that, because an estate happened, some three hundred and fifty years ago, to belong to a monastery, it should now be exempted from all charge on account of the Establishment. But, as the law now stands, it is more than exempted—it is, as we have shown, actually enriched by the burdens imposed on others! This monstrous anomaly should be tolerated no longer. If any exemptions were made, it ought to be in favour of occupancies below 10*l.* or 20*l.* a year in value. It would be well to relieve the cotters of Ireland entirely of this tax; but, whether that were done or not, the grass lands of that kingdom, and the tithe-free lauds of England, ought unquestionably to be made to contribute equally with the rest to the support of the Church.

Were a poundage on rents substituted for tithes, that part of the income of the Church derived from rents, properly so termed, would still increase with every increase in the difficulty of production; but that part which was derived from the profits of capital, and which had to be defrayed by the public, instead of increasing, as at present, proportionably to the gross produce of the soil, would only increase proportionably to the net profit of the stock employed in its cultivation. This would be a very great advantage. It would give the clergy every fair benefit to which they are entitled; and would save the public from the scourge of a system of taxation which must necessarily increase in a greater ratio than the means of paying it.

That there would be many and serious difficulties in the way of such a commutation as is here proposed, cannot be doubted. But they are not insurmountable; and ought not to be allowed to weigh one grain in the balance when set against the advantages that would result from carrying it into effect. Such a measure would occasion a very considerable fall in the price of the necessaries of life; it would relieve the country from the worst of all taxes—a tax increasing with its gross, and payable out of its net income; it would restore that harmony and good understanding between the clergyman and his parishioners, so essential to the best interests of society; and it would do more to secure the peace, tranquillity, and improvement of Ireland, than any measure which has ever received the sanction of the Legislature.

ART. IV. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds; with some Observations on his Talents and Character.* By JOSEPH FARINGTON, R. A. London, Cadell & Davies. 1819.

THIS, with regard to its main object, must certainly be regarded as a superfluous publication. Forty years after the death of Sir Joshua, Mr Farington has found himself called upon to put forth a thin octavo volume, to revive the recollection of the dispute between their late President and the Academy, and to correct an error into which Mr Malone had fallen, in supposing that Sir Joshua was not entirely to blame in that business. This is a remarkable instance of the tenaciousness of corporate bodies with respect to the immaculate purity of their conduct. It was at first suggested that printed notes might be sufficient, with references to the pages of Mr Malone's account: but it was finally judged best to give it as a connected

narrative—that the vindication of the Academy might slip in only as a parenthesis or an episode. So we have a full account of Sir Joshua's birth and parentage, god-fathers and god-mothers, with as many repetitions beside as were necessary to give a colouring to Mr Farington's ultimate object. The manner in which the plot of the publication is insinuated, is curious and characteristic: But our business at present is with certain more general matters, on which we have some observations to offer.

'In the present instance,' says Mr F., 'we see how a character, formed by early habits of consideration, self-government, and persevering industry, acquired the highest fame; and made his path through life a course of unruffled moral enjoyment. Sir Joshua Reynolds, when young, wrote rules of conduct for himself. One of his maxims was, "that the great principle of being happy in this world, " is, not to mind or be affected with small things." To this rule he strictly adhered; and the constant habit of controlling his mind contributed greatly to that evenness of temper which enabled him to live pleasantly with persons of all descriptions. Placability of temper may be said to have been his characteristic. The happiness of possessing such a disposition was acknowledged by his friend Dr Johnson, who said, "Reynolds was the most invulnerable man he had ever known."

'The life of this distinguished artist exhibits a useful lesson to all those who may devote themselves to the same pursuit. He was not of the class of such as have been held up, or who have esteemed themselves, to be heaven-born geniuses. He appeared to think little of such claims. It will be seen, in the account of his progress to the high situation he attained in his profession, that at no period was there in him any such fancied inspiration; on the contrary, every youthful reader of the Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds may feel assured, that his ultimate success will be in proportion to the resolution with which he follows his example.'

This, we believe, is the current morality and philosophy of the present day; and therefore it is of more consequence to observe, that it appears to us to be a mere tissue of sophistry and folly. And first, as to happiness depending on 'not being affected with small things,' it seems plain enough, that a continued flow of pleasurable sensations cannot depend every moment on great objects. Children are supposed to have a fair share of enjoyment; and yet this arises chiefly from their being delighted with trifles—'pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw.' The reason why we so seldom carry on the happy vivacity of early youth into maturer age is, that we form to ourselves a higher standard of enjoyment than we can realize; and that our passions gradually fasten on certain favourite objects, which, in proportion to their magnitude, are of rare occurrence, and, for the most part, out of our reach. The example, too,

which suggested these general remarks, actually exposes their fallacy. Sir Joshua did *not* owe his happiness to his contempt of little things, but to his success in great ones—and it was by that actual success, far more than by the meritorious industry and exertion which contributed to it, that he was enabled to disregard little vexations. Was Richardson, for example, who, it is observed afterwards, ‘had merit in his profession, but not of a high order, though he thought so well on the subject of art, and had practised it so long,’ to feel an equal moral enjoyment in the want of equal success? Was the idea of that excellence, which he had so long laboured in vain to realize, to console him for the loss of that ‘highest fame,’ which is here represented as the invariable concomitant of persevering industry? Or was he to disregard his failure as a trifle? Was the consciousness that he had done his best, to stand him in stead of that ‘unruffled moral enjoyment’ which Sir Joshua owed in no small degree to the coronet-coaches that besieged his doors, to the great names that sat at his table, to the beauty that crowded his painting-room, and reflected its loveliness back from the lucid mirror of his canvas? These things do indeed put a man above minding little inconveniences, and ‘greatly contribute to that evenness of temper which enables him to live pleasantly with persons of all descriptions.’ But was Hudson, Sir Joshua’s master, who had grown old and rich in the cultivation of his art, and who found himself suddenly outdone and eclipsed by his pupil, to derive much *unruffled enjoyment* from this petty circumstance, or to comfort himself with one of those maxims which young Reynolds had written out for his conduct in life? When Sir Joshua himself lost the use of one of his eyes, in the decline of his life, he became peevish, and did not long survive the practice of his favourite art. Suppose the same loss to have happened to him in the meridian of his fame, we fear that all his consciousness of merit, and all his efforts of industry, would have been insufficient to have supplied that unruffled felicity which we are here taught to refer exclusively to these high sources.

The truth is, that those specious maxims; though they may seem at first sight to minister to content, and to encourage to meritorious exertion, lead in fact to a wrong estimate of human life, to unreasonable anticipations of success, and to bitter repinings and regrets at what in any reverse of fortune we think the injustice of society and the caprice of nature. We have a very remarkable instance of this process of mental sophistication, or the setting up a theory against experience, and then wondering that human nature does not answer to our theory, in what our author says on

this very subject of Hudson, and his more fortunate scholar afterwards. P. 46. 'It might be thought that the talents of Reynolds, to which no degree of ignorance or imbecility in the art could be insensible, added to his extraordinary reputation, would have extinguished every feeling of Jealousy or Rivalship in the mind of his master Hudson; but the malady was so deeply seated as to defy the usual remedies applied by time and reflection. *Hudson, when at the head of his art, admired and praised by all, had seen a youth rise up and annihilate both his Income and his Fame; and he never could divest his mind of the feelings of mortification caused by the loss he had thus sustained.*' This Mr F. actually considers as something quite extraordinary and unreasonable; and which might have been easily prevented by a diligent study of Sir Joshua's admirable aphorisms, against being affected by small things. Such is our Academician's ethical simplicity, and enviable ignorance of the ways of the world!

One would think that the name of Hudson, which occurs frequently in these pages, might have taught our learned author some little distrust of that other favourite maxim, that Genius is the effect of education, encouragement, and practice. It is the basis, however, of his whole moral and intellectual system; and is thus distinctly announced and enforced in a very elaborate passage.

'With respect to his (Sir Joshua's) early indications of talent for the art he afterwards professed, it would be idle to dwell upon them as manifesting any thing more than is common among boys of his age. As an amusement he probably preferred drawing to any other to which he was tempted. In the specimens which have been preserved, there is no sign of premature ingenuity; his history is, in this respect, like what might be written of very many other artists, perhaps of artists in general. His attempts were applauded by kind and sanguine friends; and this encouraged him to persevere till it became a fixed desire in him to make further proficiency, and continually to request that it might be his profession. It is said, that his purpose was determined by reading Richardson's Treatise on Painting. Possibly it might have been so; his thoughts having been previously occupied with the subject. Dr Johnson, in his Life of Cowper, writes as follows—"In the windows of his mother's apartment lay Spenser's Faery Queen, in which he very early took delight to read, till by feeling the charms of verse, he became, as he relates, irrecoverably a poet. Such are the accidents which, sometimes remembered, and perhaps sometimes forgotten, produce that peculiar designation of mind, and propensity for some certain science or employment, which is commonly called Genius. The true genius is a man of large general powers accidentally determined to some parti-

cular direction. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the great painter of the present age, had the first fondness for his art excited by the perusal of Richardson's *Treatise*." In this definition of genius, Reynolds fully concurred with Dr Johnson; and he was himself an instance in proof of its truth. He had a sound natural capacity, and, by observation and long-continued labour, always discriminating with judgment, he obtained universal applause, and established his claim to be ranked amongst those to whom the highest praise is due; for his productions exhibited perfect originality. No artist ever consulted the works of eminent predecessors more than Sir Joshua Reynolds. He drew from every possible source something which might improve his practice; and he resolved the whole of what he saw in nature, and found in art, into a union, which made his pictures a singular display of grace, truth, beauty and richness.'

From the time that Mr Locke exploded *innate ideas* in the commencement of the last century, there began to be a confused apprehension in some speculative heads, that there could be no innate faculties either; and our half metaphysicians have been floundering about in this notion ever since: as if, because there are no innate ideas, that is, no actual impressions existing in the mind without objects, there could be no peculiar capacity to receive them from objects; or as if there might not be as great a difference in the capacity itself as in the outward objects to be impressed upon it. We might as well deny, at once, that there are organs or faculties to receive impressions, because there are no innate ideas, as deny that there is an inherent difference in the organs or faculties to receive impressions of any particular kind. If the capacity exists (which it must do), there may, nay we should say there *must*, be a difference in it, in different persons, and with respect to different things. To allege that there is such a difference, no more implies the doctrine of innate ideas, than to say that the brain of a man is more fitted to discern external objects than a block of marble, imports that there are innate ideas in the brain, or in the block of marble. The impression, it is true, does not exist in the sealing-wax till the seal has been applied to it: but there was the previous capacity to receive the impression; and there may be, and most probably is, a greater degree of fitness in one piece of sealing-wax than in another. That the original capacity, the aptitude for certain impressions or pursuits, should be necessarily the same in different instances, with the diversity that we see in men's organs, faculties, and acquirements of various kinds, is a supposition not only gratuitous, but absurd. There is the capacity of animals, the capacity of idiots, and of half idiots and half madmen of various descriptions; there is capacity, in short, of all sorts and



degrees, from an oyster to a Newton : Yet we are gravely told, that wherever there is a power of sensation, the genius must be the same, and would, with proper cultivation, produce the same effects. ' No, say the French materialists; but in minds commonly well organized (*communément bien organisés*), the results will, in the same given circumstances, be the same.' That is, in the same circumstances, and with the same *average* capacity, there will be the same average degree of genius or imbecility—which is just an identical proposition.

To make any sense at all of the doctrine, that circumstances are everything and natural genius nothing, the result ought at least to correspond to the aggregate of impressions, determining the mind this way or that, like so many weights in a scale. But the advocates of this doctrine allow that the result is not by any means according to the known aggregate of impressions, but, on the contrary, that one of the most insignificant, or one not at all perceived, will turn the scale against the bias and experience of a man's whole life. The reasoning is here lame again. These persons wish to get rid of occult causes, to refer every thing to distinct principles and a visible origin; and yet they say that they know not how it is, that, in spite of all visible circumstances, such a one should be an incorrigible blockhead and such an other an extraordinary genius; but that, no doubt, there was a secret influence exerted, a by-play in it, in which nature had no hand, but accident gave a nod, and in a lucky or unlucky minute fixed the destiny of both for life, by some slight and transient impulse! Now, this is like the reasoning of the astrologers, who pretend that your whole history is to be traced to the constellation under which you were born: and when you object that two men born at the same time have the most different character and fortune, they answer, that there was *an imperceptible interval* between the moment of their births, that made the whole difference. But if this short interval, of which no one could be aware, made the whole difference, it also makes their whole science vain. Besides, the notion of an accidental impulse, a slight turn of the screws giving a total revulsion to the whole frame of the mind, is only intelligible on the supposition of an original or previous bias which falls in with that impression, and catches at the long-wished for opportunity of disclosing itself:—like combustible matter meeting with the spark that kindles it into a flame. But it is little less than sheer nonsense to maintain, while outward impressions are said to be every thing, and the mind alike indifferent to all, that one single unconscious impression shall decide upon a man's whole character, genius, and pursuits in life,—and all the rest thenceforward go for nothing.

Again, we hear it said that the difference of understanding or character is not very apparent at first:—though this is not uniformly true—but neither is the difference between an oak and a briar very great in the seed or in the shoot:—yet will any one deny that the germ is there, or that the soil, culture, the sun and heat alone produce the difference? So circumstances are necessary to the mind: but the mind is necessary to circumstances. The ultimate success depends on the joint action of both. They were fools who believed in innate ideas, or talked of ‘heaven-born genius’ without any means of developing it. They are greater, because more learned fools, who assert that circumstances alone can create or develop genius, where none exists. We may distinguish a stature of the mind as well as of the body,—a mould, a form, to which it is predetermined irrevocably. It is true that exercise gives strength to the faculties both of mind and body; but it is not true that it is the only source of strength in either case. Exercise will make a weak man strong, but it will make a strong man stronger. A dwarf will never be a match for a giant, train him ever so. And are there not dwarfs as well as giants in intellect? Appearances are for it, and reason is not against it.

There are, beyond all dispute, persons who have a talent for particular things, which according to Dr Johnson’s definition of genius, proceeds from ‘a greater general capacity accidentally determined to a particular direction.’ But this, instead of solving, doubles the miracle of genius; for it leaves entire all the former objections to inherent talent, and supposes that one man ‘of large general capacity’ is all sorts of genius at once. This is like admitting that one man may be naturally stronger than another—but denying that he can be naturally stronger in the legs or the arms only; and, deserting the ground of original equality, would drive the theorist to maintain that the inequality which exists must always be universal, and not particular, although all the instances we actually meet with are particular only. Now surely we have no right to give any man credit for genius in more things than he has shown a particular genius in. In looking round us in the world, it is most certain that we find men of large general capacity and no particular talent, and others with the most exquisite turn for some particular thing, and no general talent. Would Dr Johnson have made Reynolds or Goldsmith, Burke, by beginning early and continuing late? We should make strange havoc by this arbitrary transposition of genius and industry. Some persons cannot for their lives understand the first proposition in Euclid. Would they ever make great mathematicians?

ticians? Or does this incapacity preclude them from ever excelling in any other art or mystery? Swift was admitted by special grace to a Bachelor's Degree at Dublin College, which, however, did not prevent him from writing *Gulliver's Travels*: and Claude Lorraine was turned away by his master from the trade of a pastry-cook to which he was apprenticed, for sheer stupidity. People often fail most in what they set themselves most diligently about, and discover an unaccountable *knack* at something else, without any effort or even consciousness that they possess it. One great proof and beauty of works of true genius, is the ease, simplicity, and freedom from conscious effort which pervades them. Not only in different things is there this difference of skill and aptness displayed; but in the same thing, to which a man's attention is continually directed, how narrow is the sphere of human excellence, how distinct the line of pursuit which nature has marked out even for those whom she has most favoured! Thus in painting, Raphael excelled in drawing, Titian in colouring, Rembrandt in *chiaro scuro*. A small part of nature was revealed to each by a peculiar felicity of conformation; and they would have made sad work of it, if each had neglected his own advantages to go in search of those of others, on the principle that genius is a large general capacity, transferred, by will or accident, to some particular channel.

It may be said, that in all these cases it is habit, not nature, that produces the disqualification for different pursuits. But if the bias given to the mind, by a particular study, totally unfits it for others, is it not probable that there is something in the nature of those studies which requires a particular bias and structure of the faculties to excel in them, from the very first? If genius were, as some pretend, the mere exercise of general power on a particular subject, without any difference of organs or subordinate faculties, a man would improve equally in every thing, and grow wise at all points. But if, besides mere general power, there is a constant exercise and sharpening of different organs and faculties required for any particular pursuit, then a natural susceptibility of those organs and faculties must greatly assist him in his progress. To argue otherwise, is to shut one's eyes to the whole mass of inductive evidence; and to run headlong into a dogmatical theory, depending wholly on presumption and conjecture. We would sooner go the whole length of the absurdities of craniology, than get into this flattering-machine of the original sameness and indiscriminate tendency of men's faculties and dispositions. A painter, of all men, should not give into any such notion. Does he pretend to see differences in faces, and will he allow none in minds? Or, does he make the

outline of the head the criterion of a corresponding difference of character, and yet reject all distinction in the original conformation of the soul? Has he never been struck with *family* likenesses? And is there not an inherent, indestructible, and inalienable character to be found in the individuals of such families answering to this physiognomical identity, even in remote branches, where there has been no communication when young, and where the situation, pursuits, education, and character of the individuals have been totally opposite? Again, do we not find persons with every external advantage, without any intellectual superiority; and the greatest prodigies emerge from the greatest obscurity? What made Shakespeare? Not his education as a link-boy or a deer-stealer! Have there not been thousands of mathematicians, educated like Sir Isaac Newton, who have risen to the rank of Senior Wranglers, and never been heard of afterwards? Did not Hogarth live in the same age with Hayman? Who will believe that Highmore could, by any exaggeration of circumstances, have been transformed into Michael Angelo? That Hudson was another Vandyke *incognito*; or that Reynolds would, as our author dreads, have learned to paint like his master, if he had staid to serve out his apprenticeship with him? The thing was impossible.—Hudson had every advantage, as far as Mr Farington's mechanical theory goes (for he was brought up under Richardson), to enable him to break through the trammels of custom, and to raise the degenerate style of art in his day. Why did he not? He had not original force of mind either to inspire him with the conception, or to impel him to execute it. Why did Reynolds burst through the cloud that overhung the region of art, and shine out, like the glorious sun, upon his native land? Because he had the genius to do it. It was nature working in him, and forcing its way through all impediments of ignorance and fashion, till it found its native element in undoubted excellence and wide-spread fame. His eye was formed to drink in light, and to absorb the splendid effects of shadowy obscurity; and it gave out what it took in. He had a strong intrinsic perception of grace and expression; and he could not be satisfied with the stiff, formal, inanimate models he saw before him. There are indeed certain minds that seem formed as conductors to truth and beauty, as the hardest metals carry off the electric fluid, and round which all examples of excellence, whether in art or nature, play harmless and ineffectual. Reynolds was not one of these: but the instant he saw gorgeous truth in natural objects, or artificial models, his mind 'darted contagious fire.' It is said that he surpassed his servile predecessors by a more di-

ligent study, and more careful imitation of nature. But how was he attracted to nature, but by the sympathy of real taste and genius? He also copied the portraits of Gandy, an obscure but excellent artist of his native county. A blockhead would have copied his master, and despised Gandy: but Gandy's style of painting satisfied and stimulated his ambition, because he saw nature there. Hudson's made no impression on him, because it presented nothing of the kind. Why then did Reynolds perform what he did? From the force and bias of his genius. Why did he not do more? Because his natural bias did not urge him further. As it is the property of genius to find its true level, so it cannot rise above it. He seized upon and naturalized the beauties of Rembrandt and Rubens, because they were connate to his own turn of mind. He did not at first instinctively admire, nor did he ever, with all his professions, make any approach to the high qualities of Raphael or Michael Angelo, because there was an obvious incompatibility between them. Sir Joshua did not, after all, found a school of his own in general art, because he had not strength of mind for it. But he introduced a better taste for art in this country, because he had great taste himself, and sufficient genius to transplant many of the excellences of others.

Mr Farington takes the trouble to vindicate Sir Joshua's title to be the author of his own Discourses—though this is a subject on which we have never entertained a doubt; and conceive indeed that a doubt never could have arisen, but from estimating the talents required for painting too low in the scale of intellect, as something mechanical and fortuitous; and from making literature something exclusive and paramount to all other pursuits. Johnson and Burke were equally unlikely to have had a principal or considerable hand in the Discourses. They have none of the pomp, the vigour, or *mannerism* of the one, nor the boldness, originality, or extravagance of the other. They have all the internal evidence of being Sir Joshua's. They are subdued, mild, unaffected, thoughtful,—containing sensible observations on which he laid too little stress, and vague theories which he was not able to master. There is the same character of mind in what he wrote, as of eye in what he painted. His style is gentle, flowing, and bland: there is an inefficient outline, with a mellow, felicitous, and delightful filling-up. In both, the taste predominates over the genius: the manner over the matter! The real groundwork of Sir Joshua's Discourses is to be found in Richardson's Essays.

We proceed to Mr F.'s account of the state of art in this country, a little more than half a century ago, which is no less

accurate than it is deplorable. It may lead us to form a better estimate of the merits of Sir Joshua in rescuing it from this lowest point of degradation, and perhaps assist our conjectures as to its future progress and its present state.

‘ It was the lot of Sir Joshua Reynolds to be destined to pursue the art of painting at a period when the extraordinary effort he made came with all the force and effect of novelty. He appeared at a time when the art was at its lowest ebb. What might be called an English school had never been formed. All that Englishmen had done was to copy, and endeavour to imitate, the works of eminent men, who were drawn to England from other countries by encouragement, which there was no inducement to bestow upon the inferior efforts of the natives of this island. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Frederigo Zuccherò, an Italian, was much employed in England, as had been Hans Holbein, a native of Basle, in a former reign. Charles the First gave great employment to Rubens and Vandyke. They were succeeded by Sir Peter Lely, a native of Soest in Westphalia; and Sir Godfrey Kneller came from Lubec to be, for a while, Lely’s competitor: and after his death, he may be said to have had the whole command of the art in England. He was succeeded by Richardson, the first English painter that stood at the head of portrait painting in this country. Richardson had merit in his profession, but not of a high order: and it was remarkable, that a man who thought so well on the subject of art, and more especially who practised so long, should not have been able to do more than is manifested in his works. He died in 1745, aged 80. Jervais, the friend of Pope, was his competitor, but very inferior to him. Sir James Thornhill, also, was contemporary with Richardson, and painted portraits; but his reputation was founded upon his historical and allegorical compositions. In St Paul’s cathedral, in the Hospital at Greenwich, and at Hampton Court, his principal works are to be seen. As Richardson in portraits, so Thornhill in history painting was the first native of this island, who stood preeminent in the line of art he pursued at the period of his practice. He died in 1732, aged 56.

‘ Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, observes, that “at the accession of George the First, the arts were sunk to the lowest state in Britain.” This was not strictly true. Mr Walpole, who published at a later time, should have dated the period of their utmost degradation to have been in the middle of the last century, when the names of Hudson and Hayman were predominant. It is true, Hogarth was then well known to the public; but he was less so as a painter than an engraver, *though many of his pictures representing subjects of humour and character are excellent*; and Hayman, as a history painter, could not be compared with Sir James Thornhill.

‘ Thomas Hudson was a native of Devonshire. His name will be preserved from his having been the artist to whom Sir Joshua

Reynolds was committed for instruction. Hudson was the scholar of Richardson, and married his daughter; and after the death of his father-in-law, succeeded to the chief employment in portrait painting. He was in all respects much below his master in ability; but being esteemed the best artist of his time, commissions flowed in upon him; and his *business*, as it might truly be termed, was carried on like that of a manufactory. To his ordinary heads, draperies were added by painters who chiefly confined themselves to that line of practice. No time was lost by Hudson in the study of character, or in the search of variety in the position of his figures: a few formal attitudes served as models for all his subjects; and the *display* of arms and hands, being the more difficult parts, was managed with great economy, *by all the contrivances of concealment.*

‘To this scene of imbecile performance, Joshua Reynolds was sent by his friends. He arrived in London on the 14th of October 1741, and on the 18th of that month he was introduced to his future preceptor. He was then aged seventeen years and three months. The terms of the agreement were, that provided Hudson approved him, he was to remain four years: but might be discharged at pleasure. He continued in this situation two years and a-half, during which time he drew many heads upon paper; and in his attempts in painting, succeeded so well in a portrait of Hudson’s cook, as to excite his master’s jealousy. In this temper of mind, Hudson availed himself of a very trifling circumstance to dismiss him. Having one evening ordered Reynolds to take a picture to Van Haaken the drapery painter; but as the weather proved wet, he postponed carrying it till next morning. At breakfast, Hudson demanded why he did not take the picture the evening before? Reynolds replied, that “he delayed it on account of the weather; but that the picture was delivered that morning before Van Haaken rose from bed.” Hudson then said, “You have not obeyed my orders, and shall not stay in my house.” On this peremptory declaration, Reynolds urged that he might be allowed time to write to his father, who might otherwise think he had committed some great crime. Hudson, though reproached by his own servant for this unreasonable and violent conduct, persisted in his determination: accordingly, Reynolds went that day from Hudson’s house to an uncle who resided in the Temple, and from thence wrote to his father, who, after consulting his neighbour Lord Edgecumbe, directed him to come down to Devonshire.

‘Thus did our great artist commence his professional career. Two remarks may be made upon this event. First, by quitting Hudson at this early period, he avoided the danger of having his mind and his hand habituated to a mean practice of the art, which, when established, is most difficult to overcome. It has often been observed in the works of artists who thus began their practice, that though they rose to marked distinction, there have been but few who could wholly divest themselves of the bad effects of a long-continued exercise of the eye and the hand in copying ordinary works. In Hud-

son's school, this was fully manifested. Mortimer and Wright of Derby were his pupils. They were both men of superior talents; but in Portraits they never succeeded beyond what would be called mediocre performance. In this line their productions were tasteless and laboured: fortunately, however, they made choice of subjects more congenial with their minds. Mortimer, charmed with the wild spirit of *Salvator Rosa*, made the exploits of lawless banditti the chief subjects of his pencil; while Wright devoted himself to the study of objects viewed by artificial light, and to the beautiful effects of the moon upon landscape scenery: yet, even these, though deserving of great praise, the effects of their early practice, were but too apparent; their pictures being uniformly executed with what artists call a heavy hand.' p. 19.

This is a humiliating retrospect for the lovers of art, and of their country. In speculating upon its causes, we are half afraid to hint at the probable effects of Climate,—so much is it now the fashion to decry what was once so much overrated. Our theoretical opinions are directed far more frequently by a spirit of petulant contradiction than of fair inquiry. We detect errors in received systems, and then run into the contrary extreme, to show how wise we are. Thus one folly is driven out by another; and the history of philosophy is little more than an alternation of blind prejudices and shallow paradoxes. Thus climate was every thing in the days of Montesquieu, and in our day it is nothing. Yet it was but one of many cooperating causes at first—and it continues to be one still. In all that relates to the senses, physical causes may be allowed to operate very materially, without much violence to experience or probability. 'Are the *English* a Musical people?' is a question that has been debated at great length, and in all the forms. But whether the *Italians* are a musical people, is a question not to be asked, any more than whether they have a taste for the fine arts in general. Nor does the subject ever admit of a question, where a faculty or genius for any particular thing exists in the most eminent degree; for then it is sure to show itself, and force its way to the light, in spite of all obstacles. That which no one ever denied to any people, we may be sure they actually possess: that which is as often denied as allowed them, we may be sure they do not possess in a very eminent degree. That, to which we make the angriest claim, and dispute the most about, whatever else may be, is not our *forte*. The French are allowed by all the world to be a dancing, talking, cooking people. If the English were to set up the same pretensions, it would be ridiculous. But then, they say, they have other excellences; and having these, they would have the former too. They think it hard to be set down as a dull, plodding people: but is it not



equally hard upon others to be called vain and light? They tell us, they are the wisest, the freest, and most moral people on the face of the earth, without the frivolous accomplishments of their neighbours; but they insist upon having these too, to be upon a par in every thing with the rest of the world. We have our bards and sages ('better none'), our prose-writers, our mathematicians, our inventors in useful and mechanic arts, our legislators, our patriots, our statesmen, and our fighting-men, in the field and in the ring:—In these we challenge, and justly, all the world. We are not behind-hand with any people in all that depends on hard thinking and deep and firm feeling, on long heads and stout hearts:—But why must we excel also in the reverse of these,—in what depends on lively perceptions, on quick sensibility, and on a voluptuous effeminacy of temperament and character? An Englishman does not ordinarily pretend to combine his own gravity, plainness and reserve, with the levity, loquacity, grimace, and artificial politeness (as it is called) of a Frenchman. Why then will he insist upon engrafting the fine upon the domestic arts, as an indispensable consummation of the national character? We may indeed cultivate them as an experiment in natural history, and produce specimens of them, and exhibit them as rarities in their kind, as we do hot-house plants and shrubs; but they are not of native growth or origin. They do not spring up in the open air, but shrink from the averted eye of Heaven, like a Laplander into his hut. They do not sit as graceful ornaments, but as excrescences on the English character: they are 'like flowers in our caps, dying ere they sicken':—they are exotics and aliens to the soil. We do not import foreigners to dig our canals, or construct our machines, or solve difficult problems in political economy, or write Scotch novels for us—but we import our dancing-masters, our milliners, our Opera-singers, our valets, and our travelling cooks,—as till lately we did our painters and sculptors.

The English (we take it) are a nation with certain decided features and predominating traits of character; and if they have any characteristics at all, this is one of them, that their feelings are internal rather than external, reflex rather than organic,—and that they are more inclined to contend with pain than to indulge in pleasure. 'The stern genius of the North,' says Schlegel, 'throws men back upon themselves.'—The progress of the Fine Arts has hitherto been slow, and wavering and unpromising in this country, 'like the forced pace of a shuffling nag,' not like the flight of Pegasus; and their encouragement has been cold and backward in proportion. They have been wooed and won—as far as they have been won, which is no fur-

ther than to a mere promise of marriage—‘with coy, reluctant, amorous delay.’ They have not rushed into our embraces, nor been mingled in our daily pastimes and pursuits. It is two hundred and fifty years since this island was civilized to all other intellectual purposes: but, till within half a century, it was a desert and a waste in art. Were there no *terra filii* in those days; no brood of giants to spring out of the ground, and launch the mighty fragments of genius from their hands; to beautify and enrich the public mind; to hang up the lights of the eye and of the soul in pictured halls, in airy porticoes, and solemn temples; to illumine the land, and weave a garland for their own heads, like ‘the crown which Ariadne wore upon her bridal-day,’ and which still shines brighter in heaven? There were: but ‘their affections did not that way tend.’ They were of the tribe of Issachar, and not of Judah. There were two sisters, Poetry and Painting: one was taken, and the other was left.

Were our ancestors insensible to the charms of nature, to the music of thought, to deeds of virtue or heroic enterprise? No. But they saw them in their mind’s eye: they felt them at their heart’s core, and there only. They did not translate their perceptions into the language of sense: they did not embody them in visible images, but in breathing words. They were more taken up with what an object suggested to combine with the infinite stores of fancy or trains of feeling, than with the single object itself; more intent upon the moral inference, the tendency and the result, than the appearances of things, however imposing or expressive, at any given moment of time. If their first impressions were less vivid and complete, their after-reflections were combined in a greater variety of striking resemblances, and thus drew a dazzling veil over their merely sensitive impressions, which deadened and neutralized them still more. Will it be denied that there is a wide difference, as to the actual result, between the mind of a Poet and a Painter? Why then should not this difference be inherent and original, as it undoubtedly is in individuals, and, to all appearance, in nations? Or why should we be uneasy because the same country does not teem with all varieties and with each extreme of excellence and genius? \*

---

\* We are aware that time conquers even nature, and that the characters of nations change with a total change of circumstances. The modern Italians are a very different race of people from the ancient Romans. This gives us some chance. In the decomposition and degeneracy of the sturdy old English character, which seems fast

In this importunate theory of ours, we misconstrue nature, and tax Providence amiss. In that short, but delightful season of the year, and in that part of the country where we now write, there are wild woods and banks covered with primroses and hyacinths for miles together, so that you cannot put your foot between, and with a gaudy show 'empurpling all the ground,' and branches loaded with nightingales whose leaves tremble with their liquid notes: Yet the air does not resound, as in happier climes, with shepherd's pipe or roundelay, nor are the village-maids adorned with wreaths of vernal flowers, ready to weave the braided dance, or 'returning with a choral song, when evening has gone down.' What is the reason? 'We also are not Arcadians!' We have not the same animal vivacity, the same tendency to external delight and show, the same ear for melting sounds, the same pride of the eye, or voluptuousness of the heart. The senses and the mind are differently constituted; and the outward influences of things, climate, mode of life, national customs and character, have all a share in producing the general effect. We should say that the eye in warmer climates drinks in greater pleasure from external sights, is more open and porous to them, as the ear is to sounds; that the sense of immediate delight is fixed deeper in the beauty of the object; that the greater life and animation of character gives a greater spirit and intensity of expression to the face, making finer subjects for history and portrait; and that the circumstances in which a people are placed in a genial atmosphere, are more favourable to the study of nature and of the human form. Claude could only have painted his landscapes in the open air; and the Greek statues were little more than copies from living, everyday forms.

Such a natural aptitude and relish for the impressions of sense gives not only more facility, but leads to greater patience, refinement, and perfection in the execution of works of art. What our own artists do is often up-hill work, against the grain:—not persisted in and brought to a conclusion for the love of the thing; but, after the first dash, after the subject is got in, and the gross general effect produced, they grudge all the rest of their labour as a waste of time and pains. Their object is not to look at nature, but to have their picture exhibited and sold. The want of intimate sympathy with, and en-

---

approaching, the mind and muscles of the country may be sufficiently relaxed and softened to imbibe a taste for all the refinements of luxury and show; and a century of slavery may yield us a crop of the Fine Arts, to be soon buried in sloth and barbarism again.

tire repose on nature, not only leaves their productions hard, violent, and crude, but frequently renders them impatient, wavering, and dissatisfied with their own walk of art, and never easy till they get into a different or higher one, where they think they can earn more money or fame with less trouble. By beginning over again, by having the same preliminary ground to go over, with new subjects or bungling experiments, they seldom arrive at that nice, nervous point that trembles on perfection. This last stage, in which art is as it were identified with nature, an English painter shrinks from with strange repugnance and peculiar abhorrence. The French style is the reverse of ours: it is all dry finishing without effect. We see their faults, and, as we conceive, their general incapacity for art: but we cannot be persuaded to see our own.

The want of encouragement, which is sometimes set up as an all-sufficient plea, will hardly account for this slow and irregular progress of English art. There was no premium offered for the production of dramatic excellence in the age of Elizabeth: there was no society for the encouragement of works of wit and humour in the reign of Charles II.: no committee of taste ever voted Congreve, or Steele, or Swift, a silver vase, or a gold medal, for their comic vein: Hogarth was not fostered in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy. In plain truth, that is not the way in which that sort of harvest is produced. The seeds must be sown in the mind: there is a fulness of the blood, a plethoric habit of thought, that breaks out with the first opportunity on the surface of society. Poetry has sprung up indigenously, spontaneously, at all times of our history, and under all circumstances, with or without encouragement: it is therefore a rich, natural product of the mind of the country, unforced, unpampered, unsophisticated. It is obviously and entirely genuine, 'the unbought grace of life.' If it be asked, why Painting has all this time kept back, has not dared to show its face, or retired ashamed of its poverty and deformity, the answer is plain—because it did not shoot out with equal vigour and luxuriance from the soil of English genius—because it was not the native language and idiom of the country. Why then are we bound to suppose that it will shoot up now to an unequalled height—why are we confidently told and required to predict to others that it is about to produce wonders, when we see no such thing; when these very persons tell us that there has been hitherto no such thing, but that it must and shall be revealed in their time and persons? And though they complain that that public patronage which they invoke, and which they pretend is alone wanting to produce the high and palmy state

of art to which they would have us look forward, is entirely and scandalously withheld from it, and likely to be so !

We turn from this subject to another not less melancholy or singular,—from the imperfect and abortive attempts at art in this country formerly, to its present state of degeneracy and decay in Italy. Speaking of Sir Joshua's arrival at Rome in the year 1749, Mr Farington indulges in the following remarks.

‘ On his arrival at Rome, he found Pompeo Battoni, a native of Lucca, possessing the highest reputation. His name was, indeed, known in every part of Europe, and was every where spoken of as almost another Raphael ; but in that great school of art, such was the admiration he excited, or rather such was the degradation of taste, that the students in painting had no higher ambition than to be his imitators.

‘ Battoni had some talent, but his works are dry, cold, and insipid. That such performances should have been so extolled in the very seat and centre of the fine arts, seems wonderful. But in this manner has public taste been operated upon ; and from the period when art was carried to the highest point of excellence known in modern times, it has thus gradually declined. A succession of artists followed each other, who, being esteemed the most eminent in their own time, were praised extravagantly by an ignorant public ; and in the several schools they established, their own productions were the only objects of study.

‘ So widely spread was the fame of Battoni, that, before Reynolds left England, his patron, Lord Edgcumbe, strongly urged the expediency of placing himself under the tuition of so great a man. This recommendation, however, on seeing the works of that master, he did not choose to follow : which showed that he was then above the level of those whose professional views all concentrated in the productions of the popular favourite. Indeed nothing could be more opposite to the spirited execution, the high relish of colour, and powerful effect, which the works of Reynolds at that time possessed, than the tame and inanimate pictures of Pompeo Battoni. Taking a wiser course, therefore, he formed his own plan, and studied chiefly in the Vatican, from the works of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Andrea del Sarto, with great diligence ; such indeed was his application, that to a severe cold, which he caught in those apartments, he owed the deafness which continued during the remainder of his life.’  
p. 31.

This account may serve to show that Italy is no longer Italy : why it is so, is a question of greater difficulty. The soil, the climate, the religion, the people are the same ; and the men and women in the streets of Rome still look as if they had walked out of Raphael's pictures ; but there is no Raphael to paint them, nor does any Leo arise to encourage them. This seems to prove that the perfection of art is the destruction of art : that the models of

this kind, by their accumulation, block up the path of genius; and that all attempts at distinction lead, after a certain period, to a mere lifeless copy of what has been done before, or a vapid, distorted, and extravagant caricature of it. This is but a poor prospect for those who set out late in art, and who have all the excellence of their predecessors, and all the fastidious refinements of their own taste, the temptations of indolence, and the despair of vanity, to distract and encumber their efforts. The artists who revel in the luxuries of genius thus prepared by their predecessors, clog their wings with the honeyed sweets, and get drunk with the intoxicating nectar. They become servitors and lacqueys to Art, not devoted servants of Nature;—the fluttering, foppish, lazy retinue of some great name. The contemplation of unattainable excellence casts a film over their eyes; and unnerves their hands. They look on, and do nothing. In Italy, it costs them a month to paint a hand, a year an eye: the feeble pencil drops from their grasp, while they wonder to see an Englishman make a hasty copy of the Transfiguration, turn over a port-folio of Piranesi's drawings for their next historical design, and read Winckelman on *virtù*! We do much the same here, in all our collections and exhibitions of modern or ancient paintings, and of the Elgin marbles, to boot. A picture-gallery serves very well for a place to lounge in; and talk about; but it does not make the student go home and set heartily to work:—he would rather come again and lounge, and talk, the next day, and the day after that. He cannot do *all* that he sees there; and less will not satisfy his expansive and refined ambition. He would be all the painters that ever were—or none. His indolence combines with his vanity, like alternate doses of provocatives and sleeping-draughts. He copies, however, a favourite picture, (though he thinks copying bad in general),—or makes a chalk-drawing of it,—or gets some one else to do it for him.—We might go on: but we have written what many people will call a lampoon already!

There is another view of the subject more favourable and encouraging to ourselves, and yet not immeasurably so, when all circumstances are considered. All that was possible had been formerly done for art in Italy, so that nothing more was left to be done. That is not the case with us yet. Perfection is not the insurmountable obstacle to *our* success: we have enough to do, if we knew how. That is some inducement to proceed. We can hardly be retrograde in our course. But there is a difficulty in the way;—no less than our Establishment in Church and State. Rome was the capital of the Christian and of the civilized world. Her mitre swayed the sceptres of the earth; and the

Servant of Servants set his foot on the neck of kings, and deposed sovereigns with the signet of the Fisherman. She was the eye of the world, and her word was a law. She set herself up, and said, 'All eyes shall see me, and all knees shall bow to me.' She ruled in the hearts of the people by dazzling their senses, and making them drunk with hopes and fears. She held in her hands the keys of the other world to open or shut; and she displayed all the pomp, the trappings, and the pride of this. Homage was paid to the persons of her ministers; her worship was adorned and made alluring by every appeal to the passions and imaginations of its followers. Art was rendered tributary to the support of this grand engine of power; and Painting was employed, as soon as its fascination was felt, to aid the devotion, and rivet the faith of the Catholic believer. Thus religion was made subservient to interest, and art was called in to aid in the service of this ambitious religion. The patron-saint of every church stood at the head of his altar: the meekness of love, the innocence of childhood, 'amazing brightness, 'purity, and truth,' breathed from innumerable representations of the Virgin and Child; and the Vatican was covered with the acts and processions of Popes and Cardinals, of Christ and the Apostles. The churches were filled with these objects of art and of devotion: the very walls spoke. 'A present deity they 'shout around; a present deity the walls and vaulted roofs re-'bound.' This unavoidably put in requisition all the strength of genius, and all the resources of enthusiastic feeling in the country. The spectator sympathized with the artist's inspiration. No elevation of thought, no refinement of expression, could outgo the expectation of the thronging votaries. The fancy of the painter was but a spark kindled from the glow of public sentiment. This was a sort of patronage worth having. The zeal and enthusiasm and industry of native genius was stimulated to works worthy of such encouragement, and in unison with its own feelings. But by degrees the tide ebbed: the current was dried up or became stagnant. The churches were all supplied with altar-pieces: the niches were full, not only with scriptural subjects, but with the stories of every saint enrolled in the calendar, or registered in legendary lore. No more pictures were wanted, —and then it was found that there were no more painters to do them! The art languished, and gradually disappeared. They could not take down the Madona of Foligno, or new-stucco the ceiling at Parma, that other artists might undo what Raphael and Correggio had done. Some of them, to be sure, did follow this desperate course; and spent their time, as in the case of Leonardo's Last Supper at Milan, in painting over, that is, in

defacing the works of their predecessors. Afterwards, they applied themselves to landscape and classical subjects, with great success for a time, as we see in Claude and N. Poussin; but the original *state* impulse was gone.

What confirms the foregoing account, is, that at Venice, and other places out of the more immediate superintendence of the Papal See, though there also sacred subjects were in great request, yet the art being patronized by rich merchants and nobles, took a more decided turn to portraits;—magnificent indeed, and hitherto unrivalled, for the beauty of the costume, the character of the faces, and the marked pretensions of the persons who sat for them,—but still widely remote from that public and national interest that it assumed in the Roman school. We see, in like manner, that painting in Holland and Flanders took yet a different direction; was mostly scenic and ornamental, or confined to local and personal subjects. Rubens's pictures, for example, differ from Raphael's by a total want of religious enthusiasm and studied refinement of expression, even where the subjects are the same; and Rembrandt's portraits differ from Titian's in the grossness and want of animation and dignity of his characters. There was an inherent difference in the look of a Doge of Venice or one of the Medici family, and that of a Dutch burgomaster. The climate had affected the picture, through the character of the sitter, as it affected the genius of the artist (if not otherwise) through the class of subjects he was constantly called upon to paint. What turn painting has lately taken, or is likely to take with us, now remains to be seen.

With the Memoirs of Sir Joshua Mr Farington very properly connects the history of the institution of the Royal Academy, from which he dates the hopes and origin of all sound art in this country. There is here at first sight an inversion of the usual order of things. The institution of academies in most countries has been coeval with the decline of art: in ours, it seems, is the harbinger, and main prop of its success. Mr F. thus traces the outline of this part of his subject with the enthusiasm of an artist, and the fidelity of an historian.

At this period (1760) a plan was formed by the artists of the metropolis to draw the attention of their fellow-citizens to their ingenious labours; with a view both to an increase of patronage, and the cultivation of taste. Hitherto works of that kind produced in the country were seen only by a few; the people in general knew nothing of what was passing in the arts. Private collections were then inaccessible, and there were no public ones; nor any casual display of the productions of genius, except what the ordinary sales by auction occasionally offered. Nothing, therefore, could exceed the ignorance



of a people who were in themselves learned, ingenious, and highly cultivated in all things, excepting the arts of design.

' In consequence of this privation, it was conceived that a Public Exhibition of the works of the most eminent Artists could not fail to make a powerful impression; and if occasionally repeated, might ultimately produce the most satisfactory effects. The scheme was no sooner proposed than adopted; and being carried into immediate execution, the result exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the projectors. All ranks of people crowded to see the delightful novelty; it was the universal topic of conversation; and a passion for the arts was excited by that first manifestation of native talent, which, cherished by the continued operation of the same cause, has ever since been increasing in strength, and extending its effects through every part of the Empire.

' The history of our Exhibitions affords itself the strongest evidence of their impressive effect upon public taste. At their commencement, though men of enlightened minds could distinguish and appreciate what was excellent, the admiration of the *many* was confined to subjects either gross or puerile, and commonly to the meanest efforts of intellect; whereas, at this time, the whole train of subjects most popular in the earlier exhibitions have disappeared. The loaf and cheese, that could provoke hunger, the cat and canary-bird, and the dead mackarel on a deal-board, have long ceased to produce astonishment and delight; while truth of imitation now finds innumerable admirers, though combined with the high qualities of beauty, grandeur, and taste.

' To our Public Exhibitions, and to arrangements that followed in consequence of their introduction, this change must be chiefly attributed. *The present generation appears to be composed of a new, and at least, with respect to the arts, a superior order of beings.* Generally speaking, their thoughts, their feelings, and language on these subjects differ entirely from what they were sixty years ago. No just opinions were at that time entertained on the merits of ingenious productions of this kind. The state of the public mind, incapable of discriminating excellence from inferiority, proved incontrovertibly that a right sense of art in the spectator can only be acquired by long and frequent observation; and that, without proper opportunities to improve the mind and the eye, a nation would continue insensible of the true value of the fine arts.

' The first or probationary Exhibition, which opened April 21st, 1760, was at a large room in the Strand, belonging to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, which had then been instituted five or six years. It is natural to conclude, that the first artist in the country was not indifferent to the success of a plan which promised to be so extensively useful. Accordingly, four of his pictures were for the first time here placed before the public, with whom, by the channel now opened, he continued in constant intercourse as long as he lived.

' Encouraged by the successful issue of the first experiment, the *artistical body* determined that it should be repeated the following year. Owing, however, to some inconveniences experienced at their former place of exhibition, and also to a desire to be perfectly independent in their proceedings, they engaged, for their next public display, a spacious room near the Spring Gardens' entrance into the Park; at which place the second Exhibition opened, May 9th, 1761. Here Reynolds sent his fine picture of Lord Ligonier on horseback, a portrait of the Rev. Laurence Sterne, and three others. . . . .

' The artists had now fully proved the efficacy of their plan, and their income exceeding their expenditure, affording a reasonable hope of a permanent establishment, they thought they might solicit a Royal Charter of Incorporation; and having applied to his Majesty for that purpose, he was pleased to accede to their request. This measure, however, which was intended to consolidate the body of artists, was of no avail: on the contrary, it was probably the cause of its dissolution, for in less than four years a separation took place, which led to the establishment of the Royal Academy, and finally to the extinction of the incorporated Society. The charter was dated January 26th, 1765; the secession took place in October, 1768; and the Royal Academy was instituted December 10th in the same year.' p. 59.

On this statement we must be allowed to make a few remarks. First, the four greatest names in English art, Hogarth, Reynolds, Wilson \* and West, were not formed by the Academy, but were formed before it; and the first gave it as his opinion, that it would be a death-blow to the art. He considered an Academy as a school for servile mediocrity, a hotbed for cabal and dirty competition, and a vehicle for the display of idle pretensions and empty parade.

Secondly, we agree with the writer as to the deplorable state of the art and of the public taste in general, which, at the period in question, was as gross as it was insipid: but we do not think that it has been improved so much since, as Mr Farington is willing to suppose; nor that the Academy has taken more than *half-measures* for improving or refining it.

' They found it poor at first, and kept it so.'

They have attended to their own interests, and flattered their customers, while they have neglected or cajoled the public. They may indeed look back with triumph and pity to 'the cat and canary-bird, the dead mackatel and Deal board;' but they seem to rest satisfied with this conquest over themselves, and, 'leaving the things that are behind, have not pressed forward (with equal ardour) to the things that are before.' 'Theirs is a

---

\* This name, for some reason or other, does not once occur in these Memoirs.

very moderate, not a Radical Reform in this respect. We do not find, even in the latest Exhibitions at Somerset House, 'innumerable examples of truth of imitation, combined with the high qualities of beauty, grandeur, and taste.' The mass of the pictures exhibited there are *not* calculated to give the English people a true notion, not merely of high art (as it is emphatically called), but of the genuine objects of art at all. We do not believe—to take a plain test of the progress we have made—that nine-tenths of the persons who go there annually, and who go through the Catalogue regularly, would know a Guido from a daub—the finest picture from one not badly executed perhaps, but done in the worst taste, and on the falsest principles. The vast majority of the pictures received there, and hung up in the most conspicuous places, are pictures painted to please the natural vanity or fantastic ignorance of the artist's sitters, their friends and relations, and to lead to more commissions for half and whole lengths—or else pictures painted purposely to be seen in the Exhibition, to strike across the Great Room, to catch attention, and force admiration, in the distraction and dissipation of a thousand foolish faces and new-gilt frames, by gaudy colouring and meretricious grace. We appeal to any man of judgment, whether this is not a brief, but true summary, of 'the annual show' at the Royal Academy? And is this the way to advance the interests of art, or to fashion the public taste? There is not one head in ten painted as a study from nature, or with a view to bring out the real qualities of the mind or countenance. If there is any such improvident example of unfashionable sincerity, it is put out of countenance by the prevailing tone of *rouged* and smiling folly, and affectation all around it.

The only pictures painted in any quantity as studies from nature, free from the glosses of sordid art and the tincture of vanity, are *portraits of places*; and it cannot be denied that there are many of these that have a true and powerful look of nature; but then, as if this was a matter of great indifference, and nobody's business to see to, they are seldom any thing more than bare sketches, hastily got up for the chance of a purchaser, and left unfinished to save time and trouble. They are not, in general, lofty conceptions or selections of beautiful scenery, but mere common out-of-door views, relying for their value on their literal fidelity; and where, consequently, the exact truth and perfect identity of the imitation is the more indispensable.—Our own countryman, Wilkie, in scenes of domestic and familiar life, is equally deserving of praise for the arrangement of his subjects, and care in the execution: but we have to lament that

he too is in some degree chargeable with that fickleness and desultoriness in the pursuit of excellence, which we have noticed above as incident to our native artists, and which, we think, has kept him stationary, instead of being progressive, for some years past. He appeared at one time as if he was near touching the point of perfection in his peculiar department; and he *may* do it yet! But how small a part do his works form of the Exhibition, and how unlike all the rest!

It was the panic-fear that all this daubing and varnishing would be seen through, and the scales fall off from the eyes of the public, in consequence of the exhibition of some of the finest specimens of the Old Masters at the British Institution, that called into clandestine notoriety that disgraceful production, the *Catalogue Raisonné*. The concealed authors of that work conceived, that a discerning public would learn more of the art from the simplicity, dignity, force and truth, of these admired and lasting models, in a short season or two, than they had done from the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy for the last fifty years: that they would see that it did not consist entirely in tints and varnishes and megilps and washes for the skin, but that all the effects of colour, and charms of expression, might be united with purity of tone, with articulate forms, and exquisite finishing. They saw this conviction rapidly taking place in the public mind, and they shrunk back from it 'with jealous leer malign.' They persuaded themselves, and had the courage to try to persuade others, that to exhibit approved specimens of art in general, selected from the works of the most famous and accomplished masters, was to destroy the germ of native art; was cruelly to strangle the growing taste and enthusiasm of the public for art in its very birth; was to blight the well-earned reputation, and strike at the honest livelihood of the liberal professors of the school of painting in England. They therefore set to work to decry these productions as worthless and odious in the sight of the true adept: they smeared over, with every epithet of low abuse, works and names sacred to fame, and to generations to come; they spared no pains to heap ridicule and obloquy on those who had brought these works forward: they did every thing to disgust and blind the public to their excellence, by showing in themselves a hatred and a loathing of all high excellence, and of all established reputation in art, in which their paltry vanity and mercenary spite were not concerned. They proved, beyond all contradiction, that to keep back the taste of the town, and the knowledge of the student, to the point to which the *Academy* had found it practicable to conduct it by its example, was the object of a powerful and active party.

of professional intriguers in this country. If the Academy had anyhand, directly or indirectly, in this unprincipled outrage upon taste and decency, they ought to be disfranchised (like Gram-pound) to-morrow, as utterly unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

The alarm indeed (in one sense) was not unfounded: for many persons who had long been dazzled, not illumined, by the glare of the most modern and fashionable productions, began to open their eyes to the beauties and loveliness of painting, and to see reflected there as in a mirror those hues, those expressions, those transient and heavenly glances of nature, which had often charmed their own minds, but of which they could find the traces nowhere else, and became true worshippers at the shrine of genuine art. Whether this taste will spread beyond the immediate gratification of the moment, or stimulate the rising generation to new efforts, and to the adoption of a new and purer style, is another question; with regard to which, for reasons above explained, we are not very sanguine.

We have a great respect for *high* art, and an anxiety for its advancement and cultivation; but we have a greater still for the advancement and encouragement of *true* art. That is the first and the last step. The knowledge of what is contained in nature is the only foundation of legitimate art; and the perception of beauty and power, in whatever objects or in whatever degree they subsist, is the test of real genius. The principle is the same in painting an arch-angel's or a butterfly's wing; and the very finest picture in the finest collection may be one of a very common subject. We speak and think of Rembrandt as Rembrandt, of Raphael as Raphael, not of the one as a portrait, of the other as a history painter. Portrait may become history, or history portrait, as the one or the other gives the soul or the mask of the face. 'That is true history,' said an eminent critic, on seeing Titian's picture of Pope Julius II. and his two nephews. He who should set down Claude as a mere landscape painter, must know nothing of what Claude was in himself; and those who class Hogarth as a painter of low life, only show their ignorance of human nature. High art does not consist in high or epic subjects, but in the manner of treating those subjects; and that manner among us, as far as we have proceeded, has we think been false and exceptionable. We appeal from the common cant on this subject to the Elgin marbles. They are high art, confessedly: But they are also true art, in our sense of the word. They do not deviate from truth and nature in order to arrive at a fancied superiority to truth and nature. They do not represent a vapid abstraction, but the entire, undoubted, concrete object they profess to imitate.

They are like casts of the finest living forms in the world, taken in momentary action. They are nothing more: and therefore certain great critics who had been educated in the ideal school of art, think nothing of them. They do not conform to a vague, unmeaning standard, made out of the fastidious likings or dislikings of the artist; they are carved out of the living, imperishable forms of nature, as the marble of which they are composed was hewn from its native rock. They contain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We cannot say so much of the general style of history-painting in this country, which has proceeded, as a first principle, on the determined and deliberate dereliction of living nature, both as means and end. Grandeur was made to depend on leaving out the details. Ideal grace and beauty were made to consist in neutral forms, and character and expression. The first could produce nothing but slovenliness; the second nothing but insipidity. The Elgin marbles have proved, by ocular demonstration, that the utmost freedom and grandeur of style is compatible with the minutest details,—the variety of the subordinate parts not destroying the masses in the productions of art more than in those of nature. Grandeur without softness and precision, is only another name for grossness. These invaluable fragments of antiquity have also proved, beyond dispute, that ideal beauty and historic truth do not consist in middle or *average* forms, &c. but in harmonious outlines, in unity of action, and in the utmost refinement of character and expression. We there see art following close in the footsteps of nature, and exalted, raised, refined with it to the utmost extent that either was capable of. With us, all this has been reversed; and we have discarded nature at first, only to flounder about, and be lost in a Limbo of Vanity. With them invention rose from the ground of imitation: with us, the boldness of the invention was acknowledged in proportion as no traces of imitation were discoverable. Our greatest and most successful candidates in the epic walk of art, have been those who founded their pretensions to be history-painters on their not being portrait-painters. They could not paint that which they had seen, and therefore they must be qualified to paint that which they had not seen. There was not any one part of any one of their pictures good for any thing; and therefore the whole was grand, and an example of lofty art! There was not, in all probability, a single head in an acre of canvas, that, taken by itself, was more than a worthless daub, scarcely fit to be hung up as a sign at an ale-house door: But a hundred of these bad portraits or wretched caricatures, made, by numerical addition, an admirable histori-

cal picture ! The faces, hands, eyes, feet, had neither beauty nor expression, nor drawing, nor colouring ; and yet the composition and arrangement of these abortive and crude materials, which might as well or better have been left blanks, displayed the mind of the great master. Not one tone, one line, one look for the eye to dwell upon with pure and intense delight, in all this endless scope of subject and field of canvas.

We cannot say that we in general like very large pictures ; for this reason, that, like overgrown men, they are apt to be bullies and cowards. They profess a great deal, and perform little. They are often a contrivance not to display magnificent conceptions to the greatest advantage, but to throw the spectator to a distance, where it is impossible to distinguish either gross faults or real beauties.

The late Mr West's pictures were admirable for the composition and grouping. In these respects they could not be better ; as we see in the print of the death of General Wolfe : but for the rest, he might as well have set up a parcel of figures in wood, and painted them over with a sign-post brush, and then copied what he saw, and it would have been just as good. His skill in drawing was confined to a knowledge of mechanical proportions and measurements, and was not guided in the line of beauty, or employed to give force to expression. He, however, laboured long and diligently to advance the interests of art in this his adopted country ; and if he did not do more, it was the fault of the coldness and formality of his genius, not of the man.—Barry was another instance of those who scorn nature, and are scorned by her. He could not make a likeness of any one object in the universe : when he attempted it, he was like a drunken man on horseback ; his eye reeled, his hand refused its office,—and accordingly he set up for an example of *the great style* in art, which, like charity, covers all other defects. It would be unfair at the same time to deny, that some of the figures and groupes in his picture of the Olympic Games in the Adelphi, are beautiful designs after the antique, as far as outline is concerned. In colour and expression they are like wild Indians. The other pictures of his there, are not worthy of notice ; except as warnings to the misguided student who would scale the high and abstracted steep of art, without following the path of nature. Yet Barry was a man of genius, and an enthusiastic lover of his art. But he unfortunately mistook his ardent aspiration after excellence for the power to achieve it ; assumed the capacity to execute the greatest works instead of acquiring it ; supposed that ' the bodiless creations of his brain ' were to start out from the walls of the Adelphi like a dream or a fairy tale ;—and the result has been, that all the splendid illu-

sions of his undigested ambition have, 'like the baseless fabric of a vision, left not a wreck behind.' His name is not a light or beacon, but a by-word and an ill omen in art. What he has left behind him in writing on the subject, contains much real feeling and interesting thought.—Mr Fuseli is another distinguished artist who complains that nature puts him out. But *his* distortions and vagaries are German, and not English: they lie like a night-mare on the breast of our native art. They are too recondite, obscure, and extravagant for us: we only want to get over the ground with large, clumsy strides, as fast as we can; and do not go out of our way in search of absurdity. We cannot consider his genius as naturalized among us, after the lapse of more than half a century: and if in saying this we do not pay him a compliment, we certainly do not intend it as a very severe censure. Mr Fuseli has wit and words at will; and, though he had never touched a pencil, would be a man of extraordinary pretensions and talents.

Mr Haydon is a young artist of great promise, and much ardour and energy; and has lately painted a picture which has carried away universal admiration. Without wishing to detract from that tribute of deserved applause, we may be allowed to suggest (and with no unfriendly voice) that he has there, in our judgment, laid in the groundwork, and raised the scaffolding, of a noble picture; but no more. There is spirit, conception, force, and effect: but all this is done by the first going over of the canvas. It is the foundation, not the superstructure of a first-rate work of art. It is a rude outline, a striking and masterly sketch.

Milton has given us a description of the growth of a plant—

—'So from the root

Springs lighter the green stalk; from thence the leaves

More airy; last the bright consummate flower.'

And we think this image might be transferred to the slow and perfect growth of works of imagination. We have in the present instance the rough materials, the solid substance and the glowing spirit of art; and only want the last finishing and patient working up. Does Mr Haydon think this too much to bestow on works designed to breathe the air of immortality, and to shed the fragrance of thought on a distant age? Does he regard it as beneath him to do what Raphael has done? We repeat it, here are bold contrasts, distinct grouping, a vigorous hand and striking conceptions. What remains then, but that he should add to bold contrasts fine gradations,—to masculine drawing nice inflections,—to vigorous pencilling those softened and trembling hues which hover like air on the canvas,—to massy and prominent grouping the exquisite finish—



ing of every face and figure, nerve and artery, so as to have each part instinct with life and thought and sentiment, and to produce an impression in the spectator not only that he can touch the actual substance, but that it would shrink from the touch? In a word, Mr Haydon has strength: we would wish him to add to it refinement. Till he does this, he will not remove the common stigma on British art. Nor do we ask impossibilities of him: we only ask him to make that a leading principle in his pictures, which he has followed so happily in parts. Let him take his own Penitent Girl as a model,—paint up to this standard through all the rest of the figures, and we shall be satisfied. His Christ in the present picture we do not like, though in this we have no less an authority against us than Mrs Siddons. Mr Haydon has gone at much length into a description of his *idea* of this figure in the Catalogue, which is a practice we disapprove: for it deceives the artist himself, and may mislead the public. In the idea he conveys to us from the canvas, there can be no deception. Mr Haydon is a devoted admirer of the Elgin marbles; and he has taken advantage of their breadth and size and masses. We would urge him to follow them also into their details, their involved graces, the texture of the skin, the indication of a vein or muscle, the waving line of beauty, their calm and motionless expression; into all, in which they follow nature. But to do this, he must go to nature and study her more and more, in the greatest and the smallest things. In short, we wish to see this artist paint a picture (he has now every motive to exertion and improvement) which shall not only have a striking and imposing effect in the aggregate, but where the impression of the whole shall be the joint and irresistible effect of the value of every part. This is our notion of fine art, which we offer to him, not by way of disparagement or discouragement, but to do our best to promote the cause of truth and the emulation of the highest excellence.

We had quite forgotten the chief object of Mr Farington's book, Sir Joshua's dispute with the Academy about Mr Bonomi's election; and it is too late to return to it now. We think, however, that Sir Joshua was in the right, and the Academy in the wrong; but we must refer those who require our reasons to Mr Farington's account; who, though he differs from us in his conclusion, has given the facts too fairly to justify any other opinion. He has also some excellent observations on the increasing respectability of artists in society, from which, and from various other passages of his work, we are inclined to infer that, on subjects not relating to the Academy, he would be a sensible, ingenious, and liberal writer.

ART. V. *Travels in Nubia ; by the late JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT. Published by the Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. With Maps, &c.* 1 Vol. 4to. London, Murray, 1819.

**M**<sup>r</sup> LEWIS BURCKHARDT was a young Swiss, employed by the African Association to make discoveries in that country. He is recently dead ; and the Society are now publishing the result of his labours. Thoroughly aware that a great part of the failures of African discoveries proceeded from their want of previous education in the customs, manners, and languages of the East, Mr Burckhardt prepared himself, by the study of Arabic, by a residence of six years in Syria and Egypt, by journies in Nubia, in Palestine, in Arabia, and in the countries between Egypt and the Red Sea, for his great purpose of penetrating into the heart of Africa. His knowledge of Arabic and the Koran were so great, that after the severest examination by doctors of the Mahometan law, appointed for that express purpose by Mohammed Ali, Pacha of Egypt, he was pronounced to be not only a real, but a very learned Mahometan. But as his skill in Oriental manners and languages improved, his constitution became more impaired ; and he became at last the victim of a tour in Arabia ;—dying better qualified than any other traveller hitherto employed by the Association for the purpose of discovery in Africa.

He appears from his books and letters to have been a modest, laborious, learned, and sensible man ; exempt from prejudice ; unattached to systems ; detailing what he saw plainly and correctly ; and of very prudent and discreet conduct. The present publication consists of many of his letters to the Secretary of the African Association and to Sir Joseph Banks, and of the details of two distinct tours ; the one from the southern boundaries of Upper Egypt to the north of Dongola ; the other from Upper Egypt, in a south-west direction, through Berber, Shendy, Jacha, to Sonahim on the Red Sea, and to Jidda. Mr Burckhardt was two years and a half in Syria ; during which period he visited Palmyra, Damascus, the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and the unexplored country of the Haomian or Amanistia. After his final departure from Aleppo, his head-quarters in Syria, he revisited Damascus and the Haoman ; and in his way to Egypt visited Tiberias, Nazareth, the countries to the eastward, south of the Dead Sea ; and from thence across the Desert of El Jyk to Cairo. The first part of this publication contains extracts from his correspondence

during these Syrian tours, and previous to his arrival in Egypt. In one of these letters he says,

'Two Persian Dervishes arrived here about two months ago, who had lived upwards of two years at the Wahabi court of Derayah. I got acquainted with one of them, a young man of twenty-two; the other has gone to Mosul, from whence his companion shortly expects his return. The latter has been in the habit, singular enough for a Mohammedan traveller, of keeping a regular journal of his travels, describing whatever struck his inquisitive mind, and abounding, as I understand, with geographical notices.' p. xxvii.

This is a very remarkable circumstance. A few more such instances, and the African Association might spare themselves the trouble of sending Hornemans and Burckhardts into Africa. The difficulty of getting into Timbuctoo is only to a Christian. If the Mahometans who can easily get there begin to read, write, and observe, the spell that hangs over Africa will soon be broken, and the curiosity of learned men receive the long-delayed gratification.

Among his Arabic exercises, Mr Burckhardt mentions, that he had translated Robinson Crusoe into that language, and given to it the name of *Dumet Bahur*, the Pearl of the Sea. Some of his small or tentative excursions into different parts of Syria, appear to have been very unfortunate: twice, in spite of solemn bargains with Shekhs and high-blooded Arabs, he is deserted and pillaged in the desert. In one of these instances, the robbers leave him nothing but his breeches. These he thought tolerably secure; but he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the manners and customs of the East. A female Arab met him with these breeches; and a very serious conflict for them ensued between the parties. The Association have not stated the result.

We are much struck by the perpetual miseries to which this traveller is subjected. In all his journies, he seems kick'd and cuff'd by the whole party, and subjected to the grossest contempt and derision, for the appearance of poverty he always thought it prudent to assume. His system was, that the less display of wealth a man makes in the East, the safer he is. This may be true enough in general; but when he travelled with a caravan containing merchants who had ten or twelve camels, and twenty or thirty slaves each, he might surely have ventured on the display of one camel, and one or two slaves; for in one journey he travels upon an ass, without a slave; and has in consequence his own wood to cut, his water-skins to fill, and his supper to dress. He receives as much respect, therefore, as a man would do who was to rub down his own horse in England; and is well nigh overpowered by the great and unnece-

ary fatigues to which this violent economy subjects him. We do not remember that other travellers in Africa, proceeding with caravans, have found it necessary to affect such an extreme state of pauperism; and Mr Burckhardt himself admits, that Ali Bey, the pretended Arabian, penetrated everywhere in the East by the very opposite system of magnificence and profusion, even though he was suspected not to be a Mussulman by the natives themselves.

What has happened to the celebrated sect of the Wahabees since the publication of this book, we do not know; but the result of Mr Burckhardt's intelligence is, that they were nearly crushed by Mohammed Ali, the present Pacha of Egypt. One effect of the power of the Wahabees, while it continued, was to stop the pilgrim caravan to Mecca; an event which diffused the utmost consternation among the religious Mahometans, who were in the habit of exporting great quantities of coffee from the holy city, with considerable profit, to Damascus, Aleppo, and Constantinople. The good English, hearing of this, with their accustomed mercantile alacrity, immediately poured in large quantities of West Indian coffee into Syria, and filled the cups and pockets, and dried the tears of the orthodox Mussulmans. At present, West Indian coffee has entirely supplanted that of Yemen all over Syria, and the Syrian desert.

In his visit to the peninsula of Mount Sinai, Mr Burckhardt meets with a substance which he considers to be the same as the manna mentioned in the Books of Moses.

'A botanist would find a rich harvest in these high regions, in the most elevated parts of which, a variety of sweet scented herbs grow. The Bedouins collect to this day the manna, under the very same circumstances described in the books of Moses. Whenever the rains have been plentiful during the winter, it drops abundantly from the tamarisk (in Arabic, Tarfa); a tree very common in the Syrian and Arabian deserts, but producing, as far as I know, no manna anywhere else. They gather it before sunrise, because if left in the sun melts; its taste is very sweet, much resembling honey; they use it we do sugar, principally in their dishes composed of flour. When purified over the fire, it keeps for many months; the quantity collected is inconsiderable, because it is exclusively the produce of the Tarfa, which tree is met with only in a few valleys at the foot of the highest granite chain. The inhabitants of the Peninsula, amounting to almost four thousand, complain of the want of rain and of pasturage: the state of the country must therefore be much altered from what it was in the time of Moses, when all the tribes of Beni Israel found food here for their cattle.' p. lxxvii.

By this passage the author does not mean, we presume, that this substance is only met with in the peninsula of Mount Sinai,

but that it is confined to the Syrian and Arabian deserts; indeed, in page xlv. he states it to be met with in the Valley of Ghor, near the Dead Sea.

'About half way (says Mr Burckhardt) from Ras Abou Mohammed to Akaba, lies Dahab (Deuter. i. 1.), an anchoring place, with date plantations, and several mounds of rubbish covering perhaps ancient Hebrew habitations; five hours north of Ras Abou Mohammed lies the harbour of Sherm, the only one on this coast frequented by large ships. In its neighbourhood are volcanic rocks; I could find no others of that description in any part of the Sinai deserts, although the Arabs, as well as the priests of the convent, pretend that from the mountain of Om Shommar (about eight hours S. S. W. from Djebel Mousa), loud explosions are sometimes heard, accompanied with smoke. I visited that mountain, but searched in vain for any traces indicating a volcano. The library of the convent of Mount Sinai contains a vast number of Arabic MSS. and Greek books; the former are of little literary value; of the latter I brought away two beautiful Aldine editions, a Homer, and an Anthology. The priests would not show me their Arabic memorandum books, previous to the fifteenth century. From those I saw, I copied some very interesting documents concerning the former state of the country, and their quarrels with the Bedouins.' p. lxviii.

Immediately after this follows a description of Memnon's Head, and the infinite trouble it occasioned to himself, Mr Salt, and Mr Belzoni, in transporting it into England. What loss it would have been to the arts if they had miscarried in their project, we will not pretend to appreciate: It has certainly the merit of being the largest and heaviest head ever produced by the sculptor's chisel. It seems to be a great object with this traveller, to inform himself minutely of the state of the Bedouin Arabs. It is right to know all; but why are the Bedouin Arabs so great an object with Mr Burckhardt? If they have preserved their customs unchanged through many centuries, this is only a proof that they are a stupid and savage people; but the idea that the 'Bedouins are now what they were 1260 years ago,' seems, in the estimation of this gentleman, to be a great subject of panegyric, and a great stimulus to curiosity. To us, the greatest praise which could be bestowed upon any people, and the greatest incentive to study and visit them, would be to hear that they had not the shape of a tea-pot, nor the cut of a coat; nor the fashion of a saw, nor a custom, nor a law, nor a form of politeness, which they had 1200 years ago.

There are, in various parts of this volume, allusions to published and unpublished travels, with some of which we shall endeavour to make our readers better acquainted.

'I am certain that you take a lively interest in the travels of the unfortunate Seetzen, who was poisoned five years ago in Yemen.'

His labours, I can assure you, have been very extensive, and conducted in a most enlightened manner. His intimate acquaintance with all branches of natural history was applied with indefatigable zeal to countries the most difficult of access, and he had many times nearly become a martyr to those pursuits, before he met with his ultimate fate. It has fallen to me, not to trace his footsteps, in many hitherto unknown parts of Syria and Arabia Petraea, and again in the Hedjaz: these, together with what I heard from the Europeans who knew him at Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, as well as from many Arabs on the road, have inspired me with as great a respect for his private character, as the dispersed memoirs of his researches already published, must give every reader for his literary acquirements. Although endowed with a lively fancy, and even with considerable poetical talents, he was a man of plain truth. If sometimes over fond of speculating upon the facts which he had collected, yet I am certain that, in stating those facts, he observed the strictest adherence to truth; and I have not the smallest doubt, that if he had lived to publish the mass of knowledge which he had acquired during his travels, he would have far excelled all travellers who ever wrote on the same countries. Mr Salt has lately shown me a letter which he received in 1811, from Mr Rutland, then factor at Mokha, acquainting him with the death of Seetzen, which had just taken place; and making mention, at the same time, of several papers which he had left as a present to Mr Rutland, who adds, that as they are in German he cannot read them. As Mr Seetzen would hardly have thought it worth while to make such a present to a person who could so little appreciate its value, I am much inclined to suspect they were only left in his hands as a deposit. Exact designs and descriptions of Mekka and other places, vocabularies of eighteen African languages, &c. are stated to be among the number.

An Italian physician of the name of Cervelli, now established as a merchant at Alexandria, made four years ago some interesting travels in the North of Africa; he was attached to the son of Yusef Pasha of Tripoli, in the capacity of physician; and his patron being sent by his father to reconquer Fezzan, the chief of which had been dispossessed by the payment of the tribute. Cervelli accompanied the Pasha's son upon that expedition. They first went from Tripoli by land to Derne, near to which Mr Cervelli saw the splendid ruins of Cyrene, at least what he supposed to be the remains of that town; they went from Derne to Augla, and from thence to Fezzan, where they remained about six weeks, and then crossed over a chain of mountains, where he found snow (for it was in winter), by Sokhne to Tripoli.

He heard of two English travellers having been at Fezzan, of whom one died, and the other was never heard of after his departure from Goudan; the name of Hornemann was unknown to Mr Cervelli. *ixciii-lxxx.*

We were very glad to find that Adams the sailor comes in for a share of Mr B.'s approbation, and that, from the extracts

which he read in the Quarterly-Review, he believed the travels themselves to be authentic. The Felata Bedouins who came from the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo, gave him the same account of that city as is to be met with in Adams. Many details in Adams he reprehends, and disbelieves; but he is clearly of opinion, that, in the main, the travels are authentic. But of all travellers, *Batouta* seems to have been the greatest.

‘When I first rapidly ran over his book, I took him for no better than Damberger the pseudo African traveller; but a more careful perusal has convinced me that he had really been in the places, and seen what he describes. His name was Aby Abdallah Mohammed Ibn Abdallah el Lowaty el Tandjy, surnamed Ibn Batouta. He was born at Tangier in Barbary, from which place he derives the name of Tandjy. He published his travels after the year 755, A.H. They consist of a large quarto volume, which is so scarce in Egypt that I never saw it; but I know that a copy exists at Cairo, though I was not able to discover who was the owner. A small abridgement in quarto is more common, and of that I have two copies. I shall give here a rapid sketch of his travels, which lasted for 30 years. Being a learned man, he found everywhere a polite and generous reception from Moslim chiefs and kings; and he lived, as a true Deserwish, sometimes in great affluence, and sometimes in poverty.’ p. 534.

He then proceeds to give a sketch of *Batouta*’s travels, which is very curious, but too long for insertion.

‘He was the greatest known traveller of any age, as far at least as relates to the quantity of ground travelled over. The information contained in his complete work, regarding the north of Persia, India, China, and the interior of Africa, must be invaluable; and as he saw more of Africa than most travellers, I thought it not irrelevant to give the reader the result of my examination of his abridged work.’ p. 537.

Our readers are perhaps aware, that Egypt, like many other branches of the Turkish empire, is nearly severed from the main body; and that, under the vigorous government of Mohammed Ali, it has lately been tranquillized, rendered safe for travellers and merchants, and brought, comparatively with its antient turbulence, into a state of calm and civilization. After having broken the power of the Mamelukes in several engagements, he allured a great part of the remainder to Cairo, under the most solemn promises of safety and promotion. It is almost needless to say that he there cut their throats. It is rather singular, however, that another party of Mamelukes should afterwards suffer themselves to be duped to the same death, in the same place, by the same promises. This is flinging away life in the most foolish manner we ever heard of. Mohammed, among other great works, is reopening the antient canal from Rha-

manye to Alexandria; a measure become absolutely necessary, from the heaps of sand which overwhelm the bar of Rosetta. In 1818 he carried a causeway across the mouth of the lake Madye, and in this manner established a land road from Rosetta to Alexandria. This canal, which it is calculated will employ 60,000 men for two years, at an expense of 2,000,000 dollars, will open a water carriage from all parts of Egypt to Alexandria, at all seasons of the year. Perhaps the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, will be undertaken afterwards by the same enterprising spirit; particularly if the direct intercourse with India, which he has already set on foot, succeeds according to his wishes, and is not opposed by the bigotry and illiberality of the India Company. Mohammed Ali has established a large fabric of muskets at Cairo; an Italian has set up a gunpowder manufactory, where he has constantly 200 men at work; an Englishman is beginning to establish a distillery of rum at the Pacha's expense, and upon a very large scale; 20 ships belonging to the Pacha are trading to Italy and Spain, six ships in the Red Sea to Yemen; and immense sums have been spent in fortifying Alexandria and the Castle of Cairo.

Upper Egypt enjoys at present perfect tranquillity, under the severe but equitable government of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mohammed Aly. The taxes are moderate, and the whole country is equally assessed; no avanies are practised, and the soldiery is kept in strict order. By secularizing a part of the revenues of the church, such as the superfluous income of mosques, schools, public cisterns, Olemaa, village Shikhs, &c. the Pasha has of late considerably enriched his treasury. The clerical interest is of course now in opposition, although the Pasha has become the restorer of the faith, by delivering the holy cities. The Mamelouks have no chance of succeeding in any attempt upon Egypt, as long as Mohammed Aly keeps in power; but if he should happen to fall, I conceive that, although their number is now reduced to three hundred fighting men only, they would forthwith regain their lost seat in Egypt, where their friends are still very numerous, especially among the most daring adventurers, who greatly dislike the just and vigorous measures of the actual government. p. liv.

With the permission, and under the Firmauns of this able and active usurper, Mr Burckhardt travelled quietly through Nubia up to the very confines of Dongola, along the banks of the Nile. It seems to us to be a journey of very little interest, except to those who are exceedingly curious about the antiquities of Egypt;—and even for these there is no novelty here of any great importance—and no drawings. The country everywhere presented the same appearance of misery and tyranny, which is



so characteristic of the East. The same divine and human machinery were at work, which have in all ages so long attracted the notice of Oriental travellers; a burning sun rendering fertility more fertile, and barrenness more formidable.—The pride, ignorance, and ferocity of the followers of Mahomet,—the unbounded despotism of the master,—the deepest misery of the slaves,—the earth languishing in its finest regions and creations,—and on every side (where the Garden of Eden might be), the silence and solitude of despotism.

Mr Burckhardt's journey begins at Assouan, the southern boundary of Upper Egypt; and, keeping on the banks of the Nile, he travels of course in a direction nearly south, for 450 miles. Nubia, before the reign of Sultan Selim, was divided between different tribes of Arabs, and the people of Dongola; or rather was a prize for which these different powers were always contesting. One of the Arab tribes, in a state of temporary inferiority to its rivals, applied to Sultan Selim for protection, who sent them several hundred Bosnian soldiers, under a commander named Hassan Coosic. Three brothers, his descendants, are the present Governors of Nubia. They pay an annual tribute of 120% to the Pacha of Egypt. Their chief residence is *Den*, on the Nile; but they are almost continually moving about, for the purpose of gathering the taxes from their subjects, who, like the subjects of our Government in Ireland, pay only upon the approach of a superior force. The whole revenue of the country, divided among the three brothers, is not 10,000%. The taxes are estimated upon the number and power of the water-wheels.

The law of paying money for blood is established in Nubia—one of the first victories which mankind gain over their savage passions. The inhabitants, from the first Cataract to the frontiers of Dongola, do not plough their fields after the inundation has subsided, as they do in Egypt. The waters above the Cataract never rise sufficiently high to overflow the shore. Irrigation is therefore carried on by means of water-wheels, put in action as soon as the river has subsided. The first seed sown is that of a grain called *Damtha*. The ground is again irrigated after this crop is reaped, and barley is sown; and sometimes a third crop after this. The people wear blue shirts, if they wear any thing; and live in mud cottages, covered with the stalks of grains, and furnished with a few earthen pots. They are generally armed; but ammunition is very scarce. When Mr Burckhardt left the camp at Tinareth, the nephew of the Chief ran after him two miles to obtain a single cartridge. The Nubians make palm-brandy, and barley wine or beer. Date spirits are made, and publicly sold, from Siart southward through the

whole of Upper Egypt. The climate is intensely hot, but healthy: in the course of five weeks, not one case of disease was observed. The small-pox is the plague of this country: the real plague is hardly known there. They are an handsome race; and the women are virtuous in spite of their vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness knows no bounds. The people are kind, civil, curious; in some parts not inhospitable. Pilfering is so uncommon among them, that any person convicted of such a crime would be expelled from his village by the unanimous voice of its inhabitants. Great numbers of the Nubians are employed as porters at Cairo, on account of their honesty.

The other tour contained in this volume is from Daraou, in Upper Egypt, through Berber, Shendy, and Taka, to Souakim, a port on the Red Sea, which he crosses to Jidda. He sets off in the caravan, without a servant, and upon an ass. The following is the account of his appearance and preparations.

'I was dressed in a brown loose woollen cloak, such as is worn by the peasants of Upper Egypt, called Thabout, with a coarse white linen shirt and trowsers, a Lebde, or white woollen cap, tied round with a common handkerchief as a turban, and with sandals on my feet. I carried in the pocket of my Thabout, a small journal book, a pencil, pocket-compass, pen-knife, tobacco purse, and a steel for striking a light. The provisions I took with me were as follows: forty pounds of flour, twenty of biscuit, fifteen of dates, ten of lentils, six of butter, five of salt, three of rice, two of coffee beans, four of tobacco, one of pepper, some onions, and eighty pounds of Dhourra for my ass. Besides these I had a copper boiler, a copper plate, a coffee roaster, an earthen mortar to pound the coffee beans, two coffee cups, a knife and spoon, a wooden bowl for drinking and for filling the water skins, an axe, ten yards of rope, needles and thread, a large packing needle, one spare shirt, a comb, a coarse carpet, a woollen cloth (Heram) of Mogrebin manufactory for a night covering, a small parcel of medicines, and three spare water skins.

'I had also a small pocket Coran, bought at Damascus, which I lost afterwards on the day of the pilgrimage, 10th of November 1814, among the crowds of Mount Arafat; a spare journal book and an inkstand,—together with some loose sheets of paper, for writing amulet for the Negroes. My watch had been broken in Upper Egypt, where I had no means of getting another. The hours of march noted down in the journal, are therefore merely by computation, and by observing the course of the sun.

'The little merchandize I took with me consisted of twenty pounds of sugar, fifteen of soap, two of nutmegs, twelve razors, twelve steels, two red caps, and several dozen of wooden beads, which are an excellent substitute for coin in the southern countries. I had a gun, with three dozen of cartridges and some small shot, a pistol, and a

large stick, called nabbout, strengthened with iron at either end, and serving either as a weapon, or to pound the coffee beans, and which, according to the custom of the country, was my constant companion. My purse, worn in a girdle under the Thabout, contained fifty Spanish dollars, including the twenty-five, the price of my camel, and I had besides sewed a couple of sequins in a small leathern amulet, tied round my elbow, thinking this to be the safest place for secreting them.' pp. 167, 168.

The meanness of his appearance excited the contempt of the whole party, and seems to have subjected the traveller to a great deal of unnecessary hardship. He was often driven from the coolest birth into the burning sun; and, besides the exposure to heat, had his dinner to cook. In the evening, after the enormous fatigues of the day, the same labour occurred again. He was obliged to cut and fetch wood; to light a fire to cook; and, lastly, to make coffee, as a bribe to keep his friends in good humour. After some danger from whirlwinds, and from failure of water, Mr Burckhardt arrives at Berber, where he makes some stay; and from thence proceeds in the route we have already pointed out. One of the most entertaining circumstances he relates, is the disgust and horror his appearance universally excited in all the towns of Africa.

'The caravan halted near the village, and I walked up to the huts to look about me. My appearance on this occasion, as on many others, excited an universal shriek of surprise and horror, especially among the women, who were not a little terrified at seeing such an outcast of nature as they consider a white man to be, peeping into their huts, and asking for a little water or milk. The chief feeling which my appearance inspired I could easily perceive to be disgust; for the Negroes are all firmly persuaded that the whiteness of the skin is the effect of disease, and a sign of weakness; and there is not the least doubt, that a white man is looked upon by them as a being greatly inferior to themselves. At Shendy the inhabitants were more accustomed to the sight, if not of white men, at least of the light-brown natives of Arabia; and as my skin was much sun-burnt, I there excited little surprise. On the market days, however, I often terrified people, by turning short upon them, when their exclamation generally was—"Owez billahi min es-sheyttan erradjim"—"God preserve us from the devil!" One day, after bargaining for some onions with a country girl in the market at Shendy, she told me, that if I would take off my turban and show her my head, she would give me five more onions; I insisted upon having eight, which she gave me; when I removed my turban, she started back at the sight of my white closely shaven crown; and when I jocularly asked her whether she should like to have a husband with such a head, she expressed the greatest surprise and disgust, and swore that she would rather live with the ugliest Darfour slave.' pp. 376-7.

We cannot avoid presenting our readers with the following Eastern character, as drawn by Mr Burckhardt.

'The principal among them, and who became the head of our mess, Hadji Aly el Bornaway, had travelled as a slave-trader in many parts of Turkey, had been at Constantinople, had lived a long time at Damascus, (where many Tekayne serve as labourers in the gardens of the great), and had three times performed the Hadj: he was now established at Kordofan, and spent his time in trading between that place and Djidda. His travels, and the apparent sanctity of his conduct, had procured him great reputation, and he was well received by the Meks and other chiefs, to whom he never failed to bring some small presents from Djidda. Although almost constantly occupied, (whether sitting under a temporary shed of mats, or riding upon his camel on the march), in reading the Koran, yet this man was a complete bon vivant, whose sole object was sensual enjoyment. The profits on his small capital, which were continually renewed by his travelling, were spent entirely in the gratification of his desires. He carried with him a favourite Borgho slave, as his concubine; she had lived with him three years, and had her own camel, while his other slaves performed the whole journey on foot. His leathern sacks were filled with all the choice provisions which the Shendy market could afford, particularly with sugar and dates; and his dinners were the best in the caravan. To hear him talk of morals and religion, one might have supposed that he knew vice only by name; yet Hadji Aly, who had spent half his life in devotion, sold last year, in the slave market of Medinah, his own cousin, whom he had recently married at Mekka. She had gone thither on a pilgrimage from Bornou by the way of Cairo, when Aly unexpectedly meeting with her, claimed her as his cousin, and married her: At Medinah, being in want of money, he sold her to some Egyptian merchants; and as the poor woman was unable to prove her free origin, she was obliged to submit to her fate. The circumstance was well known in the caravan, but the Hadji nevertheless still continued to enjoy all his wonted reputation.' pp. 364-366.

There is a striking description of a storm in the desert, at p. 385, and another very pleasing picture of the scenery, in emerging from the desert into a rich scene of cultivation, p. 367.

The principal articles from Egypt through Berber to Shendy, and so on to Senaar, Kordofan, and Dargour, are the sembil and mehleb, the former a perfume and medicine, *Valeriana celtica*, the other a condiment, the fruit of a species of tilia. In addition to these are imported soap, sugar, beads, coral, paper and hardware. The returns from the south and south-eastern parts of Soudan to Egypt, through Berber and Shendy are, grain, gold, (of which latter article the principal market is Rasel-el, a station in the road from Senaar to Gondar, four days from the former), ivory, musk, ebony, leather, coffee, fruit, honey.

and, above all, slaves. The account of the internal African slave trade is full and interesting. Mr Burckhardt calculates the number of slaves sold annually in the market of Shendy at about five thousand; of whom 1500 are for the Egyptian, and 2000 for the Arabian market,—the rest for the Bedouins, who live near the Red Sea, and for Dongola. Those brought to Shendy by Kordofan and Darfour merchants, are from idolatrous countries, from 20 to 40 days south of Darfour. The treatment of slaves is accompanied with the usual circumstances of horror and atrocity. The great manufactory which supplies all European, and the greater part of Asiatic Turkey, with the most need guardians of female virtue, is at a village near Siout, in Upper Egypt, chiefly inhabited by Christians. The operators are two Coptic Monks. According to the most moderate estimation, the number of slaves actually in Egypt is 40,000. During the plague, in the spring of 1815, 8000 slaves were reported to have died in Cairo alone. The number of slaves imported from Soudan to Egypt bears, in the estimation of this traveller, a very small proportion to those kept by the Mussulmans of the southern countries. The Atlantic slave trade he considers as quite trifling to that carried on in the interior; the only cure of which will be the improvement and civilization of the Negro, and the cultivation of those arts which will render him the rival, rather than the prey, of his Mussulman neighbour. Superstition commonly debases and degrades mankind; but, at first, it in some instances contributes to their civilization. In the most despotic countries, the power of the priest is often the only check to tyranny. The Ulema in Turkey is a power which the Grand Signior is forced to respect. Two Fakeers, says Mr Burckhardt, conducted the caravan in safety through districts inhabited by ferocious tribes, whom it would have been impossible, without the sanction of their sacerdotal presence, to have approached.—The country people came in crowds to kiss their hands as the caravan passed, alarmed lest the Fakeers, from any absence of customary respect, should withhold the due supplies of rain, and curse their lands with barrenness.

A dreadful picture is drawn, in these Travels, of the Africans: they are treacherous, false, vindictive, intemperate, cruel; marked with every vice which can degrade the human character. Mr Burckhardt lived long among them; had great means of observing; and appears to be in general so moderate, and guarded in his assertions, that his statements necessarily obtain credit. It must, however, be observed, that he always appeared among the Africans as a very poor man.—A mendicant who was to

travel from Northumberland to Kent, and was to run the gauntlet of jailors, constables, and justices, would not, perhaps, form the most exalted notions of the English character. Not the least interesting account is that of the pilgrims' route, who, from every part of Africa, hasten to perform their religious duties at Mecca. From Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan, Bergamee, Borgoo, and every part of Soudan, true believers hasten to the tomb of the Prophet; and to secure for themselves that distinction which always characterizes those who have performed this great duty of the Mahometan faith.

In the Appendix is given an Itinerary from the frontiers of Bornou, by Bahr el Ghassal and Darfour, to Shendy, as collected from an intelligent Arab at Mecca. All reports agree that there is a great fresh-water lake in the interior of Bornou; the name of the lake is Nou, and from it the country derives its name, the Land of Nou. In this Itinerary, the river Shary is alluded to, as big as the Nile. Among the Negro tribes, the greatest is the tribe of Fellata. They have spread across the whole continent; and one of them whom Mr Burckhardt saw at Mecca told him, that his encampment, when he left it, was in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo. The Fellata have attacked and pillaged both Bornou and Kashna. Upon the celebrated question respecting the Niger, this work contains little or no information, except vague assertions of the natives, that the Nile and the Niger are the same river. On this subject it is surely better to wait for further information, than to build up dull theories of geography, which can confer no fame on the author, and convey neither amusement nor instruction to the reader.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH, Esq.*  
—*Begun by Himself, and concluded by his Daughter MARIA*  
EDGEWORTH. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1820.

THOUGH we have as much veneration for the name of Edgeworth, as for any that graces our modern literature, we confess we thought two octavo volumes rather more than could be required to tell all that the public would care to know of the individual who is here commemorated; and took up the book with some prepossession against that lavish scheme of biography, by which both great and small names in our history have been lately overlaid. On the whole, however, though we still think the book a good deal too long, we have been agreeably disappointed; and can safely recommend it as being, on the whole, very entertaining, and containing much more than the usual

proportion both of useful and curious information. The first volume comprehends Mr Edgeworth's own account of himself—the second its continuation by his justly celebrated daughter; and the most remarkable thing certainly about the work is, that the first is, on the whole, better than the second. It is very lively, rapid and various—enlivened with a great number of anecdotes and characters, and, if not indicating any extraordinary reach of thought, or loftiness of feeling, exhibiting, in rather a pleasing and candid way, the history of a very active and cultivated mind—and scattering about everywhere the indications of a good-humoured self-complacency, and a light-hearted and indulgent gayety. The other is too solemn and didactic—and though there are many passages full of interest and instruction, it overflows so much with praise and gratitude, and duty and self-denial, as to go near to be dull and tedious.

We do not think it necessary to lay before our readers any account of Mr Edgeworth's genealogy, or of the fortunes and exploits of his paternal and maternal ancestors; nor even to present them, in detail, with the history and characters of his four wives and their respective progenies. There are some traits of indelicacy here, indeed, which we are bound to mark with our reprehension; and which, in a work intended for publication, we think admit of no apology. What need, for instance, was there to inform the world that he lived uncomfortably with his first wife, repented very soon of his union with her, and gave up his affections to another long before her death,—at the same time that he allows the match to have been entirely of his own seeking, and that he had nothing whatever to reproach her with, except that she was not altogether so gay and intellectual as he could have desired? The indecorum of such a statement is greatly aggravated too, by the consideration that this unfortunate lady was the mother of that daughter whose fame must, after all, be her father's best passport to celebrity, and to whom one parent has thus delegated the task of publishing the defects of the other. Mr E.'s successive marriage of two sisters is also a transaction which might as well have been allowed to repose in the obscurity into which it had naturally fallen, instead of being studiously brought forward, with a fond and ambitious reference to the various forgotten publications in which the legality of this very questionable proceeding was discussed at the time.

In the same way, we think the public might have been spared the account of Mr E.'s bad nursing, and of the various schools he attended, and the nicknames he received before he was eight years old. For his own family and posterity, it is barely pos-

able that these particulars may have some interest; but for the general reader, they can have none. It is only of **Great Men** that we are greedy to preserve such relics; and it is not merely misapplying, but parodying the spirit of *heroic* biography, to hazard its licenses on such an occasion as the present. Some of the anecdotes, however, are worth culling, both on their own account, and as having acquired a kind of classical interest as the groundwork in point of fact on which several scenes and characters in Miss E.'s exemplary Tales appear to have been founded. We shall endeavour to give our readers a little sample of these; and shall try to connect them by as rapid and concise an abstract of the narrative as we can easily manage.

The family was originally English, and went to Ireland in the time of Elizabeth. Most of them seem to have been gay and extravagant. One of them married so young, that his own age and that of his wife did not make up thirty-one years. He had estates in England and Ireland, and had got money with his wife.

‘ But they were extravagant, and quite ignorant of the management of money. Upon an excursion to England, they mortgaged their estate in Lancashire, and carried the money to London, in a stocking, which they kept on the top of their bed. To this stocking, both wife and husband had free access, and of course its contents soon began to be very low. The young man was handsome, and very fond of dress. At one time, when he had run out all his cash, he actually sold the ground plot of a house in Dublin, to purchase a high crowned hat and feathers, which was then the mode. He lived in high company in London, and at court. Upon some occasion, King Charles the Second insisted upon knighting him. His lady was presented at court, where she was so much taken notice of by the gallant monarch, that she thought it proper to intimate to her husband, that she did not wish to go there a second time; nor did she ever after appear at court, though in the bloom of youth and beauty. She returned to Ireland. This was an instance of prudence, as well as of strength of mind, which could hardly have been expected from the improvident temper she had shown at first setting out in life. In this lady's character there was an extraordinary mixture of strength and weakness. She was courageous beyond the habits of her sex in real danger, and yet afraid of imaginary beings. According to the superstition of the times, she believed in fairies. Opposite to her husband's Castle of Lissard, in Ireland, and within view of the windows, there is a mount, which was reputed to be the resort of fairies; and when Lady Edgeworth resided alone at Lissard, the common people of the neighbourhood, either for amusement, or with the intention of frightening her away, sent children by night to this mount, who by their strange noises, by singing, and the lights they showed from time to time, terrified her exceedingly,



But she did not quit the place. The mount was called *Fairy Mount*, since abbreviated into *Fir mount*. — 'From which the Abbé Edgeworth took his ordinary name of M. de Firmont.' I. 11-13.

The son of this prudent couple was not much better.

Colonel Francis Edgeworth, besides being straitened in his circumstances, by having for many years a large jointure to pay to his mother, was involved in difficulties by his own taste for play; a taste which, from indulgence, became an irresistible passion. One night, after having lost all the money he could command, he staked his wife's diamond ear-rings, and went into an adjoining room, where she was sitting in company, to ask her to lend them to him. She took them from her ears, and gave them to him, saying, that she knew for what purpose he wanted them, and that he was welcome to them. They were played for. My grandfather won upon this last stake, and gained back all he had lost that night. In the warmth of his gratitude to his wife, he, at her desire, took an oath, that he would never more play at any game with cards or dice. Some time afterwards, he was found in a hay yard with a friend, drawing straws out of the hayrick, and betting upon which should be the longest! — As might be expected, he lived in alternate extravagance and distress; sometimes with a coach and four, and sometimes in very want of half a crown.' I. p 16, 17.

The learned reader will easily discover the originals of some of Miss Edgeworth's characters in those sketches of her ancestry. The following probably suggested the first idea of *Castle Rackrent*.

About this time, one of our relations, a remarkably handsome youth of eighteen or nineteen, came one day to dine with us; my father was from home, and I had an opportunity of seeing the manners of this young man. He was quite uninformed; my mother told me, that he had received no education, that he was a hard drinker, and that notwithstanding his handsome appearance, he would be good for nothing. Her prediction was soon verified. He married a woman of inferior station, when he was scarcely twenty. His wife's numerous grown-up family, father, brothers, and cousins, were taken into his house. They appeared wherever any public meeting gave them an opportunity, in a handsome coach with four beautiful grey horses; the men were dressed in laced clothes after the fashion of those days, and his wife's relations lived luxuriously at his house for two or three years. In that period of time, they dissipated the fee-simple of twelve hundred pounds a year, which, fifty years ago, was equal at least to three thousand of our present money. The quantity of claret which these parasites swallowed was so extraordinary, that when the accounts of this foolish youth came before the chancellor, his lordship disallowed a great part of the wine-merchant's bill; adding, that had the gentleman's coach-horses drunk claret, so much as had been charged could not have been consumed. This wine-merchant, however, obtained a considerable portion of the poor young man's estate,

in liquidation of the outstanding debt. The host had for some time partaken of the good cheer in his own house; but disease, loss of appetite, and want of relish for jovial companions, soon confined him to his own apartment, which happened to be over the dining parlour, where he heard the noisy merriment below. In this solitary situation, a basin of bread and milk was one day brought to him, in which he observed an unusual quantity of hard black crusts of bread. He objected to them, and upon inquiry was told, that they were the refuse crusts that had been cut off a loaf, of which a pudding had been made for dinner. This instance of neglect and ingratitude stung him to the quick; he threw the basin from him, and exclaimed, "*I deserve it.*" To be denied a crumb of bread in his own house, where his wife's whole family were at that instant rioting at his expense, "quite conquered him." He never held his head up afterwards, but in a few months died, leaving a large family totally unprovided with fortune, to the guidance of a mother, who kept them destitute of any sort of instruction.' I. 37-39.

When only seven years old, Mr E. received his first bias to mechanical studies from the kindness and patience of an old gentleman, who showed him the construction of an orrery and other instruments. He was also, he assures us, a prodigious dancer and hunter before he was fifteen; and at sixteen went through the ceremony of marriage with a young lady—he says entirely in sport—but under such circumstances as induced his father to institute a suit in the Ecclesiastical court for annulling those imaginary nuptials. Soon after he went to Oxford, where he seems to have conducted himself with great propriety. The following anecdote, like most of those he has remembered, is very much to his credit.

During the assizes at Oxford, the gowmsmen are or were permitted to seat themselves in the courts. In most country courts there is a considerable share of noise and confusion; but at Oxford the din and interruption were beyond any thing I have ever witnessed; the young men were not in the least solicitous to preserve decorum, and the judges were unwilling to be severe upon the students. A man was tried for some felony, the judge had charged the jury, and called on the foreman, who seemed to be a decent farmer, for a verdict. While the judge turned his head aside to speak to somebody, the foreman of the jury, who had not heard the evidence or the judge's charge, asked me, who was behind him, and whom he had observed to be attentive to the trial, what verdict he should give. Struck with the injustice and illegality of this procedure, I stood up and addressed the judges Wills and Smith. "My Lords," said I—"Sit down, Sir," said the judge—"My Lord, I request to be heard for one moment."—The judge grew angry—"Sir, your gown shall not protect you, I must punish you if you persist."—By this time the eyes of the whole court were turned upon me; but feeling

that I was in the right, I persevered. "My Lord, I must lay a circumstance before you which has just happened." The judge still imagining that I had some complaint to make relative to myself, ordered the sheriff to remove me.—"My Lord, you will commit me if you think proper, but in the mean time I must declare, that the foreman of this jury is going to deliver an illegal verdict, for he has not heard the evidence, and he has asked me what verdict he ought to give."

The judge from the bench made me an apology for his hastiness, and added a few words of strong approbation. This was of use to me, by tending to increase my self-possession in public, and my desire to take an active part in favour of justice. I. 95-97.

Soon after he entered the University, he was introduced to the family of the lady he afterwards married—that of a lawyer, a contemporary of his father, who had many years before married an heiress, retired from practice, and sunk gradually into the ruin and stupidity that so often await those who seek happiness in the country. The following is a picturesque account of his establishment.

'Having no interest in the common routine of a country life, he had little to do, and that little he neglected. The family into which he married was proud, and when an heir to the family was born, no expense was spared to celebrate the important event; and as Mrs Elers had in perfection one essential quality of a wife, before her husband could look about him, she had celebrated two or three such festivals. —'A very old steward of the Hungerford family managed all the business of the estate; a great part of which business consisted in choosing, felling, and cutting up wood for fuel. This poor little man, eighty years of age, used to be seen in the depth of winter, upon a little grey horse with shaggy hair and a long flaxen mane and tail, riding about the grounds, and seeming to conduct a number of labourers, who did precisely what they pleased. The value of the timber cut down for firing was more than equal to the price of coals sufficient for the house; and the expense of making it up for use was still greater. Every part of the domestic expenditure was carried on in this manner; so that in a few years after the death of his father-in-law, Mr Elers found himself in distress, without having been guilty of the slightest extravagance.—His family rapidly increased, the old steward died, Mr Elers left every thing to his wife, and Mrs Elers left every thing to her servants. Things were in this situation at Black Bourton, when I was introduced to the family by my father. He had personally known little of Mr Elers, since their first friendship was formed at the Temple; but judging from his letters, my father considered him as the same man of active mind and talents, and with the same habits for business, which he had then appeared to possess. It was, therefore, naturally a great object with him, to place me, on my first going to Oxford, under the care of a person whom he so much esteem-

ed, and of whose abilities he had such a high opinion. The family at Black-Bourton at this time consisted of Mrs Elers, her mother Mrs Hungerford, and four grown up young ladies, besides several children. The eldest son, an officer, was absent. The young ladies, though far from being beauties, were handsome; and though destitute of accomplishments, they were notwithstanding agreeable, from an air of youth and simplicity, and from unaffected good nature and gaiety. The person who struck me most at my introduction to this family group was Mrs Hungerford. She was near eighty, tall, and majestic, with eyes that still retained uncommon lustre. She was not able to rise from her chair without the assistance of one of her grand-daughters; but when she had risen, and stood leaning on her tortoise-shell cane, she received my father, as the friend of the family, with so much politeness, and with so much grace, as to eclipse all the young people by whom she was surrounded. Mrs Hungerford was a Blake, connected with the Norfolk family. She had formerly been the wife of Sir Alexander Kennedy, whom Mr Hungerford killed in a duel in Blenheim Park. Why she dropped her title in marrying Mr Hungerford I know not, nor can I tell how he persuaded the beautiful widow to marry him after he had killed her husband.—In the history of Mrs Hungerford there was something mysterious, which was not, as I perceived, known to the younger part of the family. I made no inquiries from Mr Elers; but I observed, that she was for a certain time in the day invisible. She had an apartment to herself above stairs, containing three or four rooms; when she was below stairs, we used to make a short way from one side of the house to the other, through her rooms, which occupied nearly one side of a quadrangle, of which the house consisted. One day, forgetting that she was in her room, and her door by accident not having been locked, I suddenly entered: I saw her kneeling before a crucifix, which was placed upon her toilette; her beautiful eyes streaming with tears, and cast up to Heaven with the most fervent devotion; her silver locks flowing down her shoulders; the remains of exquisite beauty, grace, and dignity, in her whole figure. I had not, till I saw her at these her private devotions, known that she was a catholic; nor had I, till I saw her tears of contrition, any reason to suppose that she thought herself a penitent. The scene struck me, young as I was, and more gay than young—her tears seemed to comfort, not to depress her—and the first time since my childhood I was convinced, that the consolations of religion are fully equal to its terrors. She was so much in earnest, that she did not perceive me; and I fortunately had time to withdraw without having disturbed her devotions." I. 83-90.

We may add another anecdote, connected with the place rather than the person.

"Mr Lenthall (descended from the Speaker Lenthall) lived at Burford, within a few miles of Black-Bourton. This gentleman, who was a very good master, had a very good butler. One morning the

butler came to his master with a letter in his hand, and rubbing his forehead in that indecipherable manner which is an introduction to something which the person does not well know how to communicate, he told Mr Lenthall, that he was very sorry to be obliged to quit his service.—“Why, what is the matter, John? has any body offended you? I thought you were as happy as any man could be in your situation?”—“Yes, please your honour, that’s not the thing; but I have just got a prize in the lottery of 3000*l.*, and I have all my life had a wish to live for one twelvemonth like a man of two or three thousand a year; and all I ask of your honour is, that, when I have spent the money, you will take me back again into your service.”—“That is a promise,” said Mr Lenthall, “which I believe I may safely make, as there is very little probability of your wishing to return to be a butler, after having lived as a gentleman.”

Mr Lenthall was however mistaken. John spent nearly the amount of his ticket in less than a year. He had previously bought himself a small annuity to provide for his old age; when he had spent all the rest of his money, he actually returned to the service of Mr Lenthall; and I saw him standing at the sideboard at the time when I was in that country.” I. 116—118.

Mr E. fell in love with one of the Miss Elers, and married her at Gretna Green before he was twenty—obtained his father’s forgiveness—kept terms at the Temple—and diverted himself with mechanics and reading at a small house in Berkshire. Here and in London he now became acquainted with Sir Francis Blake Delaval, the most celebrated man of wit, fashion, and gallantry about town at the accession of the late King; and we are accordingly presented with about fifty pages of anecdotes about his electioneering—his theatricals—his conjuring and his gambling—the greatest part of which appears to us to have very little interest.

It was this person who, in conjunction with Foote, carried on in disguise the mystery of a fortune-teller, with prodigious reputation and success; and is supposed to have broken off, and brought on, more matches in the course of a season, than all the dowagers in town. His great object, it is said, was to secure his own union with Lady Pawlet; upon the accomplishment of which, the magician suddenly disappears. It was to assist this dashing fiduciar in obtaining early intelligence of his fate at Newmarket, that Mr Edgeworth first conceived, or revived, the notion of a *Telegraph*—and actually constructed one in the year 1767, which transmitted sentences with great accuracy from stations sixteen miles apart. The catastrophe of Sir Francis is rather edifying; and therefore we shall give it in his own words—though his dying speech is a little too set and solemn, we think, to be perfectly authentic. He had a project, it seems, of aggrandizing his family by a match between his sister and

the then Duke of York; and when this was frustrated by the sudden death of the Duke, he fell into low spirits.

Though a man of great strength of mind, and of vivacity that seemed to be untameable, his health sunk under this disappointment. His friends and physician laughed at his complaints. Of Herculean strength, and, till this period, of uninterrupted health, they could not bring themselves to believe, that a pain in his breast, of which he complained, was of any serious consequence; on the contrary, they treated him as an hypochondriac, whom a generous diet, amusement, and country air, would soon restore. He was ordered, however, to use a steam-bath, which was then in vogue, at Knightsbridge. I went with him there one day, the last I ever saw him! He expressed for me a great deal of kindness and esteem: and then seriously told me he felt, that, notwithstanding his natural strength both of body and mind, and in contradiction of the opinion of all the physicians, he had not long to live. He acknowledged that his mind was affected as well as his body.

"Let my example," said he, "warn you of a fatal error into which I have fallen, and into which you might probably fall, if you did not counteract the propensities which might lead you into it. I have pursued amusement, or rather frolic, instead of turning my ingenuity and talents to useful purposes. I am sensible," continued he, "that my mind was fit for greater things, than any of which I am now, or of which I was ever supposed to be capable. I am able to speak fluently in public; and I have perceived that my manner of speaking has always increased the force of what I have said. Upon various useful subjects I am not deficient in information; and if I had employed half the time and half the pains in cultivating serious knowledge which I have wasted in exerting my powers upon trifles,—instead of making myself merely a conspicuous figure at public places of amusement,—instead of giving myself up to gallantry which disgusted and disappointed me,—instead of dissipating my fortune and tarnishing my character, I should have distinguished myself in the senate or the army, I should have become a useful member of society, and an honour to my family. Remember my advice, young man! Pursue what is useful to mankind; you will satisfy them, and, what is better, you will satisfy yourself." Two mornings afterwards, he was found dead in his bed.' I. 154–156.

After the loss of this dangerous patron, Mr E. amused himself with contriving sailing chariots—time-keepers—wooden horses and carriages of various descriptions—as well as in educating his eldest son upon the system of Rousseau. His coach-making brought him into correspondence with Dr Darwin, who was also an inventor in that department; and he went at last on a visit to Lichfield, to consult him upon the plan of a new phaeton. The Doctor who, from his correspondence,

had taken him for a professional coachmaker, was from home when he arrived ; but he presented himself to Mrs Darwin, who, though at first under the same impression, with the quick tact of her sex, almost instantly discovered the mistake—which her learned husband did not suspect till several hours after his return. This visit brought Mr E., for the first time, into that society by which he was for the rest of his life most attracted, instructed, and improved—the society of the Beltons, the Watts, the Keirs, the Smalls, the Days, Searwards, and Sneyds. Through them he also got into a learned society in London, composed of Sir Joseph Banks, John Hunter, Maskelyne, Smeaton, Ramsden, and several others. Of Ramsden we are tempted to transcribe the following short anecdote.

‘ Besides his great mechanical genius, he had a species of invention not quite so creditable, the invention of excuses. He never kept an engagement of any sort, never finished any work punctually, or ever failed to promise what he always failed to perform. — The king (George III.) had bespoke an instrument, which he was peculiarly desirous to obtain ; he had allowed Ramsden to name his own time, but, as usual, the work was scarcely begun at the period appointed for delivery. However, when at last it was finished, he took it down to Kew in a post-chaise, in a prodigious hurry : and, driving up to the palace gate, he asked if *His Majesty was at home*. The pages and attendants in waiting expressed their surprise at such a visit : he however pertinaciously insisted upon being admitted, assuring the page, that, if he told the King that Ramsden was at the gate, His Majesty would soon show that he would be glad to see him. He was right : he was let in, and was graciously received. His Majesty, after examining the instrument carefully, of which he was really a judge, expressed his satisfaction, and, turning gravely to Ramsden, paid him this compliment upon his punctuality. — “ I have been told, Mr Ramsden,” said the King, “ that you are considered to be the least punctual of any man in England ; you have brought home this instrument on the very *day* that was appointed. You have only mistaken the *year* ! ” I. 191-2.

The most figuring person, however, in Mr E.’s narrative, is Mr Day—of whom we find, first and last, a very interesting and amusing account. He was unquestionably a man of extraordinary talents, and of a high and amiable character—but was as unquestionably a little mad. When he and Mr E. first met, in 1768, he was under twenty years of age, but irrevocably wedded to all the impracticable notions and systematic absurdities which characterized his after life. Though master of a large fortune, and unusually well read and ingenious, he had not merely a scorn, but an abhorrence for the refinements of polished life, and an antipathy to everything that bore the name of fashion, as a mere mask for profligacy, heartlessness, and insin-

cerity; and accordingly would neither dress, talk, nor behave, like other persons of his condition. In politics, he was an ardent, but visionary and impracticable lover of liberty—a zealous and undaunted philanthropist, in theory and practice—an eloquent declaimer, and a most expert and indefatigable disputant in private conversation. Before he was of age, he resolved to educate a wife for himself; and, with this view, selected two nice girls from the Foundling Hospital, with whom, to be more out of the way of impertinent observation, he established himself for a year or two at Avignon.

'Simplicity, perfect innocence, and attachment to himself, were at that time the only qualifications which he desired in a wife: and for this reason he was not anxious to cultivate the understandings of his pupils. He taught them by slow degrees to read and write. By continually talking to them, by reasoning which appeared to me above their comprehension, and by ridicule, the taste for which might afterwards be turned against himself, he endeavoured to imbue them with a deep hatred for dress, and luxury, and fine people, and fashion, and titles. At his return to England, which happened, I believe, when I was out of that country, he parted with one of his pupils, finding her invincibly stupid, or, at the best, not disposed to follow his regimen. He gave her three or four hundred pounds, which soon procured her a husband, who was a small shopkeeper. In this situation she went on contentedly, was happy, and made her husband happy, and is, perhaps, at this moment, comfortably seated with some of her grandchildren on her knees. His other pupil, Sabrina Sidney, was, at Mr Day's return from France, a very pleasing girl of thirteen. Her countenance was engaging. She had fine auburn hair, that hung in natural ringlets on her neck; a beauty, which was then more striking, because other people wore enormous quantities of powder and pomatum. Her long eyelashes, and eyes expressive of sweetness, interested all who saw her; and the uncommon melody of her voice made a favourable impression upon every person to whom she spoke. I was curious to see how my friend's philosophic romance would end.' I. 217–218.

It ended as might have been expected. After confounding the poor child's understanding by long rhetorical disputations, and frightening her to death (if we may believe Miss Seward) by firing pistols at her petticoats, and dropping burning sealing-wax on her arms, to make her familiar with pain and danger, he at last caught her with a handkerchief or a sleeve, at which he had expressed a lofty disdain and antipathy, and immediately gave up the idea of their union. He provided, however, for her comfort with his usual generosity; and, after his death, she married one of his early friends, and conducted herself with uniform judgment and propriety. He himself, soon after their separation, married a lady of great beauty and accomplishments,



and with a taste for eloquence and discussion perfectly analogous to his own. By the account that is here given of them, they must have been a most loquacious and argumentative pair.

‘Shortly after their marriage, he brought Mrs Day to North-church to see us. Her person and conversation were pleasing, and the noble and generous sentiments which she expressed, and the conformity of all her conduct to these sentiments, entitled her to more than common admiration and respect. Mrs Edgeworth had been well accustomed to Mr Day’s habits of discussion and declamation: she observed that Mrs Day’s replies, replete with sense and spirit, were always delivered in chosen language, and with appropriate emphasis. My friend proceeded towards his conclusions with unerring logic, and inflexible perseverance; but Mrs Day’s eloquence won the hearers, at least for a time, to her opinions.—Notwithstanding the dryness of political and metaphysical subjects, which were usually those upon which we descanted, I was amused and instructed, and I wished most heartily to prevail upon Mr Day to settle in my neighbourhood in Hertfordshire; but he had an insurmountable objection to any situation near his former friends, lest, as I supposed, any opinions contrary to his system of connubial happiness might be supported before his wife. He remained some time at Hampstead, being in no great haste to purchase a house; as he thought, that, by living in inconvenient lodgings, where he was not known, and consequently not visited by any body except his chosen few, he should accustom his bride to those modes of life which he conceived to be essential to his happiness.—I never saw any woman so entirely intent upon accommodating herself to the sentiments, and wishes, and will of a husband. Notwithstanding this disposition, there still was a never-failing flow of discussion between them. From the deepest political investigation, to the most frivolous circumstance of daily life, Mr Day found something to descant upon; and Mrs Day was nothing loath to support upon every subject an opinion of her own: thus combining in an unusual manner, independence of sentiment, and the most complete matrimonial obedience.’ I. 344–346.

These philosophers then bought an estate, and wasted an enormous sum of money in great experiments in agriculture; and at last he got about building a house. He set the builders to work before he had fixed upon the plan, so that there was nothing but stoppages and alterations.

‘One day he was deep in a treatise, written by some French agriculturist, to prove that any soil may be rendered fertile by sufficient ploughing, when the masons desired to know where he would have the window of the new room on the first floor. I was present at the question, and offered to assist my friend—No—he sat immovable in his chair, and gravely demanded of the mason, whether the wall might not be built first, and a place for the window cut out afterwards! The mason stared at Mr Day with an expression of the most unfeigned surprise. “Why, Sir, to be sure it is very possible; but;’

I believe, Sir, it is more common to put in the window-cases while the house is building, and not afterwards." Mr Day, however, with great coolness, ordered the wall to be built without any opening for windows, which was done accordingly; and the addition, which was made to the house, was actually finished, leaving the room, which was intended for a dressing-room for Mrs Day, without any window whatsoever.' I. 348.

He lived happily, however, with his discursive partner, and was killed at last, in his forty-third year, by a fall from a horse which he was attempting to break for himself, without any of the harsh and cruel practices usually employed for that purpose. His *Sandford and Merton* is a work of great merit and genius. His poetry is verbose and heavy; his political effusions are of the same character; and his familiar letters, of which we are presented with several in these volumes, appear to us to be singularly diffuse and elaborate.

In the mean time Mr E. falls in love with Miss Honora Sneyd; and is sent off to Lyons by the virtue of his friend Mr Day; where he stays for two years, and makes himself very busy by a scheme for turning the course of the Rhine by embankments, and by various mechanical inventions. He has also recorded a good number of anecdotes of the Lyonesse society—good, bad, and indifferent. The following appears to us among the most memorable.

'About this time a fatal catastrophe, that befel two lovers, made a great noise at Lyons. A young painter, of considerable eminence, came there, in company with a woman of uncommon beauty, who was his mistress. There was something remarkably attractive in both the man and the woman, and their company was sought for with the utmost enthusiasm by all the young men of that city. The urbanity, liveliness, and good nature of the young painter, were extolled in every company. Both he and the lady sang and played well on several instruments; and, by a variety of other talents, which they exercised without ostentation, they made what is called in France a great *sensation*. Their mutual fondness kept all pretenders to the lady's favour quite at a distance, while it excited a lively interest among their acquaintance. There was still, however, something mysterious in their conduct towards each other, that induced an indefinite kind of suspicion. In the midst of gaiety or mirth, a look, or a sigh, betrayed a secret anxiety. This anxiety gradually increased, notwithstanding the pains which were taken to conceal it. After some months, the stranger and his mistress invited all their acquaintance to a handsome supper, which they gave at taking leave of their friends, before their intended departure from Lyons. When they bade farewell, they showed great emotion, and hastily withdrew before their friends departed.

'There is, near a convent at Lyons, a place which was called the

tomb of the two lovers.—On this spot the bodies of the strangers were found the next morning.—They had shot each other with pistols, the triggers of which were so connected by a red riband, as to go off at the same moment. At first no trace of their history, or motive for their conduct, could be discovered : but at length it was ascertained, that the man laboured under some incurable disease, to which the physicians had convinced him he must fall a sacrifice within a given period. His mistress had determined to live no longer than her lover : they had, therefore, converted whatever they possessed into ready money, which they agreed to spend in the manner most congenial to their tastes ; and as soon as their funds should be exhausted, which they had calculated would last to the predicted period when his disease must end his life, they had resolved to destroy themselves. I. 300–302.

Mrs E. then dies ; and the widower returns to England, and marries Miss Sheyd. He then takes up his abode for some time on his estate in Ireland ; but afterwards settles in the neighbourhood of London. The two following detached anecdotes show human nature in its extreme stages of simplicity and corruption ; and, we think, are both very striking.

‘ One day, in one of the crowded streets, I met a poor young girl, who seemed utterly bewildered ; she stopped me, to ask if I would tell her the name of the street she was in. Her accent was broad Scotch, and her look and air of perfect simplicity was, I perceived, not assumed, but genuine. I gave her the information she wanted, and asked her where she lived, and if she was in search of any friend’s house. She said she did not live any where in London ; she was but just arrived from Scotland, and knew nobody who had any house or lodging of their own in town, but she was looking for a friend of the name of Peggy ; and Peggy was a Scotch girl, who was born within a mile of the place where she lived in Scotland. Peggy was in service in London, and had written her direction to some house in this street ; but the number of the house, and the names of the master or mistress, had been forgotten. The poor girl was determined, she said, to try every house, for she had come all the way from Scotland to see *Peggy*, and she had no other dependence !

‘ It seemed a hopeless case. I was so much struck with her simplicity and forlorn condition, that I could not leave her in this perplexity, an utter stranger as she evidently was to the dangers of London. I went with her, though I own without the slightest hope of her succeeding in the object of her search ; knocked at every door, and made inquiries at every house. When we came near the end of the street, she was in despair, and cried bitterly ; but as one of the last doors opened, and as a footman was surlily beginning to answer my questions, she darted past him, exclaiming, “ There’s *Peggy* ! ” She flew along the passage to a servant girl, whose head had just appeared as she was coming up stairs. I never heard or saw stronger expressions of joy and affection than at this meeting : and I scarcely

ever, for any service I have been able in the course of my life to do for my fellow-creatures, received such grateful thanks, as I did from this poor Scotch lassie and her Peggy for the little assistance I afforded her.

‘ Another time, about this period, one evening in summer I happened to be in one of those streets that lead from the Strand toward the river. It was a street to which there was no outlet, and consequently free from passengers. A Savoyard was grinding his disregarded organ; a dark shade fell obliquely across the street, and there was a melancholy produced by the surrounding circumstances that excited my attention. A female beggar suddenly rose from the steps of one of the doors, and began to dance ludicrously to the tune which the Savoyard was playing. I gave the man some money; and I observed, that, for such an old woman, the mendicant danced with great sprightliness. She looked at me stedfastly, and, sighing, added, that she could once dance well. She desired the Savoyard to play a minuet, the steps of which she began to dance with uncommon grace and dignity. I spoke to her in French, in which language she replied fluently, and in a good accent; her language, and a knowledge of persons in high life, and of books, which she showed in the course of a few minutes’ conversation, convinced me that she must have had a liberal education, and that she had been amongst the higher classes of society. Upon inquiry, she told me that she was of a noble family, whose name she would not injure by telling her own: that she had early disgraced herself; and that, falling from bad to worse, she had sunk to her present miserable condition. I asked her why she did not endeavour to get into some of those asylums which the humanity of the English nation has provided for want and wretchedness; she replied, with a countenance of resolute despair.—“ You can do nothing more for me than to give me half a crown:—it will make me drunk, and pay for my bed!” L. 354–358.

At the end of a few years Honora dies, and Mr E. marries her sister Elizabeth, and makes globes and chronometers with great diligence in a house in Cheshire;—and here his own part of the history is suddenly broken off, after bringing it down to the year 1781.

Miss E.’s part of the story begins with the return of her family to their Irish home in 1782—from which period, to the end of his days, Mr E. was, with few and transient exceptions, a constant and exemplary resident. Miss E. first gives us a short account of the way in which he let and managed his estates, and then a brief summary of the politics of the famous year 1782; during which her father took part with the volunteers and reformers—though with a due regard to the constitutional supremacy of the existing Parliament. We have next a miscellany of letters, of no very great interest, about his scheme for reclaiming bogs by the use of moveable railways and friction-

rollers: and about planting—education—medicine and mechanics. Upon Mr Day's death, he had a project of writing his life—but afterwards resigned that task into the hands of Mr Keir. He continued, however, through all changes of public and private fortune, to amuse himself with mechanical contrivances, and to set an example of prudence, temperance and fairness, in his immediate neighbourhood. The following short passage contains a picture of one, we trust, of the lost *genera* of the native Irish. Mr E. had, as executor, to settle the affairs of a deceased relative.

‘ In endeavouring to arrange with the creditors, he had of course some difficulties, and was ultimately at considerable loss; but when he attempted to collect what was due of arrears of rent on his relation's estate, the matter became not only difficult, but perilous; for it was his fate to have to deal with persons calling themselves *gentleman tenants*—the worst tenants in the world—*middle-men*, who relet the lands, and live upon the produce, not only in idleness, but in insolent idleness.

‘ This kind of half gentry, or mock gentry, seemed to consider it as the most indisputable privilege of a gentleman, not to pay his debts. They were ever ready to meet civil law with military brag of war. Whenever a swaggering debtor of this species was pressed for payment, he began by protesting, or *confessing*, that “ he considered himself used in an ungentlemanlike manner; ” and ended by offering to give, instead of the value of his bond or promise, “ the *satisfaction* of a gentleman, at any hour or place. ” Thus they put their promptitude to hazard their worthless lives, in place of all merit, especially of that virtue, by them most despised, perhaps because by them least known—erroneously called *common honesty*. It certainly was not easy to do business with those, whose best resource was to settle accounts by wager of battle with the representative of their deceased creditor; nor was it easy, while inferior persons felt it their interest and ambition to provoke their antagonist, to keep out of discreditable quarrels, by which nothing could be gained, and every thing might be lost. It required not only prudence and temper, but established character, with some weight of family connexions, and the united voice of good friends, to bear him out, at this time, in the cause of justice, when it was on the creditor side of the question.

‘ My father has often since rejoiced in the recollection of his steadiness at this period of his life. As far as the example of an individual could go, it was of service in his neighbourhood. It showed, that such lawless proceedings as he had opposed, *could* be effectually resisted; and it discountenanced that braggadocio style of doing business, which was once in Ireland too much in fashion. Such would no longer be tolerated in this part of the country; but such has been: and persons of the sort I have described flourished some thirty years ago, and were among a certain set popular as men of undeniable spirit. II. 140, 141.

In 1795 he resumed and made public his speculations on the Telegraph, which had originated near thirty years before; and corresponded largely with Dr Darwin and Dr Beddoes on poetry, medicine, and philanthropy. Miss E. then gives a very interesting account of the methods adopted by her father in the education of his children. The substance of them is to be found in her valuable works on this subject; but the following have more of an individual character.

When he was building, or carrying on experiments, or work of any sort, he constantly explained to his children whatever was doing or to be done; and by questions adapted to their several ages and capacities, exercised their powers of observation, reasoning, and invention. — It often happened that trivial circumstances, by which the curiosity of the children had been excited, or experiments obvious to the senses, by which they had been interested, led afterwards to deeper reflection or to philosophical inquiries, suited to others in the family, of more advanced age and knowledge. The animation spread through the house by connecting children with all that is going on, and allowing them to join in thought or conversation with the grown-up people of the family, was highly useful; and thus both sympathy and emulation excited mental exertion in the most agreeable manner. — In trying experiments, he always showed that he was intent upon learning the truth, not upon supporting his opinion. By the examples he thus set us of fairness, candour, and patience, he trained the understanding to follow the best rules of philosophizing; and, what is of more consequence for the happiness of the individual, he taught his pupils to apply philosophy to the government of the temper. — He knew so exactly the habits, powers, and knowledge of his pupils, that he seldom failed in estimating what each could comprehend or accomplish. He saw at once where their difficulty lay, and knew how far to assist, how far to urge the mind, and where to leave it entirely to its own exertions. His patience in teaching was peculiarly meritorious, I may say surprising, in a man of his vivacity. He would sit quietly while a child was thinking of the answer to a question, without interrupting, or suffering it to be interrupted, and would let the pupil touch and quit the point repeatedly; and, without a leading observation or exclamation, he would wait till the steps of reasoning and invention were gone through, and were converted into certainties. This was sometimes trying to the patience of the bystanders, who often decided that the question was too difficult; when, just at the moment that the silence and suspense could be no longer endured, his judgment has been justified, and his forbearance rewarded; by the child's giving a perfectly satisfactory answer. — The tranquillizing effect of this patience was of great advantage. The pupil's mind became secure, not only of the point in question, but steady in the confidence of its future powers. It was his principle to excite the attention fully and strongly for a short time, and *never to go to the point of fatigue*. — It often happens that a precep-

for appears to have great influence for a time, and that this power suddenly dissolves. This is, and must be the case, wherever any sort of deception has been used. My father never used any artifice of any kind; and, consequently, he always possessed that confidence which is the reward of plain-dealing; a confidence which increases in the pupil's mind with age, knowledge, and experience. I dwell on this reflection, certainly, with pride and pleasure, as far as it concerns my father and my beloved preceptor; but independently of private feelings, I trust that my strong assertion of this fact may be useful to the public. It may tend to convince parents that permanent influence over their children, that that influence which arises from grateful esteem, that which alone can endure from youth to age, may with certainty be obtained by PLAIN TRUTH.' II. 180-184.

When considerably turned of fifty, Mr E. married for the fourth time,—and with equal success as in all the later expedients. At the same mature period he obtained his first seat in Parliament; and the following discourse is said to have been actually held on the subject. On his way to Dublin, 'he met an intimate friend of his; one stage they travelled together, and a singular conversation passed. This friend, who as yet knew nothing of my father's intentions, began to speak of the marriage of some other person, and to exclaim against the folly and imprudence of any man's marrying in such disturbed times—"no man of honour, sense, or feeling, would encumber himself with a wife at such a time!"—My father urged that this was just the time, when a man of honour, sense, and feeling would wish, if he loved a woman, to unite his fate with hers, and to acquire the right of being her protector. — The conversation dropped there. But presently they talked of public affairs—of the important measure expected to be proposed of a union between England and Ireland—of what would probably be said and done in the next session of Parliament. My father, foreseeing that this important national question would probably come on, had just obtained a seat in Parliament. His friend, not knowing or recollecting this, began to speak of the imprudence of commencing a political career late in life. "No man, you know," said he, "but a fool, would venture to make a first speech in Parliament, or to marry, after he was fifty."—My father laughed, and, surrendering all title to wisdom, declared, that, though he was past fifty, he was actually going in a few days, as he hoped, to be married, and in a few months would probably make his "first speech in Parliament."—His friend made as good a retreat as the case would admit, by remarking, that his maxim could not apply to one who was not going either to be married or to speak in public for the first time.' II. 199-201.

There is then a little account of the rising in 1798, in the course of which Mr E.'s mansion was for some days in possession, or at least at the mercy, of the insurgents. His large fa-

mily was with difficulty conveyed to Longford—except the housekeeper, a staid and resolute person, who consented to wait till the carriage should return, and who did rejoin them the day after. The following traits will not appear in any general history,—and are far more interesting than most of those that will.

‘ She told us, that, after we had left her, she waited hour after hour for the carriage: she could hear nothing of it, as it had gone to Longford with the wounded officer. Towards evening, a large body of rebels entered the village.—She heard them at the gate, and expected that they would have broken in the next instant. But one, who seemed to be a leader, with a pike in his hand, set his back against the gate, and swore, that, “if he was to die for it the next minute, he would have the life of the first man who should open that gate, or set enemy’s foot within side of that place.” He said the housekeeper, who was left in it, was a good gentlewoman, and had done him a service, though *she did not know him, nor he her*. He had never seen her face; but she had, the year before, lent his wife, when in distress, sixteen shillings, the rent of flax-ground, and he would stand her friend now.

‘ He kept back the mob; they agreed to send him to the house with a deputation of six, *to know the truth*, and to ask for arms. The six men went to the back-door, and summoned the housekeeper: one of them pointed his blunderbuss at her, and told her, that she must fetch all the arms in the house; she said she had none. Her champion asked her to say if she remembered him—“No; to her knowledge she had never seen his face.” He asked if she remembered having lent a woman money to pay her rent of flax-ground the year before? “Yes,” she remembered that, and named the woman, the time, and the sum. His companions were thus satisfied of the truth of what he had asserted. He bid her not to be *frighted*, “for that no harm should happen to her, nor any belonging to her; not a soul should get leave to go into her master’s house; not a twig should be touched, nor a leaf harmed.” His companions huzzaed and went off. Afterwards, as she was told, he mounted guard at the gate during the whole time the rebels were in the town; and thus was our house saved by the gratitude of a single individual.’ II. 220-223.

‘ When, on our return after several days, we came near Edgeworth-Town, we saw many well known faces at the cabin doors, looking out to welcome us. One man, who was digging in his field by the road side, when he looked up as our horses passed, and saw my father, let fall his spade and clasped his hands; his face, as the morning sun shone upon it, was the strongest picture of joy I ever saw. The village was a melancholy spectacle; windows shattered, and doors broken. But though the mischief done was great, there had been little pillage. Within our gates we found all property safe;



—literally “not a twig touched, nor a leaf harmed.” Within the house every thing was as we had left it;—a map that we had been consulting was still open on the library table, with pencils, and slips of paper containing the first lessons in arithmetic, in which some of the young people had been engaged the morning we had been driven from home; a pansy, in a glass of water, which one of the children had been copying, was still on the chimney-piece. These trivial circumstances, marking repose and tranquillity, struck us at this moment with an unreasonable sort of surprise, and all that had passed seemed like an incoherent dream. The joy of having my father in safety remained, and gratitude to Heaven for his preservation. These feelings spread inexpressible pleasure over what seemed to be a new sense of existence. Even the most common things appeared delightful; the green lawn, the still groves, the birds singing, the fresh air, all external nature, and all the goods and conveniences of life, seemed to have wonderfully increased in value, from the fear into which we had been put of losing them irrecoverably.’ II. 231, 232.

We have then a spirited sketch of the distraction produced by the first discussions on the Union, on which occasion Mr E. made his debut in Parliament, by speaking in favour of the measure, and voting against it—on the ground that, though expedient in itself, it ought not to be passed against the decided will of the country chiefly concerned. In a note found among his papers, we have the following brief, but striking memorial, of the means by which this great measure was ultimately brought about.

‘The influence of the Crown was never so strongly exerted as upon this occasion. It is but justice, however, to Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh to give it as my opinion, that they began this measure with sanguine hopes that they could convince the reasonable part of the community, that a cordial union between the two countries would essentially advance the interests of both. When, however, the ministry found themselves in a minority, and that a spirit of general opposition was rising in the country, a member of the House, who had been long practised in parliamentary intrigues, had the audacity to tell Lord Castlereagh from his place, that, “if he did not employ the usual means of persuasion on the members of the House, he would fail in his attempt; and that the sooner he set about it the better.”—This advice was followed; and it is well known what benches were filled with the proselytes that had been made by the convincing arguments which obtained a majority.’ II. 253, 254.

During the peace of Amiens, Mr E. went with his family to Paris, where he renewed several of the friendships he had formed thirty years before; and, by the kindness of the Abbé Morellet, passed at once into all that remained of the polite and enlightened society of France. The result of his comparison of its old and new state is given in these few words.

' He observed, that, among the families of the old nobility, domestic happiness and virtue had much increased since the Revolution, in consequence of the marriages which, after they lost their wealth and rank, had been formed, not according to the usual fashion of old French alliances, but from disinterested motives, from the perception of the real suitability of tempers and characters. The women of this class in general, withdrawn from politics and political intrigue, were more domestic and amiable; many wives, who had not formerly been considered as patterns of conjugal affection, having made great sacrifices and exertions for their husbands and families during the trials of adversity, became attached to them to a degree of which they had not perhaps known themselves to be capable, during their youthful days of folly and dissipation. — With regard to literature, he observed, that it had considerably degenerated. For the good taste, wit, and polished style which had characterized French literature before the Revolution, there was no longer any demand, and but few competent judges remained. The talents of the nation had been forced, by circumstances, into different directions. At one time, the hurry and necessity of the passing moment had produced political pamphlets, and slight works of amusement, formed to catch the public revolutionary taste. At another period, the crossing parties, and the real want of freedom in the country, had repressed literary efforts. Science, which flourished independently of politics, and which was often useful and essential to the rulers, had meanwhile been encouraged, and had prospered. The discoveries and inventions of men of science showed, that the same positive quantity of talent existed in France as in former times, though appearing in a new form.' II. 283-4.

He very narrowly escaped being detained on the breaking out of the war; and came afterwards to Scotland, where he left one of his sons, and where the literary society of this city had a transient opportunity of admiring the talents of his affectionate biographer. Mr E. soon after lost two children of the greatest promise and interest; and was actively employed in the establishment of telegraphic stations from Dublin to Galway. In 1806, he engaged in the greatest, and by far the most useful of all his public undertakings, the introduction of a better system of Education for the poor of his native country. He was one of the Commissioners appointed for that great national object, under the enlightened government of the Duke of Bedford, and contributed the most valuable of those Reports by which their labours have since been so wisely directed, and copied in other quarters. In 1809 he also took a most active and zealous part in the labours of another Parliamentary Commission for surveying and reclaiming the bogs of Ireland, and made up a most minute and elaborate Report upon the condition of that

district which had been allotted for his immediate superintendence. The result of the whole inquiry was, that there were near *three millions of acres* of peat or bog soil in Ireland, of which more than one half might be profitably converted to purposes of agriculture. Mr E., in particular, was so perfectly convinced of the practicability of this operation, that he offered to take a very large tract into his own management, and at his own risk; but there were some difficulties in giving a title that should fix the boundaries beyond the chance of future disputes; and the experiment was never tried.

There is next a pretty minute account of the different publications in which Miss E. was conjoined or assisted by her father, of all which she very dutifully ascribes the chief merit to him, and takes the blame of all the faults on herself. The account, however, which she gives of their joint labours, and of the way in which their parts were cast, is very interesting—though we can no longer afford room for an extract. She bears an honourable testimony to the liberality with which they were dealt with by their respectable bookseller the late Mr Johnson—though she has fallen into something like a Bull in her farewell notice of him. ‘The last letter,’ she says, ‘poor Johnson ever wrote, or rather dictated, was to my father. It was in his nephew’s hand, and communicated to us the following account of his death!’

The following remarks are consolatory, and lead to most serious practical conclusions.

‘The middle classes of gentry in this part of Ireland have, within these last thirty or forty years, improved much in their general mode of living, in manners, and in information. The whole style and tone of society are altered.—The fashion has passed away of those desperately tiresome, long, formal dinners, which were given two or three times a year by each family in the country to their neighbours, where the company had more than they could eat, and twenty times more than they should drink; where the gentlemen could talk only of claret, horses, or dogs; and the ladies, only of dress or scandal: so that in the long hours, when they were left to their own discretion, after having examined and appraised each other’s finery, many an absent neighbour’s character was torn to pieces, merely for want of something to say or to do in the stupid circle. But now, the dreadful circle is no more; the chairs, which formerly could only take that form at which the firmest nerves must ever tremble, are allowed to stand, or turn in any way which may suit the convenience and pleasure of conversation. The gentlemen and ladies are not separated from the time dinner ends, till the midnight hour, when the carriages came to the door to carry off the bodies of the dead; or, till just sense enough being left, to find their

way straight to the tea table, the gentlemen could only swallow a hasty cup of cold coffee or stewed tea, and be carried off by their sleepy wives, happy if the power of reproach were lost in fatigue.

‘ A taste for reading and literary conversation has been universally acquired and diffused. Literature has become, as my father long ago prophesied that it would become, fashionable; so that it is really necessary to all who would appear to advantage, even in the society of their country neighbours. A new generation of well-informed young people has grown up, some educated in England, some in Ireland; while those of former days have been obliged to change their tone of real or affected contempt for *reading people*. They have been compelled, either to cultivate themselves in haste, to keep pace with their neighbours, or to assume at least the appearance of understanding, and of liking that which has become the mode.

‘ About the year 1783 or 1784, my father happened to be present in the only great bookseller's shop then in Dublin, when a cargo of new books from London arrived; and among them, the *Reviews*, or the *Review*, for the Monthly Review was the only one then sufficiently in circulation to make its way to Ireland. Of these, my father found, on inquiry, that not above a dozen, or twenty at the utmost, were ordered in this island. I am informed that more than two thousand Reviews are now taken in regularly. This may give some measure of the general increase of our taste for literature. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are now to be found in the houses of most of our principal farmers; and all therein contained, and the positive, comparative, and superlative merits and demerits of Scott, Campbell, and Lord Byron, are now as common table and tea-table talk here, as in any part of the United Empire.

‘ The distinction, which about half a century ago was very strongly marked between the manners and mental cultivation of a few families of the highest class of the aristocracy in Ireland, and all of the secondary class of gentry, has now, by the diffusion of literature, and the general improvement in education, been softened so much, as to be effaced in its most striking points of contrast. What might be termed the monopoly of elegance and information, it is no longer possible to maintain. This may be mortifying in some few instances to pride; but good sense, to say nothing of benevolence or patriotism, will see ample compensation.’ II. 375-378.

There is scarcely any thing more of narrative or anecdote to be added. Mr E. continued usefully active, and uniformly cheerful and social in his family and neighbourhood, till he died, placidly and happily, in 1817, in the 78d year of his age.

The most important part of Mr E.'s studies, were those which related to Education; and no inconsiderable part of his daughter's invaluable publications have been upon the same subject. The great merit of these works, has always appeared to us to consist in their embodying, for the use of ordinary and inexpe-

rienced persons, in plain rules and examples, those observations as to the most effectual methods of instruction, which experience and reflection must have suggested to all minds of a higher order. It has been supposed, however, that they contained a new System or principle of education; and some peculiarities which they certainly did recommend, have been appealed to as proofs of this suspicious originality. To us, these peculiarities have ever presented themselves as blemishes; and it was therefore with great satisfaction that we found the greater part of them renounced and abjured in the work now before us.

Rousseau's plan, of postponing all sorts of teaching till the faculties were pretty well matured, was tried by Mr E. on his eldest son, and confessedly failed in a signal manner—the youth becoming irreclaimably headstrong, self-willed, and intractable, when the period for instruction arrived—and absolutely refusing to submit himself to any kind of discipline, or course of application.

The other peculiarities in the Edgeworth scheme of education, so far as we can recollect, are the jealous seclusion of the children from the society and conversation of servants—a nervous abstinence from all compulsion, fatigue, and constraint,—and the excessive use of the stimulants of praise, surprise, and curiosity, in order to excite both to application and invention. Now, all these peculiarities, which we confess always appeared to us fantastical and absurd, we are told in the work before us were ultimately abandoned by Mr E., and, with them, all pretensions to system, or originality in his scheme of education, renounced. Thus, with regard to servants, we find it here acknowledged, that ‘further experience convinced him ‘that it is impossible, in the world in which we live, to exclude ‘from the sight, hearing, and *imagination* of children, every ‘thing that is wrong; that the seclusion necessary for the attempt would be not only difficult, but dangerous, because it ‘would leave the judgment and resolution uninformed and unexercised on many points of conduct and manners;’ and that his early impressions upon this subject had been formed from the peculiarly bad race of servants that were to be found in Ireland in the time of his youth. As to the other points again, it is also observed, that Mr E., ‘with his last pupils, found the advantage of having the common elementary knowledge taught early and securely. He became sensible, that more of what may ‘be called *drudgery of mind*, than he had formerly thought ‘advantageous, is not only useful but necessary for children, ‘to train them to that degree of application, to which the quickest talents must submit, before they can succeed in any profession, or before they can advance in any path of business.’

‘science, or literature: Crowded as every path now is with competitors, even genius is doomed to labour before it can succeed.’ And it is added, that, for boys, he conceived a public education to be, on the whole, the most advisable; and that it would require a very uncommon concurrence of circumstances to make any other be thought of. It is also stated, that, in his later practice, ‘less praise and less stimulus of all kinds were used, than with his earlier pupils; upon the maxim, which applies as well to the mind as to the body, that the least quantity of stimulus that will preserve it in healthy action, is the best.’

Now in all this we most cordially concur;—and we think the Edgeworth scheme of education very signally improved by the corrections which its authors are here said to have made on it. But when these are once made to their full extent, in what can this scheme be said to differ from any other rational one that has been announced to the world, from the days of Xenophon and Quintillian down to those of Milton and Locke? We have no great faith, in short, in any pretended discoveries in this, more than in any other department of mental philosophy,—and are noway curious or sanguine as to any new or patent method of making men wise, virtuous, or free. The substance of what is taught at any period of society, is generally prescribed by the usages of that society; and may be fairly considered as beyond the control of any private individual. Whatever opinion we may entertain as to the importance of the learned languages, for instance, every gentleman must now learn them—us every lady must learn dancing and music; and any alteration in these respects is not so properly to be considered as an improvement in the methods of instruction, as a change in the habits of the nation. When we speak of improvements in education, therefore, we mean either contrivances for teaching what is commonly taught with more ease and security than is common,—or such observances as promise more effectually to excite and strengthen the intellect and judgment, or to form the character by the cultivation of moral habits and sensibilities. The last is, beyond all doubt, the most important; but it is in the first only, we think, that any real improvement has ever been made by the ingenuity of individuals. There have been infinite and undeniable improvements in the methods of teaching all the different branches of knowledge; and, so long as society continues to be progressive, such improvements will necessarily multiply and accumulate. Almost every invention in the arts and sciences themselves, may indeed be considered as a means of facilitating their acquisition;—as the notation of music—the introduction of logarithms and algo-

bra—the invention of various instruments and practical processes—the *Arithmetica*, and all other systems consisting of simple and judicious classification. In other cases, the improvement is directly in the method of teaching;—as in the Lancasterian system of mutual instruction—the process by which deaf and dumb persons are educated—and the more questionable inventions of Loxley and Feinagle. As to all *such* improvements in education, therefore, and especially when confined to expediting the acquisition of a single branch of knowledge, we are so far from entertaining any general scepticism, that we consider their frequent occurrence as among the inevitable consequences of a progressive advancement in the other arts of civilization; and have no doubt at all, that, as every succeeding generation will have more to learn than that which preceded it, it will also be enabled to acquire that learning with greater facility and despatch.

The case however, we cannot help thinking, is widely different with regard to those methods and practices by which it is sometimes pretended, not merely that some branch of knowledge may be better or sooner learned, but that the intellect may be improved, and the character exalted to a degree unattainable under any other system. Of all such pretensions, we confess we are in the highest degree distrustful; and are inclined indeed to think, that all persons of ordinary sense have always known and practised all that can be certainly known, or safely practised on the subject; and that almost everything that has been attempted beyond this, by the refinements of ingenious speculators, has been very fantastical and insignificant, and not only hazardous in practice, but exceedingly questionable in principle. Fortunately, indeed, for mankind, the development of our intellectual and moral capacities has not been left, in any great degree, to the contrivances of human genius, or the efforts of human skill and industry. Like our bodily powers, they for the most part develop themselves by an inward impulse and energy; and by far the most important guidance and direction they ever receive, is that which is derived from the general habits of the society into which we are thrown, rather than from the anxious efforts of individual and elaborate instruction. Unless in some very extraordinary cases, the common education of the times will do all for a man that the spirit of the times will allow any education to do him. Gross blunders may indeed be occasionally committed, and some good may be done by pointing these out, and warning the ignorant of their hazard;—but small ones seem to do no great mischief—less, probably, than the superfine methods and nice observ-

ances by which it is expected to avoid them: If possible, we suppose, to lay down very sage maxims for regulating a child's diet, and giving it always the very quantity and quality of food most fitted for its condition; and yet it would be absurd to expect more than the average degree of health and vigour from such an anxious training. It is the same, we are persuaded, with the food of the mind. There is a *vis medicatrix nature* in both parts of the system, which enables us to resist and throw off the effect of little irregularities and disturbances,—and perhaps makes us stronger by the effort; so that we thrive just as well under an ordinary treatment as under an exquisite one,—and may safely leave to Providence all that we cannot regulate without a great deal of trouble and contrivance.

The clear and well-digested statements and striking examples of such books as Miss E.'s, are of use, partly to caution the very rash and ignorant against gross and palpable blunders, but chiefly to give courage and assurance to anxious and inexperienced parents in the discharge of a task which they would, after all, have got well enough through without them. There is no parent in the decent ranks of life—none who could think of reading books for his improvement—who does not know that his child should be taught habits of application and self-command,—to speak truth—to avoid sensuality—to be obliging, considerate and firm; and, though they may not know very well how to explain the methods they pursue to obtain these ends, and may consequently be sometimes in doubt whether they are the best or fittest methods, it will generally be found that no great practical error is ever committed by persons of ordinary judgment, and that natural affection and common sense do all that it is material or safe to do for their attainment. For the truth is, not only that there is an instinctive wisdom that guides them aright in the task which Nature has imposed on them, but that the world, and the course of living, works along with them in those laudable endeavours—and not only helps them forward, day by day, and hour by hour, when they are in the right, but counterworks their errors when they are wrong, and bears them back into the right tract as often as they attempt to leave it. The bad consequences of any absurd or vicious proceeding are too soon felt and observed to be long tolerated; and, even where the child has been spoiled by the folly or neglect of its natural guardians, it is generally pretty effectually unspoiled again by its first collision with general society—except in the case of princes of the blood, provincial grandees, female beauties, and other unfortunate persons who are exempted from this wholesome discipline, and destined to live on, the victims of flattery and self-illusion.



The pain of this corrective process is not, for the most part, very formidable, and its efficacy, especially when early applied, is such as to leave us very little anxiety about early mismanagement, where it is not followed up by a continued course of ill example.

For these reasons, we are inclined to think but lightly of most elaborate and original plans of education—and to hold, that, even if they were to accomplish all they profess, the benefit would be too trifling to repay the trouble and anxiety of the execution. But, in reality, so far as we have ever seen, these exclusive and refined systems do not only fail of their promised end, but they are almost always attended with positive evils, of a nature at least as formidable as those they pretend to exclude. It is impossible to make young persons the object of any such peculiar and pretending method of instruction, without their being aware of it; and the consequence is, that, even where it succeeds the best, they are apt to look upon its peculiarities as so many titles to distinction, and to grow up with a preposterous conceit of their own superiority, and offensively to overrate the importance of any advantages it may have conferred on them—a habit of thinking far more incurable and unfavourable to real improvement than any that is usually generated by mere neglect or want of judgment in the conduct of education. Something of this tendency we should be disposed to ascribe even to the corrected system of the Edgeworths; and if it have not rendered its pupils somewhat presumptuous, self-sufficient, and pragmatical, we think they must have been more indebted to the good dispositions they have inherited from their mothers, than to the training they have received from the other members of the family.

ART. VII. *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland, being the Songs, Airs, and Legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart.* Collected and illustrated by JAMES HOGG, Author of the *Queen's Wake*, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 444. Edinburgh, 1819.

WE gather, from some remarks in the Introduction to this volume, that the undertaking was suggested at a meeting of the Highland Society of London, to which it is dedicated. Nothing can be more praiseworthy than the purpose of rescuing from the oblivion to which they were hurrying swiftly, the monuments raised by the poetical genius of our countrymen who had devoted themselves to the exiled family; and he must either be a squeamish politician, or a cold admirer of song,

who can suffer the pernicious and absurd principles consecrated in those effusions of the Jacobite muse, to interfere with the wish common to every good Scotchman, that the literary merits of his country, in all ages, should meet with their full share of praise. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that the language held upon this subject by many persons among us in the present times, is peculiarly reprehensible. The controversy between the two families and their partisans is wholly laid at rest, by the course of nature, indeed, as well as of political events; and long ago it ceased to be at all a practical question. Yet do we find a strange sort of spirit lately sprung up—a sort of speculative Jacobitism, not wholly romantic, neither, we are afraid, but connected with the events of the times, and a sort of twin brother to the newfangled doctrine of legitimacy. The praises of the Cavaliers are lavishly chanted; the devotion of the Stuart partisans is consecrated as something more than human; the exiled house is represented in the most false and favourable lights; and the Whigs are vilified in an equal proportion, and with no kind of discrimination. Now the men who show their zeal in this truly preposterous manner, run no risk, much less do they make the smallest sacrifice; yet they seem to exult in the disinterested gallantry and constancy of the old and real Jacobites, as if they belonged themselves to the caste. In a sound skin, they publish what, even half a century ago, would have cost them either ear; and they would fain persuade themselves that they have a right to glory in the romantic purity of their honest zeal for a beaten cause. Now all this is not mere folly and affectation; nor is it all enthusiasm. The persons who indulge in this lofty strain *have some things* in common with that party whose personal attachment, gallantry, and contempt of danger, they have no pretension to share. Like them, they hate the cause of popular principles; they dislike a free and rational government; they had rather see a king unfettered by a parliament; a judge unchecked by a jury; and a press free to praise only the stronger side, and restrained from palliating all abuses save those of power. To promulgate such doctrines openly, even at this time of day, and large as the strides are which have been made within a few years, might not be altogether safe; and accordingly their advocates are eager in seizing every opportunity of crying up those who were the victims of such principles in a former age, and of stamping with every mark of opprobrium and ridicule the great men to whom we owe the whole blessings of the English constitution.

Mr Scott's avowed writings are not entirely free from this imputation; and those still more popular works which are so generally ascribed to him, abound with instances of the spirit of

which we are speaking. But not only are such things far less reprehensible in works of pure fiction; Mr Scott is an artist of far greater delicacy than his imitators; and a sly hint, or a joke, or an incidental remark, may be allowed to pass unnoticed, while we turn with disgust from the clumsy matter-of-fact statements of Jacobite doctrine which others have not scrupled to put forth. Of these we know none more deserving of censure than the compiler of the volume before us, and, before touching upon its literary merits, we must be suffered to prefix a word or two upon its politics.

If Mr Hogg had confined himself to the praises which the poetical merit of the Jacobite poetry so often calls forth with justice; if he had only extolled that side of the question as beyond comparison the most 'smit with the love of sacred song;' or if he had contented himself with giving the misguided adherents of the cause their due applause for disinterested valour, no one could have blamed him, even if, like a truly able and successful defender of those bad principles, David Hume, he had contrived to make the worse appear the better reason by dexterity of statements and skilful narrative. But his is not that judicious abstinence, which gains what greediness never can reach, that delicate hand which feels its way, and gains admittance where brute force knocks in vain. See the plain undisguised manner in which he lays down the most offensive propositions, until he scares those who, by more lenient methods, might have been favourably disposed to him. 'They (the songs) are the unmasked effusions of a bold and primitive race, who hated and despised the *overturning innovations* that prevailed in Church and State, and held the abettors of these as dogs, or something worse—drudges in the lowest and foulest paths of perdition—beings too base to be spoken of with any degree of patience and forbearance.' (p. viii.) Nor can this writer shelter himself under the pretext that he meant here only to describe the light in which the illustrious founders of English liberty were viewed by their adversaries. Throughout the whole book he identifies himself with them; and, in the Introduction, he even brings forward his principles under a sanction which would excite no little surprise, were there the smallest reason to doubt that he has himself been most grossly deceived. 'Had it not,' he says, 'been rendered *necessary* for our kings of the House of Brunswick to maintain the sovereignty to which they were called by the prevailing voice of the nation, they seem never to have regarded those the law denominated rebels otherwise than with respect.' The absurdity of this passage is sufficiently glaring. George I. and George II., it seems, would have respected the Balmorinos and the Lovats, had they not been

the very persons against whom those worthies rebelled;—but as it was, they testified their respect by the hands of the hangman! But he proceeds to give what he calls *proofs* of the position, that the princes of the House of Brunswick are at heart Jacobites.

The first is, that Frederick, Prince of Wales, rebuked his wife for throwing some blame upon the lady who harboured the Pretender when he flung himself ‘upon her protection in ‘the extremity of peril.’ ‘I hope in God,’ said his Royal Highness, ‘you would have done so in the same circumstances.’ Now, to what does this amount, but that even Frederick, perhaps the least magnanimous of all the Brunswick princes, yet felt what every human being must feel on such an occasion, without entering in the least into the merits of the question out of which it arose? We know that the law calls it treason to shelter a traitor; but the man who most abhors the crime, would feel himself almost as unable to resist the sympathy which overwhelmed him, when he suddenly found a fellow-creature’s life in his hands, as to perform the last office of the law upon him. This is all that Frederick meant; and we rather marvel that the partialities of his august spouse for a nobleman of known jacobite tendencies, were not rather cited as evidence that the late king took his jacobitism by descent. However, the author goes on to *prove* his late Majesty also an adherent of the Stuart family, in preference to the Hanoverian. Not only did he restore the forfeited estates, and afford relief in money to the distresses of the exiled house, (why was the restoration of the national dress also omitted?) but Mr Hogg adds, that since his Majesty is ‘now secluded from his government and people,’ and we may consider him as a deceased monarch,’ he will relate ‘a trait which marked his sentiments of those who stood ‘for the cause of his unfortunate relative.’ We proceed to give this notable trait in the author’s own words—premiting, that we verily believe neither he nor any man living would have ventured to publish such a thing, had not the late king been, as he says, in the state of ‘a deceased monarch.’ ‘His Majesty having been told of a gentleman of family and fortune ‘in ~~Perthshire~~ <sup>Perthshire</sup>, who had not only refused to take the oath of ‘allegiance to him, but had *never permitted him* (the king) to ‘*be named as king in his presence*. Carry my compliments to ‘him,’ said the king, ‘but—what—stop—no;—he may perhaps not receive my compliments as King of England—give him the *Elector of Hanover’s compliments*, and tell him that he respects the steadiness of his principles.’ Now, we will at once take upon us to affirm, from internal evidence, that

every one word of this is a pure fabrication, probably of some one who wished to impose on Mr Hogg's credulity. The late King was no more the man to utter such affected stuff, than Mr Pitt was the man to die with '*Oh my country!*'\* in his mouth, even if he had been at the moment in a state of mind to speak coherently. His Majesty was a plain, rational person, utterly incapable of such nonsense. The folly of it was as much beneath his good sense, as its conceit was beyond his ingenuity. If any person could have ventured to tell him the anecdote on which the tale is founded, it must have been in order to laugh in broad grins at the Highlander to whom it related. If the monarch had taken it at all seriously, he would have begun by showing his displeasure at the rash narrator. That he should send his compliments, or, in Mr Hogg's words, desire his compliments to be *given*, implies he must have forgotten both the purity of his language, and the etiquette of his station. But the kind of message—the vile buffoonery and clumsy conceit of it—really evinces a degree of vulgarity and affectation in the inventor which can only be equalled by the profound ignorance which it shows of the King's taste and character.

Not content with this, however, our author must needs put into the mouth of his present Majesty, a speech, which, if not so absurd, is quite in the same taste, and, we will venture to assert, quite as credible as the former. 'He was heard (it seems) to express himself one day before a dozen of gentlemen of both nations, with the greatest warmth as follows.—"I have always regarded the attachment of the Scots to the Pretender—I beg your pardon, gentlemen—to prince Charles Stuart I mean—as a lesson to me whom to trust in the hour of need." Really this is too much. Mr Hogg must have been either grossly gulled, or he has exercised his own fancy. When did any one—much less any one of a family remarkable for knowledge of etiquette, even beyond other royal personages—ever talk of Prince Charles Stuart? We shall next hear, we suppose, of Duke Frederick Guelph. These are not trifles—they demonstrate that some one's fancy has been at work; and, to the eye of a person who knows such matters, they do as incontestably disclose the hand of the fabricator, as false Scotch would betray to a countryman of Mr Hogg, the imposture of any one who should put into his mouth bad verses fabricated in

---

\* We presume the reader is aware, that all Mr Pitt's friends deny this tale, which some one palmed upon Mr Rose. Indeed it refutes itself.

London. But the present king is charged with a greater indecorum in one respect, than even that imputed to his venerable parent. Why, we desire to know, should he trust those who pertinaciously resisted, endeavoured to destroy, and continued successfully to ridicule his whole family, rather than those who uniformly defended them, and whose attachment was at least as steady, though somewhat more successful, than the hostility of the other party? The King, we again assert, is incapable of such a low species of flattery; and one in which the part is so clumsily overdone, as to apologize to 'a dozen gentlemen of both nations' for using the ordinary word Pretender. That he should ever have happened in his whole life to be in such a society (partly English, too, be it observed) as should not make the speech in question a most fulsome and inappropriate compliment, we think quite beyond all probability. After such specimens as those we have now given, the reader will wonder the less at Mr Hogg's concluding, by making the whole family Jacobites in direct terms. This feat he performs in the following fashion.

'Captain Stuart of Invernahoye's singular remark was not, it seems, quite without foundation. A gentleman, in a large company, gibed him for holding the king's commission, while, at the same time, he was a professed Jacobite. "So I well may," answered he, "in imitation of my master: *the king himself is a Jacobite.*" The gentleman shook his head, and remarked, that the thing was impossible. "By G—," said Stuart, "but I tell you he is, and every son that he has. There is not one of them who (if he had lived in my brave father's days) would not to a certainty have been hanged." pp. 7. xi.

We can excuse the simplicity—the *bon-homme*, to use a word not easily translated—which could make this good old Centurion swallow and retail such nonsense. But Mr Hogg's silliness is of a more dull cast; and it is mixed up with such practical heresies as these—'Now, when the horrors of the *Catholic religion* have ceased to oppress the minds of men, there is but 'one way of thinking on *the rights* of the Stuarts throughout 'the realm.' Whereby he means, if the passage has any sense at all, that the only objection to the family was their religion, or rather the hatred unreasonably felt of it in England, and that their right would now be universally admitted if they were still in the field. Truly this writer knows little of either the past or present state of the country.—Do the despotic principles of the Stuarts go for nothing? Did he never hear of the statutes which proclaim the political delinquencies of the Stuarts, and the Liturgy, in which all England still returns thanks for being secured from *arbitrary power* as well as from Popery?

But to argue with such writers is waste of time ;—we only notice their follies, because a fashion seems of late to have been springing up of treating the grievous and unpardonable faults of the Stuarts more gently than is consistent with a due sense of the obligations we owe to the great men who drove them from the country which they had misgoverned. Mr Hogg carries this a step further, and helps to cast imputations on the memory of those founders of a liberty which he either cannot appreciate, because his principles are slavish, or sets little account upon, because its history—its adventures—will not serve to work up into middling poems, and ‘*Tales*’ calculated to lengthen and sadden a ‘*Winter’s Evening*.’

The plan of this work, its politicks apart, is an extremely laudable one. Many of the Jacobite Songs are worthy of a better cause; and, indeed, its romantic features were far from being ill adapted to poetry. Certain it is, that if the sound principles lay entirely on one side, the good poetry was exclusively the lot of the other; and more tame and spiritless productions cannot well be conceived than those of the Whig bards, whose effusions have been subjoined by Mr Hogg to his Jacobite Relics,—for the purpose, it should seem, of showing their inferiority, rather than with the candid intention of hearing both sides. It is not pronouncing too harsh a sentence on these to affirm, that they rise but little above the average merit of the collections frequently made of the squibs in use at contested Elections among our English neighbours—from whose pens, indeed, our national partialities are somewhat soothed to find that all those rhymes have proceeded. ‘Of all the Whig songs,’ says the editor, ‘there is not one that I can trace to be of Scottish original.’

The Jacobite muse is very differently endowed; though we will confess that her warblings have somewhat disappointed us. Not that we deny the merit of many of them; but because the proportion of insipid, middling, and positively bad is far greater than we had expected. This may no doubt be owing to the compiler’s taste, which is evidently of a coarse and vulgar description. He has certainly had the means of discovering all the relics of value which exist; and few have probably perished in the short period that has elapsed since they were composed. Voluminous collections were open to his researches in the hands of all good Jacobites: Besides innumerable contributors of detached songs, he mentions eleven of those stores; and, at length, they poured in upon him so profusely that he ‘actually grew terrified when he heard of a MS. volume.’ It adds greatly to the value of the collection, that the musick of each air is

given; and copious notes are subjoined, containing remarks and extracts—the former not always very happy or very elegant—the latter generally from books in common use; but, upon the whole, conveying a great deal of the information requisite to illustrate the text. These notes are, in bulk, exactly equal to the text; and the Appendix, beside the Whig effusions already mentioned, gives a number of Jacobite songs, the airs of which he could not discover. This class is inferior in merit, generally speaking, to the other, and comprises several English songs.

The first song in the volume is that famous one, ‘*The King shall enjoy his own again,*’ which is said to have produced such marvellous effects in favour of the Royal cause during half of the seventeenth century,—and, during a great part of the eighteenth, to have animated their falling hopes. It is altogether English, and possesses no kind of poetical merit. Probably the words of the burthen, and the air, may have been the cause of its success. In the notes upon it, Mr Hogg makes mention of a Dr Walker who ‘happened to be *overseer of the market at Ipswich* in Suffolk, on account of giving false evidence at an assize held ‘there.’ (p. 155.) In other words, he stood in the pillory for perjury. Now, if Mr Hogg thinks to make himself popular by imitating some of the bad and bald jokes of Walter Scott’s notes, we must whisper to him that it was in spite, and not in consequence, of such things that the Minstrel’s fame waxed great. The third and fourth songs are in ridicule and vituperation of Leslie’s Marches—to Scotland and to Marston Moor. Of the former, Mr Hogg says, ‘It is the most perfect thing of the kind to be found in that or any other age; and, wild as some of the expressions are, must be viewed as a great curiosity. It is the very essence of sarcasm and derision, and possesses a spirit and energy for which we may look in vain in any other song existing.’ Sure we are, these remarks are any thing rather than either perfect, or spirited, or even ‘a curiosity’—except it be for containing at once a specimen of the bathos and the hyperbole. A good notion of the taste of the editor may however be gathered from it. We therefore subjoin two verses of the piece he thus extols—premising that the second is so much coarser than even these, as to preclude our inserting it;—for, of the Jacobite muse, it may be said, as was once observed ‘of her Jacobin sister—though she may have the *mille ornatus*, *the mille decenter habet* is quite another matter.’

March!—march!—pinks of election,

Why the devil don’t you march onward in order?

March!—march!—dogs of redemption,

Ere the blue bonnets come over the Border.



You shall preach, you shall pray,  
 You shall teach night and day,  
 You shall prevail o'er the kirk gone aw'horing ;  
 Dance in blood to the knees,  
 Blood of God's enemies !  
 The daughters of Scotland shall sing you to snoring.  
 March !—march !—scourges of heresy !  
 Down with the kirk and its whilliebaleery !  
 March !—march !—down with supremacy  
 And the kist fu' o' whistles, that maks sic a clcary ;  
 Fife-men and pipers braw,  
 Merry deils, tak them a',  
 Gown, lace, and livery—lickpot and ladle ;  
 Jockey shall wear the hood,  
 Jenny the sark of God—  
 For codpiece and petticoat, dishclout and daidle. ' pp. 5-7.

This extract has brought us at once to the cardinal defect of Mr Hogg, as the editor of a selection. He praises almost indiscriminately, and he wants delicacy almost entirely. Thus he describes, in one note, a poem on George the First's arrival in England, and public entry into his capital, as having ' more humour of the kind than any thing he ever saw ; ' as ' being a high treat ; ' an ' old poem of sterling rough humour, ' and so forth ; yet, from the six or seven pages of it which he gives as a sample, we should be disposed to think it one of those rough diamonds (as they are termed), the roughness of which is admitted—the value uncertain ; a remark applicable to the men, as well as the verses, which are frequently so designated. It is dull, flat, and extremely indelicate. Of the coarseness we dare not give specimens ; let these lines suffice to show forth its other merits.

' Next these a Presbyterian Shot-man,  
 In state affairs a very hot man,  
 Advanc'd among the 'prentice boys  
 And prick-ear'd saints, those sons of noise,  
 Who seldom in such pomp appear  
 Elated, but when danger's near.  
 This rank republican, and great  
 Reformer of the church and state,  
 Although he's rich, yet made his father  
 His porter, or his packhorse rather,  
 And threaten'd oft, as some have heard him,  
 In case he grumbled, to discard him ;  
 Yet every Tuesday cramm'd a crew,  
 Of pantile parsons, God knows who,  
 Whilst his poor father, now at ease,  
 Was glad to feed on bread and cheese :

For which, and other things as bad,  
 Returning from the cavalcade,  
 His courser gave him such a cant,  
 That broke the noddle of the saint,  
 And would have given his brains a bruise,  
 But that he'd none to hurt or lose.' p. 277.

We should fatigue our readers, were we only to make references to the instances of this editor's gross and coarse taste, with which this volume abounds. Some songs and prose quotations seem, indeed, selected for no other merits than their vulgar ribaldry. Why else, for instance, is the passage from the mock funeral oration on Hugh Peters given at p. 257? Not surely to display the editor's acquaintance with history, which is so great that he stops to inform his readers who Hugh Peters was, and speaks of him as a person wholly unknown.

But another principle of selection is much more apparent throughout the book. The text is filled with songs, and the notes with extracts, the only merit of which is their virulent abuse of the Hanoverian or Constitutional party, or, as they are generally denominated, the Whigs. And, as the old Whigs of the Covenant are vilified under the same name, Mr Hogg manifestly indulges in the insertion of attacks upon them, with the hope that the great body of persons now known by that denomination may share the odium or the ridicule scattered by those obsolete lampoons. We must pass over the vile and filthy attacks upon George I. and his favourites, because we cannot, without offence to all propriety, cite them; but, as a specimen of the rancour which dictates Mr Hogg's selections, we would refer to the several songs against Bishop Burnet, which are utterly destitute of either poetry or wit, and do not even pretend to be of Scotch origin. In scurrility and barefaced falsehood, however, they make ample amends for all their other defects; whereof take one instance. The Bishop is not only represented as having had 'a spice of every vice,' but his *greediness of gold* is particularly specified. In the notes on these pieces, Mr Hogg says not a word to contradict this notorious untruth; though, with singular ignorance of the subject, he does say that he 'was always a moderate man.' Dr King, in his Memoirs (and he was a staunch Jacobite), while he truly represents him as 'a furious party man, and easily imposed upon,' adds, that 'he was a better pastor than any man who is now seated on the bench of bishops;' and praises him for his exemplary disinterestedness and carelessness of gain, which was so great that he only left his children their mother's fortune, deeming it criminal to save a farthing of his Episcopal revenues. After this

the reader will be the less surprised to learn, that the Duke of Marlborough is represented in one song, as as difficult to be rescued from hell as the Bishop; and that King William is celebrated in another for his cowardice in battle. One 'excellent song' is dedicated to the abuse of the celebrated Archibald, Earl of Argyle, who fell a victim, in 1685, to the most atrocious and perfidious tyranny that ever cursed any modern nation. The following is the concluding stanza.

' Thus having yielded up baith his sword and durk,  
These bonny boys convey'd him to Edinburg;  
Where with a train he enters the Watergate,  
The hangman walking before him in muckle state,

With a hemp garter,

The martyr

To quarter,

And by the lugs to cut the loon shorter.

The same fate ever wait

To crown the rebel's pate,

And all such traitors as dare oppose the state.' p. 177.

Not a syllable is added by Mr Hogg on the vile and dull scurrility of this 'excellent Scotch song,' as he is pleased to term it—not a word upon the detestable oppression here dignified with the name of 'the state;' and to oppose which is held so foul a crime. Yet it relates to the man of whom Mr Fox, in his History, has closed the biography in these memorable words—'Such were the last hours, and such the final close of this great man's life. May the like happy serenity, in such dreadful circumstances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all whom tyranny, of whatever denomination and description, shall in any age or country call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold!' p. 211. And with reference to whom, as if with a prophetic knowledge of the sort of persons who were likely to join in crying down so illustrious a martyr to liberty, he afterwards remarks, that our 'disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men whom the world calls wise in their generation.'

One of these songs, professing to give the character of a Whig, we are told by the critic, was a great favourite with the Tory clubs of Scotland during the late war, in detestation of those who deprecated the principles of Pitt; and he observes, that it is 'the most violent of all the party songs, bitter as they are.' For this reason alone is it here inserted; for its dulness is at least equal to its violence. Of its correct application to the Whigs of our day, the reader may judge, when it is told that it begins with describing them as *saintly hypocrites*. All this, however, suits Mr Hogg's nice and cleanly palate.

mightily; and that we may have enough of so good a thing, he subjoins the prose character of a Whig, 'drawn by the celebrated Butler,' and which sets out with stating him to be 'the spawn of a regicide, hammered out of a rank Anabaptist hy-pocrite;' and forthwith becomes too indecent to be further transcribed. We will here just mention, for the edification of Mr Hogg, that the 'celebrated Butler,' who, among many other vituperations, compares a Whig to the nettle, because 'the more gently you handle him, the more he is apt to hurt you,' is well known to those who know any thing of literary history, to have lived in the family, supported by the bounty, of Sir S. Luke, one of Cromwell's captains, at the very time he planned his *Hudibras*, of which he was pleased to make his kind and hospitable patron the hero. Now we defy the history of Whiggism to match this anecdote,—or to produce so choice a specimen of the human nettle.

That we may not close this article without a specimen of the good songs which the book contains, we shall extract the one which, for sly characteristic Scotch humour, seems to us the best; though we doubt if any of our English readers will relish it.

Donald's gane up the hill hard and hungry;  
Donald comes down the hill wild and angry;  
Donald will clear the gowk's nest cleverly.  
Here's to the king and Donald Macgillavry.\*  
Come like a weigh-bauk, Donald Macgillavry,  
Come like a weigh-bauk, Donald Macgillavry;  
Balance them fair, and balance them cleverly:  
Off wi' the counterfeit, Donald Macgillavry.

Donald's run o'er the hill but his tether, man,  
As he were wud, or stang'd wi' an ether, man;  
When he comes back, there's some will look merrily:  
Here's to King James and Donald Macgillavry.  
Come like a weaver, Donald Macgillavry,  
Come like a weaver, Donald Macgillavry,  
Pack on your back, and elwand sae cleverly;  
Gie them full measure, my Donald Macgillavry.

Donald has foughten wi' rief and roguery;  
Donald has dinner'd wi' banes and beggary:  
Better it were for Whigs and Whiggery  
Meeting the Devil than Donald Macgillavry.  
Come like a tailor, Donald Macgillavry,  
Come like a tailor, Donald Macgillavry:

---

\* Donald Macgillavry is here put for the Highland Clans generally.

Push about, in and out, thrable them cleverly.  
Here's to King James and Donald Macgillavry !

Donald's the callan that brooks nae tangleness ;  
Whiggung, and priggung, and a' newfangelness,  
They maun be gane : he winna be baukit, man ;  
He maun hae justice, or faith he'll tak it, man.

Come like a cobler, Donald Macgillavry,  
Come like a cobler, Donald Macgillavry ;  
Beat them, and bore them, and lingel them cleverly.  
Up wi' King James and Donald Macgillavry !

Donald was mumpit wi' mirds and mockery ;  
Donald was blinded wi' blads o' property ;  
Arles ran high, but makings were naething, man :  
Lord, how Donald is flyting and fretting, man !  
Come like the devil, Donald Macgillavry,  
Come like the devil, Donald Macgillavry ;  
Skelp them and scaud them that prov'd sae unbritherly.

Up wi' King James and Donald Macgillavry !' p. 100-102.

ART. VIII. *The Sketch Book.* By GEOFFREY CRAYON, Gent.  
2 Vols. 8vo. London, 1819, 1820.

**T**HOUGH this is a very pleasing book in itself, and displays no ordinary reach of thought and elegance of fancy, it is not exactly on that account that we are now tempted to notice it as a very remarkable publication,—and to predict that it will form an era in the literature of the nation to which it belongs. It is the work of an American, entirely bred and trained in that country—originally published within its territory—and, as we understand, very extensively circulated, and very much admired among its natives. Now, the most remarkable thing in a work so circumstanced certainly is, that it should be written throughout with the greatest care and accuracy, and worked up to great purity and beauty of diction, on the model of the most elegant and polished of our native writers. It is the first American work, we rather think, of any description, but certainly the first purely literary production, to which we could give this praise; and we hope and trust that we may hail it as the harbinger of a purer and juster taste—the foundation of a chaster and better school, for the writers of that great and intelligent country. Its genius, as we have frequently observed, has not hitherto been much turned to letters; and, what it has produced in that department, has been defective in taste certainly rather

than in talent. The appearance of a few such works as the present will go far to encourage this approach also; and we cordially hope that the author's merited success, both at home and abroad, will stimulate his countrymen to copy the method by which he has attained it; and that they will submit to receive, from the example of their ingenious compatriot, that lesson which the precepts of strangers do not seem hitherto to have very effectually inculcated.

But though it is primarily for its style and composition that we are induced to notice this book, it would be quite unjust to the author not to add, that he deserves very high commendation for its more substantial qualities; and that we have seldom seen a work that gave us a more pleasing impression of the writer's character, or a more favourable one of his judgment and taste. There is a tone of fairness and indulgence—and of gentleness and philanthropy so unaffectedly diffused through the whole work, and tempering and harmonising so gracefully, both with its pensive and its gayer humours, as to disarm all ordinarily good-natured critics of their asperity, and to secure to the author, from all worthy readers, the same candour and kindness of which he sets so laudable an example. The want is of force and originality in the reasoning, and speculative parts, and of boldness and incident in the inventive:—though the place of these more commanding qualities is not ill supplied

---

\* While we are upon the subject of American literature, we think ourselves called upon to state, that we have lately received two Numbers, being those for January and April last, of '*The North American Review, or Miscellaneous Journal*,' published quarterly at Boston, which appears to us to be by far the best and most promising production of the press of that country that has ever come to our hands. It is written with great spirit, learning and ability, on a great variety of subjects; and abounds with profound and original discussions of the most interesting topics. Though abundantly patriotic, on other national topics, is nothing offensive or absolutely unbecomingly in the tone of its politics; and no very reprehensible marks of either of national partialities or antipathies. The style is generally good, though with some exceptions—and sins oftener from imitation than ignorance. But the work is of a powerful and manly character, and is decidedly superior to any thing of the kind that existed in Europe twenty years ago.

It is a proud thing for us to see Quarterly Reviews propagating bold truths and original speculations in all quarters of the world; and, when we grow old and stupid ourselves, we hope still to be honoured in the talents and merits of those heirs of our principles, and children of our example.

by great liberality and sound sense, and by a very considerable vein of humour, and no ordinary grace and tenderness of fancy. The manner perhaps throughout is more attended to than the matter; and the care necessary to maintain the rythm and polish of the sentences, has sometimes interfered with the force of the reasoning, or limited and impoverished the illustrations they might otherwise have supplied.

We have forgotten all this time to inform our readers, that the publication consists of a series or collection of detached essays and tales of various descriptions—originally published apart, in the form of a periodical miscellany, for the instruction and delight of America—and now collected into two volumes for the refreshment of the English public. The English writers whom the author has chiefly copied, are Addison and Goldsmith, in the humorous and discursive parts—and our own excellent Mackenzie, in the more soft and pathetic. In their highest and most characteristic merits, we do not mean to say that he has equalled any of his originals, or even to deny that he has occasionally caricatured their defects. But the resemblance is near enough to be highly creditable to any living author; and there is sometimes a compass of reasoning which his originals have but rarely attained.

To justify these remarks, we must now lay a specimen or two of this Hesperian essayist before our readers;—and we shall begin with one that may give some idea of his humorous vein, and his power of pleasant narration, at the same time that it relates to the scenery and superstitions of his native country. We allude to the legend of Rip Van Winkle, which begins as follows.

‘Whoever has made a voyage up the Hudson, must remember the Kaatskill mountains. They are a dismembered branch of the great Appalachian family, and are seen away to the west of the river, swelling up to a noble height, and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed every hour of the day, produces some change in the magical hues and shapes of these mountains, and they are regarded by all the good wives, far and near, as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled, they are clothed in blue and purple, and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky; but sometimes, when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of grey vapours about their summits, which, in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory.

‘At the foot of these fairy mountains, the voyager may have descried the light smoke curling up from a village, whose shingle roofs gleam among the trees, just where the blue tints of the upland melt away into the fresh green of the nearer landscape. It is a little village of great antiquity, having been founded by some of the Dutch

colonists, in the early times of the province, just about the beginning of the government of the good Peter Stuyvesant, (may he rest in peace!) and there were some of the houses of the original settlers standing within a few years, built of small yellow bricks brought from Holland, having latticed windows and gable fronts, surmounted with weathercocks.

'In that same village, and in one of these very houses, (which, to tell the precise truth, was sadly time worn and weather beaten,) there lived, many years since, while the country was yet a province of Great Britain, a simple good natured fellow, of the name of Rip Van Winkle.' p. 57-59.

We pass over a very entertaining account of honest Rip's sufferings under a termagant wife, and of the various pastimes with which he sought to cheat the miseries of his thralldom.

'Times grew worse and worse with Rip Van Winkle as years of matrimony rolled on; a tart temper never mellows with age, and a sharp tongue is the only edge-tool that grows keener with constant use. For a long while he used to console himself, when driven from home, by frequenting a kind of perpetual club of the sages philosophers, and other idle personages of the village; which held its sessions on a bench before a small inn, designated by a rubicund portrait of his Majesty George the Third. Here they used to sit in the shade, of a long lazy summer's day, talk listlessly over village gossip, or tell endless sleepy stories about nothing. But it would have been worth any statesman's money to have heard the profound discussions that sometimes took place, when by chance an old newspaper fell into their hands, from some passing traveller. How solemnly they would listen to the contents, as drawled out by Derrick Van Bummel, the schoolmaster, a dapper learned little man, who was not to be daunted by the most gigantic word in the dictionary; and how sagely they would deliberate upon public events some months after they had taken place.' p. 65, 66.

When driven from this retreat, he used to take his gun and shoot squirrels all day among the mountains.

'In a long ramble of this kind, on a fine autumnal day, Rip had unconsciously scrambled to one of the highest parts of the Kaatskill mountains. He was after his favourite sport of squirrel shooting; and the still solitudes had echoed and re-echoed with the reports of his gun. Panting and fatigued, he threw himself, late in the afternoon, on a green knoll, covered with mountain herbage, that crowned the brow of a precipice. From an opening between the trees he could overlook all the lower country for many a mile of rich woodland. He saw at a distance the lordly Hudson, far, far below him, moving in its silent but majestic course, with the reflection of a purple cloud, or the sail of a lagging bark, here and there sleeping on its glassy bosom, and at last losing itself in the blue highlands.

On the other side he looked down into a deep mountain glen, wild, lonely, and shaggy, the bottom filled with fragments from the



impending cliffs, and scarcely lighted by the reflected rays of the setting sun. For some time Rip lay musing on this scene; evening was gradually advancing; the mountains began to throw their long blue shadows over the valleys; he saw that it would be dark long before he could reach the village, and he heaved a heavy sigh when he thought of encountering the terrors of Dame Van Winkle.

As he was about to descend, he heard a voice from a distance, hallooing, "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!" He looked around, but could see nothing but a crow winging its solitary flight across the mountain. He thought his fancy must have deceived him, and turned again to descend, when he heard the same cry ring through the still evening air; "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!"—He looked anxiously in the same direction, and perceived a strange figure slowly toiling up the rocks, and bending under the weight of something he carried on his back. He was surprised to see any human being in this lonely and unfrequented place; but supposing it to be some one of the neighbourhood in need of his assistance, he hastened down to yield it.

On nearer approach, he was still more surprised at the singularity of the stranger's appearance. He was a short square built old fellow, with thick bushy hair, and a grizzled beard. His dress was of the antique Dutch fashion—a cloth jerkin strapped round the waist—several pair of breeches, the outer one of ample volume, decorated with rows of buttons down the sides, and bunches at the knees. He bore on his shoulder a stout keg, that seemed full of liquor, and made signs for Rip to approach and assist him with the load.' pp. 68—70.

They scramble up the ravine together in silence, till they reach a green hollow in the bosom of the mountains.

On entering the amphitheatre, new objects of wonder presented themselves. On a level spot in the centre was a company of odd-looking personages playing at nine-pins. They were dressed in a quaint, outlandish fashion: some wore short doublets, others jerkins, with long knives in their belts, and most of them had enormous breeches, of similar style with that of the guide's. Their visages, too, were peculiar: one had a large head, broad face, and small pig-gish eyes; the face of another seemed to consist entirely of nose, and was surmounted by a white sugarloaf hat, set off with a little red cocktail. They all had beards, of various shapes and colours. There was one who seemed to be the commander. He was a stout old gentleman, with a weather-beaten countenance. He wore a laced doublet, broad belt and hanger, high crowned hat and feather, red stockings, and high heeled shoes, with roses in them. The whole group reminded Rip of the figures in an old Flemish painting, in the parlour of Dominie Van Schaick, the village parson, and which had been brought over from Holland at the time of the settlement.

What seemed particularly odd to Rip, was, that though these folks were evidently amusing themselves, yet they maintained the gravest

faces, the most mysterious silence, and were, withal, the most melancholy party of pleasure he had ever witnessed. Nothing interrupted the stillness of the scene, but the noise of the balls, which, whenever they were rolled, echoed along the mountains like rumbling peals of thunder.

As Rip and his companion approached them, they suddenly desisted from their play. His companion now emptied the contents of the keg into large flagons, and made signs to him to wait upon the company. He obeyed with fear and trembling: they quaffed the liquor in profound silence, and then returned to their game.

By degrees, Rip's awe and apprehension subsided. He even ventured, when no eye was fixed upon him, to taste the beverage, which he found had much of the flavour of excellent Hollands. He was naturally a thirsty soul, and was soon tempted to repeat the draught. One taste provoked another; and he reiterated his visits to the flagon so often, that at length his senses were overpowered; his eyes swam in his head; his head gradually declined, and he fell into a deep sleep.

On waking, he found himself on the green knoll from whence he had first seen the old man of the glen. He rubbed his eyes—it was a bright sunny morning. The birds were hopping and twittering among the bushes, and the eagle was wheeling aloft, and breasting the pure mountain breeze. “Surely,” thought Rip, “I have not slept here all night.” He recalled the occurrences before he fell asleep. The strange man with a keg of liquor—the mountain ravine—the wild retreat among the rocks—the wo-begone party at nine-pins—the flagon—“Oh! that flagon! that wicked flagon!” thought Rip—“what excuse shall I make to Dame Van Winkle?”

He looked round for his gun, but in place of the clean well-oiled fowling-piece, he found an old firelock lying by him, the barrel encrusted with rust, the lock falling off, and the stock worm-eaten. He now suspected that the grave roysters of the mountain had put a trick upon him, and having dosed him with liquor, had robbed him of his gun. Wolf, too, had disappeared, but he might have strayed away after a squirrel or partridge. He whistled after him and shouted his name, but all in vain; the echoes repeated his whistle and shout, but no dog was to be seen. p. 72-75.

He spends some time, in a fruitless search, for the scene and the companions of his evening revel; and at last resolves to go home.

As he approached the village he met a number of people, but none whom he knew, which somewhat surprised him, for he had thought himself acquainted with every one in the country round. Their dress, too, was of a different fashion from that to which he was accustomed. They all stared at him with equal marks of surprise; and whenever they cast eyes upon him, invariably stroked their chins. The constant recurrence of this gesture induced Rip, involuntarily, to do the same, when, to his astonishment, he found his beard had grown a foot long!

‘He had now entered the skirts of the village. A troop of strange children ran at his heels, hooting after him, and pointing at his grey beard. The dogs too not one of which he recognised for an old acquaintance, barked at him as he passed. The very village was altered: it was larger and more populous. There were rows of houses which he had never seen before, and those which had been his familiar haunts had disappeared. Strange names were over the doors—strange faces at the windows—everything was strange. His mind now misgave him: he began to doubt whether both he and the world around him were not bewitched p. 77, 78.

He looks in vain for his antient dame and his dog; and, leaving his deserted house,

He now hurried forth, and hastened to his old resort, the village inn—but it too was gone. A large rickety wooden building stood in its place, with great gaping windows, some of them broken, and mended with old hats and petticoats, and over the door was painted, “The Union Hotel, by Jonathan Doolittle.” Instead of the great tree that used to shelter the quiet little Dutch inn of yore, there now was reared a tall naked pole, with something on top that looked like a red night cap, and from it was fluttering a flag, on which was a singular assemblage of stars and stripes—all this was strange and incomprehensible. He recognised on the sign, however, the ruby face of King George, under which he had smoked so many a peaceful pipe, but even this was singularly metamorphosed. The red coat was changed for one of blue and buff, a sword was held in the hand instead of a sceptre, the head was decorated with a cocked hat, and underneath was painted in large characters, GENERAL WASHINGTON.

‘There was, as usual, a crowd of folk about the door, but none that Rip recollected. The very character of the people seemed changed. There was a busy, bustling, disputatious tone about it, instead of the accustomed phlegm and drowsy tranquillity. He looked in vain for the sage Nicholas Vedder, with his broad face, double chin, and fair long pipe, uttering clouds of tobacco smoke instead of idle speeches; or Van Bummel, the schoolmaster, doling forth the contents of an ancient newspaper. In place of these, a lean bilious-looking fellow, with his pockets full of handbills, was haranguing vehemently about rights of citizens—election—members of congress—liberty—Bunker’s hill—heroes of seventy-six—and other words, that were a perfect Babylonish jargon to the bewildered Van Winkle.

‘The appearance of Rip, with his long grizzled beard, his rusty fowling piece, his uncouth dress, and the army of women and children that had gathered at his heels, soon attracted the attention of the tavern politicians. They crowded round him, eyeing him from head to foot, with great curiosity. The orator bustled up to him, and drawing him partly aside, inquired “on which side he voted?” Rip stared in vacant stupidity. Another short but busy little fellow pulled him by the arm, and rising on tiptoe, inquired in his ear, “whether he was Federal or Democrat.” Rip was equally at a loss

to comprehend the question; when a knowing, self-important old gentleman, in a sharp cocked hat, made his way through the crowd, putting them to the right and left with his elbows as he passed, and planting himself before Van Winkle, with one arm akimbo, the other resting on his cane, his keen eyes and sharp hat penetrating, as it were, into his very soul, demanded, in an austere tone, "what brought him to the election with a gun on his shoulder, and a mob at his heels, and whether he meant to breed a riot in the village?" "Alas! gentlemen," cried Rip, somewhat dismayed, "I am a poor quiet man, a native of the place, and a loyal subject of the King, God bless him!"

'Here a general shout burst from the bystanders—"A tory! a tory! a spy! a refugee! hustle him! away with him!" it was with great difficulty that the self-important man in the cocked hat restored order; and having assumed a tenfold austerity of brow, demanded again of the unknown culprit what he came there for, and whom he was seeking. The poor man humbly assured him that he meant no harm, but merely came there in search of some of his neighbours, who used to keep about the tavern.—"Well—who are they?—name them."—Rip bethought himself a moment, and inquired, "Where's Nicholas Vedder?"—There was a silence for a little while, when an old man replied, in a thin piping voice, "Nicholas Vedder? why he is dead and gone these eighteen years! There was a wooden tombstone in the churchyard that used to tell all about him, but that's rotted and gone too."—"Where's Brom Dutcher?"—"Oh, he went off to the army in the beginning of the war; some say he was killed at the storming of Stoney-Point—others say he was drowned in a squall at the foot of Antony's Nose. I don't know—he never came back again."—"Where's Van Bummel, the school-master?"—"He went off to the wars too, was a great militia general, and is now in Congress."—Rip's heart died away, at hearing of these sad changes in his home and friends, and finding himself thus alone in the world. Every answer puzzled him, too, by treating of such enormous lapses of time, and of matters which he could not understand: war—congress—Stoney-Point;—he had no courage to ask after any more friends.

\* At this critical moment a fresh likely-looking woman pressed through the throng to get a peep at the grey-bearded man. She had a chubby child in her arms, which, frightened at his looks, began to cry. "Hush, Rip," cried she, "hush, you little fool, the old man won't hurt you." The name of the child, the air of the mother, the tone of her voice, all awakened a train of recollections in his mind. "What is your name, my good woman?" asked he.—"Judith Gardenier."—"And your father's name?"—"Ah, poor man, his name was Rip Van Winkle; it's twenty years since he went away from home with his gun, and never has been heard of since—his dog came home without him; but whether he shot himself, or was carried away

by the Indians, nobody can tell. I was then but a little girl." — Rip had but one question more to ask; but he put it with a faltering voice: — "Where's your mother?" — Oh, she too had died but a short time since; she broke a blood-vessel in a fit of passion at a New-England pedlar. — There was a drop of comfort, at least, in this intelligence. The honest man could contain himself no longer. — He caught his daughter and her child in his arms. — "I am your father!" cried he. — "Young Rip Van Winkle once — old Rip Van Winkle now!" pp. 80-87.

Upon his identity being duly ascertained, he is taken home to his daughter's house, and resumes most of his antient habits.

He used to tell his story to every stranger that arrived at Mr Doollittle's hotel. He was observed, at first, to vary on some points every time he told it, which was, doubtless, owing to his having so recently awaked. It at last settled down precisely to the tale I have related, and not a man, woman, or child in the neighbourhood, but knew it by heart. Some always pretended to doubt the reality of it, and insisted that Rip had been out of his head, and that this was one point on which he always remained flighty. The old Dutch inhabitants, however, almost universally gave it full credit. Even to this day they never hear a thunder storm of a summer afternoon, about the Kaatskill, but they say Hendrick Hudson and his crew are at their game of nine pins; and it is a common wish of all henpecked husbands in the neighbourhood, when life hangs heavy on their hands, that they might have a quieting draught out of Rip Van Winkle's flagon.' pp. 91-92.

We have made rather large extracts from this facetious legend — and yet have mangled it a little in our abridgement. But it seemed fair and courteous not to stint a stranger on his first introduction to our pages; and what we have quoted, we are persuaded, will justify all that we have said in his favour.

We shall now make another long extract from a paper of a very different character; an essay on the temper in which recent English writers have spoken of America. The tone of the author upon this delicate subject is admirable — and the substance of his observations so unanswerably just and reasonable, that we cannot help thinking that they will produce beneficial effects, in both the countries to which they relate. He begins by observing, that notwithstanding the great intercourse which subsists between the two countries, 'there is no people concerning whom the great mass of the British public has less pure information, or entertains more numerous prejudices.' And this he explains, in part, by suggesting that —

'It has been the peculiar lot of our country to be visited by the worst kind of English travellers. While men of philosophical spirit and cultivated minds have been envoys from England to rapack the

poles, to penetrate the deserts, and to study the manners and customs of barbarous nations, with which she can have no permanent intercourse of profit or pleasure; it has been left to the broken down tradesman, the scheming adventurer, the wandering mechanic, the Manchester and Birmingham agent, to be her oracles respecting America. 'From such sources she is content to receive her information respecting a country in a singular state of moral and physical development: a country in which one of the greatest political experiments in the history of the world is now performing, and which presents the most profound and momentous studies to the statesman and the philosopher.' pp. 99-100.

What follows, however, is of infinitely greater importance—and we have the less scruple in borrowing largely from this part of the work before us, that we should otherwise have felt it our duty to endeavour, in our own words, to inculcate the same doctrines,—most probably with less authority, at least on our side of the water, and certainly with less elegance and force of writing.

'I shall not, however, dwell on this irksome and hackneyed topic; nor should I have adverted to it, but for the undue interest apparently taken in it by my countrymen, and certain injurious effects which I apprehended it might produce upon the national feeling. We attach too much consequence to these attacks. They cannot do us any essential injury. The tissue of misrepresentations attempted to be woven round us, are like cobwebs woven round the limbs of an infant giant. Our country continually outgrows them. One falsehood after another falls off of itself. We have but to live on, and every day we live a whole volume of refutation. All the writers of England united, if we could for a moment suppose their great minds stooping to so unworthy a combination, could not conceal our rapidly-growing importance and matchless prosperity. They could not conceal that these are owing, not merely to physical and local, but also to moral causes. To the political liberty, the general diffusion of knowledge, the prevalence of sound moral and religious principles, which give force and sustained energy to the character of a people; and in fact, have been the acknowledged and wonderful supporters of their own national power and glory.

'For ourselves, therefore, it is comparatively of but little importance whether England does us justice or not: it is, perhaps, of far more importance to herself. She is instilling anger and resentment into the bosom of a youthful nation, to grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. If in America, as some of her writers are labouring to convince her, she is hereafter to find an invidious rival, and a gigantic foe, she may thank those very writers for having provoked rivalry, and irritated hostility. Every one knows the all-pervading influence of literature at the present day, and how much the opinions and passions of mankind are under its control. The

mere contests of the sword are temporary; their wounds are but in the flesh, and it is the pride of the generous to forgive and forget them; but the slanders of the pen, pierce to the heart; they rankle longest in the noblest spirits; they dwell ever present in the mind, and render it morbidly sensitive to the most trifling collision. It is but seldom that any one overt act produces hostilities between two nations; there exists, most commonly, a previous jealousy and ill will; a predisposition to take offence. Trace these to their cause, and how often will they be found to originate in the mischievous effusions of mercenary writers, who, secure in their closets and for ignominious bread, concoct and circulate the venom that is to inflame the generous and the brave.

I am not laying too much stress upon this point; for it applies most emphatically to our particular case. Over no nation does the press hold a more absolute control than over the people of America; for the universal education of the poorest classes makes every individual a reader. There is nothing published in England on the subject of our country, that does not circulate through every part of it. There is not a calumny dropt from an English pen, nor an unworthy sarcasm uttered by an English statesman, that does not go to blight good will, and add to the mass of latent resentment. Possessing, then, as England does, the fountain-head from whence the literature of the language flows, how completely is it in her power, and how truly is it her duty, to make it the medium of amiable and magnanimous feeling—a stream where the two nations might meet together, and drink in peace and kindness. Should she, however, persist in turning it to waters of bitterness, the time may come when she may repent her folly. The present friendship of America may be of but little moment to her; but the future destinies of that country do not admit of a doubt; over those of England there lower some shadows of uncertainty. Should, then, a day of gloom arrive; should those reverses overtake her, from which the proudest empires have not been exempt; she may look back with regret at her infatuation, in repulsing from her side a nation she might have grappled to her bosom, and thus destroying her only chance for real friendship beyond the boundaries of her own dominions.

There is a general impression in England, that the people of the United States are inimical to the parent country. It is one of the errors which have been diligently propagated by designing writers. There is, doubtless, considerable political hostility, and a general soreness at the illiberality of the English press; but, collectively speaking, the prepossessions of the people are strongly in favour of England. Indeed, at one time they amounted, in many parts of the Union, to an absurd degree of bigotry. The bare name of Englishman was a passport to the confidence and hospitality of every family, and too often gave a transient currency to the worthless and the ungrateful. Throughout the country there was something of enthusiasm connected with the idea of England. We looked to it with a

hallowed feeling of tenderness and veneration, as the land of our forefathers—the august repository of the monuments and antiquities of our race—the birth-place and mausoleum of the sages and heroes of our paternal history. After our own country, there was none in whose glory we more delighted—none whose good opinion we were more anxious to possess—none toward which our hearts yearned with such throbbings of warm consanguinity. Even during the late war, whenever there was the least opportunity for kind feelings to spring forth, it was the delight of the generous spirits of our country to show that, in the midst of hostilities, they still kept alive the sparks of future friendship.

Is all this to be at an end? Is this golden band of kindred sympathies, so rare between nations, to be broken for ever?—Perhaps it is for the best—it may dispel an illusion which might have kept us in mental vassalage, interfered occasionally with our true interests, and prevented the growth of proper national pride. But it is hard to give up the kindred tie! and there are feelings dearer than interest—closer to the heart than pride—that will still make us cast back a look of regret, as we wander farther and farther from the paternal roof, and lament the waywardness of the parent, that would repel the affections of the child.

Shortsighted and injudicious, however, as the conduct of England may be in this system of aspersion, recrimination on our part would be equally ill-judged. I speak not of a prompt and spirited vindication of our country, or the keenest castigation of her slanderers—but I allude to a disposition to retaliate in kind, to retort sarcasm and inspire prejudice, which seems to be spreading widely among our writers. Let us guard particularly against such a temper, for it would double the evil, instead of redressing the wrong. Nothing is so easy and inviting as the retort of abuse and sarcasm; but it is a paltry and unprofitable contest. It is the alternative of a morbid mind, fretted into petulance, rather than warmed into indignation. If England is willing to permit the mean jealousies of trade, or the rancorous animosities of politics, to deprave the integrity of her press, and poison the fountain of public opinion, let us beware of her example. She may deem it her interest to diffuse error, and engender antipathy, for the purpose of checking emigration; we have no purpose of the kind to serve. Neither have we any spirit of national jealousy to gratify; for as yet, in all our rivalships with England, we are the rising and the gaining party. There can be no end to answer, therefore, but the gratification of resentment—a mere spirit of retaliation, and even that is impotent. Our retorts are never republished in England; they fall short, therefore, of their aim;—but they foster a querulous and peevish temper among our writers; they sour the sweet flow of our early literature, and sow thorns and brambles among its blossoms. What is still worse, they circulate through our own country, and, as far as they have effect, excite virulent national prejudices. This last is the evil most especially to



be deprecated. Governed, as we are, entirely by public opinion, the utmost care should be taken to preserve the purity of the public mind. Knowledge is power, and truth is knowledge; whoever, therefore, knowingly propagates a prejudice, wilfully saps the foundation of his country's strength.

‘ But, above all, let us not be influenced by any angry feelings, so far as to shut our eyes to the perception of what is really excellent and amiable in the English character. We are a young people, necessarily an imitative one, and must take our examples and models, in a great degree, from the existing nations of Europe. There is no country more worthy of our study than England. The spirit of her constitution is most analogous to ours. The manners of her people—their intellectual activity—their freedom of opinion—their habits of thinking on those subjects which concern the dearest interests and most sacred charities of private life, are all congenial to the American character—and, in fact, are all intrinsically excellent; for it is in the moral feeling of the people that the deep foundations of British prosperity are laid; and however the superstructure may be time-worn, or overrun by abuses, there must be something solid in the basis, admirable in the materials, and stable in the structure of an edifice, that so long has towered unshaken amidst the tempests of the world.

‘ Let it be the pride of our writers, therefore, discarding all feelings of irritation, and disdaining to retaliate the illiberality of British authors, to speak of the English nation without prejudice, and with determined candour. While they rebuke the indiscriminating bigotry with which some of our countrymen admire and imitate every thing English, merely because it is English, let them frankly point out what is really worthy of approbation. We may thus place England before us as a perpetual volume of reference, wherein are recorded sound deductions from ages of experience; and while we avoid the errors and absurdities which may have crept into the page, we may draw thence golden maxims of practical wisdom, wherewith to strengthen and to embellish our national character.’ pp. 104–116.

It is consolatory to the genuine friends of mankind—to the friends of peace and liberty and reason—to find such sentiments gaining ground in the world; and, above all, to find them inculcated with so much warmth and ability by a writer of that country which has had the strongest provocation to disown them, and whose support of them is, at the present moment, by far the most important. We have already pledged ourselves to do what in us lies to promote the same good cause;—and if our labours are only seconded in America with a portion of the zeal and eloquence which is here employed in their behalf, we have little doubt of seeing them ultimately crowned with success. It is impossible, however, in the mean time, to disguise, that much more depends upon the efforts of the American writ-

ers, than upon ours; both because they have naturally the most weight with the party who is chiefly to be conciliated, and because their reasonings are not repelled by that outrageous spirit of party which leads no small numbers among us, at the present moment, to reject and vilify whatever is recommended by those who are generally opposed to their plans of domestic policy. The aspect of the times has compelled us to oppose many of the measures of the party now in power in this country:—and the consequence has been, that their baser retainers make it a point of conscience to abuse all that we recommend, though no way connected with questions of politics or party; and we have thus acquired the extraordinary power of making our bitterest adversaries say any thing we please—as often as we can bring ourselves to say just the contrary. The number of persons, however, who are above this miserable influence, and judge for themselves upon all general questions, is rapidly increasing in our land: and we have no doubt that we shall, every quarter, make more and more proselytes to all our doctrines that are right in themselves, and supported with temperance and reason.

In justice to the work before us, however, we should say, that a very small proportion of its contents relates either to politics, or to subjects at all connected with America. There is a ‘Legend of Sleepy Hollow,’ which is an excellent *pendant* to Rip Van Winkle; and there are two or three other papers, the localities of which are Transatlantic. But out of the thirty-five pieces which the book contains, there are not more than six or seven that have this character. The rest relate entirely to England; and consist of sketches of its manners, its scenery, and its characters, drawn with a fine and friendly hand—and remarks on its literature and peculiarities, at which it would be difficult for any rational creature to be offended. As a specimen of the manner in which those Sketches are executed, we add the following account of the author’s visit to a country church in an aristocratical part of the country.

“The congregation was composed of the neighbouring people of rank, who sat in pews sumptuously lined and cushioned, furnished with richly-gilded prayer books, and decorated with their arms upon the pew doors; of the villagers and peasantry, who filled the back seats, and a small gallery beside the organ; and of the poor of the parish, who were ranged on benches in the aisles.

“The service was performed by a snuffing, well fed vicar, who had a snug dwelling near the church. He was a privileged guest at all the tables of the neighbourhood, and had been the keenest fox-hunter in the county, until age and good living had disabled him from doing any thing more than ride to see the hounds throw off, and make one at the hunting dinner.

‘ Under the ministry of such a pastor, I found it impossible to get into the train of thought suitable to the time and place ; so having, like many other feeble Christians, compromised with my conscience, by laying the sin of my own delinquency at another person’s threshold, I occupied myself by making observations on my neighbours.

‘ I was as yet a stranger in England, and curious to notice the manners of its fashionable classes. I found, as usual, that there was the least pretension where there was the most acknowledged title to respect. I was particularly struck, for instance, with the family of a nobleman of high rank, consisting of several sons and daughters. Nothing could be more simple and unassuming than their appearance. They generally came to church in the plainest equipage, and often on foot. The young ladies would stop and converse, in the kindest manner, with the peasantry, caress the children, and listen to the stories of the humble cottagers. Their countenances were open and beautifully fair, with an expression of high refinement, but, at the same time a frank cheerfulness, and an engaging affability. Their brothers were tall, and elegantly formed. They were dressed fashionably, but simply ; with strict neatness and propriety, but without any mannerism or foppishness. Their whole demeanour was easy and natural, with that lofty grace, and noble frankness, which bespeak free-born souls that have never been checked in their growth by feelings of inferiority. There is a healthful hardness about real dignity, that never dreads contact and communion with others, however humble. It is only spurious pride that is morbid and sensitive, and shrinks from every touch. I was pleased to see the manner in which they would converse with the peasantry about those rural concerns and field sports, in which the gentlemen of this country so much delight. In these conversations, there was neither haughtiness on the one part, nor servility on the other ; and you were only reminded of the difference of rank by the habitual respect of the peasant.

‘ In contrast to these, was the family of a wealthy citizen, who had amassed a vast fortune ; and, having purchased the estate and mansion of a ruined nobleman in the neighbourhood, was endeavouring to assume all the style and dignity of an hereditary lord of the soil. The family always came to church *en prince*. They were rolled majestically along in a carriage emblazoned with arms. The crest glittered in silver radiance from every part of the harness where a crest could possibly be placed. A fat coachman in a three-cornered hat, richly laced, and a flaxen wig, curling close round his rosy face, was seated on the box, with a sleek Danish dog beside him. Two footmen in gorgeous liveries, with huge bouquets, and gold-headed canes, lolled behind. The carriage rose and sunk on its long springs with peculiar stateliness of motion. The very horses champed their bits, arched their necks, and glanced their eyes more proudly than common horses ; either because they had got a little of the family feeling, or were reined up more tightly than ordinary.

' I could not but admire the style with which this splendid pageant was brought up to the gate of the churchyard. There was a vast effect produced at the turning of an angle of the wall. A great cracking of the whip; straining and scrambling of the horses; glistening of harness, and flashing of wheels through gravel. This was the moment of triumph and vain-glory to the coachman. The horses were urged and checked until they were fretted into a foam. They threw out their feet in a prancing trot, dashing about pebbles at every step. The crowd of villagers sauntering quietly to church, opened precipitately to the right and left, gaping in vacant admiration. On reaching the gate, the horses were pulled up with a suddenness that produced an immediate stop, and almost threw them on their haunches.

' There was an extraordinary hurry of the footmen to alight, open the door, pull down the steps, and prepare everything for the descent on earth of this august family. The old citizen first emerged his round red face from out the door, looking about him with the pompous air of a man accustomed to rule on 'change, and shake the stock market with a nod.' &c. p. 202-207.

' As I have brought these families into contrast, I must notice their behaviour in church. That of the nobleman's family was quiet, serious, and attentive. Not that they appeared to have any fervour of devotion, but rather a respect for sacred things, and sacred places, inseparable from good breeding. The others, on the contrary, were in a perpetual flutter and whisper; they betrayed a continual consciousness of finery, and a sorry ambition of being the wonders of a rural congregation.

' The old gentleman was the only one really attentive to the service. He took the whole burden of family devotion upon himself, standing bolt upright, and uttering the responses with a loud voice that might be heard all over the church. It was evident that he was one of those thorough church and king men, who connect the idea of devotion and loyalty; who consider the duty, somehow or other, of the government party, and religion "a very excellent sort of thing, that ought to be countenanced and kept up."

' When he joined so loudly in the service, it seemed more by way of example to the lower orders, to show them that, though so great and wealthy, he was not above being religious; as I have seen a turtle-fed alderman swallow publicly a basin of charity soup, smacking his lips at every mouthful, and pronouncing it "excellent food for the poor."

' When the service was at an end, I was curious to witness the several exits of my groups. The young noblemen and their sisters, as the day was fine, preferred strolling home across the fields, chatting with the country people as they went. The others departed as they came, in grand parade. Again were the equipages wheeled up to the gate. There was again the smacking of whips, the clattering of hoofs, and the glittering of harness. The horses started off almost at a bound; the villagers again hurried to right and left; the

wheels threw up a cloud of dust; and the aspiring family was rapt out of sight in a whirlwind.' pp. 210-212.

There are many better things than this in these volumes, but they are not easily extracted; and we believe that we have now done enough for the courteous and ingenious stranger whom we are ambitious of introducing to the notice of our readers. It is probable, indeed, that many of them have become acquainted with him already; as we have found the book in the hands of most of those to whom we have thought of mentioning it, and observe that the author, in the close of his last volume, speaks in very grateful terms of the encouragement he has received. We are heartily glad of it, both for his sake and for that of literature in general. There is a great deal too much contention and acrimony in most modern publications; and because it has unfortunately been found impossible to discuss practical questions of great interest without some degree of heat and personality, it has become too much the prevailing opinion, that these are necessary accompaniments to all powerful or energetic discussion, and that no work is likely to be well received by the public, or to make a strong impression, which does not abound in them. The success of such a work as this before us, may tend to correct this prejudice, and teach our authors that gentleness and amenity are qualities quite as attractive as violence and impertinence; and that truth is not less weighty, nor reason less persuasive, although not ushered in by exaggerations, and backed by defiance.

ART. IX. MAGNUS KONONGS LAGA-BETTERS GULA-THINGS-LAUG—*Regis Magni legum reformatoris leges Gulathingenses, sive Jus Commune Norvegicum.* Havniæ, 1817.

AMONGST the Scandinavians, the pristine simplicity of the jurisprudence of their forefathers long continued pure and unsullied. Various causes protected the sincerity of their Gothic common law, which, even in the sixteenth century, was encircled by the landmarks which had bounded it in the days of Birgher the Wise, and Magnus the Reformer. No ruler sprung from another race was ever seated on the thrones of the Northern kingdoms. Unassailed and unconquered by the foreigner, their wars were the inglorious quarrels of brethren who wasted their common country. The land was spoiled, yet still it remained free from extraneous dominion; and the laws were transmitted from age to age, equally unimpaired by power, and uncontaminated by learning.

Feudality never expanded beyond the germ. The native institutions common to all the Gothic tribes, bore but a slight affinity to the military tenures and relations created by the ancient duties of fidelity, protection and defence in the territories of the Empire, France and England, where the retainers of the chieftain gave way to the vassals of the baron. The Northmen were originally strangers to the Feudal jurisdictions, and to the rules and principles emanating from the feudal tribunals, which incorporated themselves with the entire system of civil and criminal legislation of those countries where they prevailed.

Neither did the Imperial law or the Canon law acquire any preponderating authority. Whilst the judges of Upsala pronounced the doom which had been taught by Odin and the Asi, they disregarded the Decretals and the Pandects. Compared with the jurisprudence prevailing in the rest of Gothic Europe, the total rejection of the written reason derived from Rome or Constantinople, constitutes a peculiar characteristic of the Scandinavian laws. Elsewhere, the codes of the Pontiff and the Cæsar had been introduced or sustained by the efforts of the Roman clergy; but the Scandinavians were the last of the Gothic nations who received the tidings of Christianity; and though they embraced its doctrines with sincerity, and held the orthodox creed with purity, yet the hierarchy never became so deeply engrafted in the Northern commonwealth, as in the other countries of Christendom. Church and state were imperfectly wedded; and the mystic union which, in a limited monarchy, is one of the most efficient and salutary of the elements of public welfare, failed to acquire its needful harmony. Adam of Bremen, an author justly termed the Herodotus of the North, wrote at a period when Christianity was winning its way into Scandinavia; and he has described the ecclesiastical government of these Neophyte realms. The bishops of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, had no distinct sees or individual endowments: all the shepherds tended all the flocks: their lives were employed in journeying through the regions assigned to their care, in strengthening the belief of the faltering Christian, and in reclaiming the erring Pagan from the adoration of the Gods of slaughter.

In process of time this primitive vigilance decayed, and the apostolical poverty of the hierarchy was succeeded by a more regular and attractive organization. The Prelate was enthroned in the Quire, and the canons were installed around him; but the clergy did not obtain any possessions of unseemly magnitude, nor did their power overshadow the laity, as in climates which were less remote from Saint Peter's chair. So paramount

was the influence of the national character, that even the ecclesiastical courts conformed in many respects to the course of the common law, not only in their principles of jurisprudence, but also in their legal forms, which, in the opinion of the lawyer, are oftener of greater consequence than either principles or doctrine. The churchmen who were obedient to the common law, in the Court Christian could not gain the mastery in the secular tribunals, where the judicial power was derived from the nation, not from the sovereign. The law was the tradition of the old time. The unlettered husbandmen assembled on the jury, which declared the truth, or uttered the sentence. Neither roll nor record authenticated their judgment or their verdict; and the unwritten pleadings received no assistance from the cunning of the clerk, who was seldom required to assist, and never empowered to preside.

Administered by the people themselves, the law did not become the occupation of a distinct profession, and was never exalted into the dignity of a science, which, assisting or perplexing the humble suitor, advances the student and the sage to rank, and opulence, and honour. They had no ermined judges, no sercants of the quoir, no advocates, no senators. There were men who were soundly versed in their old patrimonial customs and usages; but they practised the laws as public characters who availed themselves of every talent which could bestow preeminence in a popular assembly, yet were not severed from the body of the nation by their pursuits. It was in ~~black~~ that the law spake, not in Latin. Unadorned by forensic cultivation, the Gothic law received no amelioration from cultivated talent. Whilst time passed on, it sojourned in its old rude cunning and capricious equity. But, like all other human institutions, it was destined to decay. The reformation of religion; the partial introduction of the most odious of the servitudes imposed by the feudal system, the changes which were sustained by the Scandinavian constitutions under the increasing power of the crown and of the aristocracy, shook and undermined the venerable fabric. Political storms usually induce some alteration even in the tenure of property. Indifferent actions are considered as crimes, and crimes are repressed with increasing severity. When the Dane acquired the powers of the autocrat, and the Swede was declared to be an hereditary monarch, the whole system of law and justice was remodelled. The institutions which had sprung from a popular form of government, declined with waning freedom, until at length their value and excellence expired in the fearful struggle between oligarchy and despotism.

The earliest point from which we can trace the progress of Scandinavian law with any degree of precision, is much later than the corresponding era in the history of the other 'Barbaric' codes. England seems to have given an impulse to the jurisprudence of Norway. Athelstane, the Lord of Earls, the giver of golden bracelets, the most brilliant of the Saxon warriors, is seen, in some measure, both as a romantic monarch, and as a mythic legislator: our ancient poetical charters are ascribed to him; and he also is quoted as the grantor in other documents, which we would receive as genuine, if we dared, but which, we fear, must be vouched only as constitutional fictions. Popular gratitude magnified the meed of the conqueror, by seeking to ascribe the franchise of the burghs to the sovereign whose sword had protected his subjects from the invader. Haco, the foster-son of Athelstane, was educated in the Hall of the English King, and perhaps profited by the example of the successors of Ina; for he is the first authentic legislator in the annals of Norway.

Four supreme tribunals had been established in the country, it being divided into as many jurisdictions; and the four codes which were promulgated by Haco, \* the *ÆDSIVIATHINGSLAUG*—the *GULATHINGSLAUG*—the *FROSTATHINGSLAUG*,—and the *BORGARTHINGSLAUG*, obtained their names from the dioceses in which they were respectively enforced; but as they merely differ from each other in arrangement, and in some few regulations adapted to the constitution of the courts of each district, they may be considered as forming only one collection of customs and statutes. The code of the pagan Haco was modified by OLAV, the sainted King of Norway, who directed the abrogation of such laws as were hostile to the milder spirit of Christianity. These statute books and laws were enacted in a meeting of the nation; and the legislators speak in the name of the People, and admonish them that 'such is the beginning of *our* law.—We must turn our faces towards the east, and pray unto Christ to grant us good tide and peace, that we may keep our land without travail; and our King, the Lord of our land, with health and grace, may be our friend; and may we be his friend for ever more.' *MAGNUS* the Good, *OLAVE* the Prenceable, and *MAGNUS ERLINGSEN*, incorporated various laws which had received their assent in the codes of Haco and Saint Olave; and the older text probably experienced a silent revision. In the reign of *MAGNUS* the son of Haco, the Norwegians required



that their codes should be again modified. The new digest was accomplished under the auspices of the King, who thence acquired the epithet of *Lögabætir*, or the amender or reformer of the law. The code concludes with the following recital of its enactment, which is well worthy of attention—‘ King Magnus  
 ‘ collected together out of all the books in the land the laws  
 ‘ which he thought to be the best, with the advice of the best  
 ‘ men, and he caused this book to be written. Then did he  
 ‘ appear himself in the folk-moot of Guloe, and caused it to be  
 ‘ read aloud. - - - - - Should it appear to any  
 ‘ one of his lawful successors that this book needs amendment,  
 ‘ then let him alter it so as to promote the honour of God, the  
 ‘ salvation of his own soul, and the welfare of his people. - -  
 ‘ - - - This book was taken as law in the Shire Courts of Gu-  
 ‘ loe on the eve of Saint John, when one thousand two hundred  
 ‘ and seventy-four winters had gone by since the birth of our  
 ‘ Lord Jesus Christ, and in the eleventh year of the reign of  
 ‘ King Magnus.’

In the corrected *Gulathingslaug*, the laws are classed with greater order, and expressed with greater clearness. The harshness and severity of the jurisprudence of Haco Athelstane, yielded in many instances to the good sense of Magnus and his counsellors; and, at the same time, due care was taken that the rights and privileges of the crown should be defined with a degree of care and accuracy, which had been considered as unnecessary in the days of the earlier monarchs. \* No further alteration took place in the Norwegian law, until the final subjection of the country.

Iceland, while independent, was first governed by the laws and usages which had prevailed amongst the Norwegian colonists at the period of their emigration. These, when the island became fully settled, were collected in writing by *Ulfíott*, some time in the tenth century; but the name alone of ‘ *Ulfíott’s law* ’

---

\* This code is published, for the first time, in the original language, (together with Danish and Latin versions), in the volume noticed at the head of this article. An ‘ *index vocum variorum* ’ contains many terms of law not to be found in *Hulderston’s Icelandic Lexicon*, and adds much to the value of the work. The text of the code is given with critical fidelity; but the learned editors, the trustees of the foundation of *Arnas Magnæus*, have not added any explanatory notes. It is understood that the Swedes also intend to give new editions of their laws, under the patronage of the King. At present they are only to be found in the rare editions which appeared in the seventeenth century; and as they there are given without any version, they cannot be consulted with facility.

has been preserved. Gudmund, the judge, compiled the code called *Gragas*, or 'gray goose,' between the years 1125-35. The volume received its popular denomination from the colour of its binding, like the black book and the red book of our Exchequer, and the black and red *Becerro*s, or muniment books in the cathedral of Oviedo. This code, in which the forms of process are treated at great length, has never been printed; but a copy of it is amongst the manuscripts of Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum.

After the island was annexed to the kingdom of Norway, Haco the son of Haco introduced the *Gulathing*s law, which the Icelanders considered to be so rigorous, that they termed it *Iarnsida*, or Ironside; and it continued in force until Magnus *Laga-bœtir* became desirous of transmitting his amended code to this distant part of his dominions, but with such alterations as might adapt it to the state of society and property in the island. John Einarson, a celebrated Icelandic judge, was entrusted with this important task, which was accomplished towards the latter part of the thirteenth century, but not till after the death of the Norwegian monarch. \*

Another class in the laws of Scandinavia, is formed by the codes of the provinces which were ruled by the Kings of Upsala, or of the Swedes: *UPLANDZLAGH*, or the law of Upland, had the greatest reputation and authority. It was edited A. D. 1295, in the reign of King *BYRGHER*, and under the presidency of *Byrgher the Wise*, the justiciar or laghman of the province, and who is known in hagiology as the father of Saint Bridget. 'GOTHLANDS LAW' exists in a text of an uncertain, but remote, date. The dialect in which this code is written, is very singular and archaic: Appended to the laws, are some historical fables and fragments, which vouch the antiquity of the collection. The laws of *WEST GOTHLAND* do not preserve the name of the king by whom they were sanctioned; but the book of laws of *EAST GOTHLAND* was revised and reformed in the years 1168 and 1260. *SUTHERMANIA*, *HELSINGIA*, *DALECARLIA*, and *SCANIA*, possessed their 'law books' in their present shape, in the 13th and 14th centuries,—a period in which most of the prin-

---

\* The last edition of the Code bears the following title. '*Log-bok Islendinga hvöria samnan hefur sett Magnus Norregs Kóngur (Loftegrar Míningar) Prentud ad Niju a Hoolum—Anno 1709.*' Hoolum, within the Polar Circle, is the very ultima Thule of typography. The types employed in this volume appear to be those which were first brought to the island by Bishop Thorlakson in 1584. Dr Henderson has detailed the history of Icelandic printing in an Appendix to his *Journal*.

cial codes seem to have been arranged and edited. These provinces being united under one monarch, the Swedish legislators attempted a union of their customals; and a general code or digest of the laws of all the provinces, of which the law of Upland, however, forms the basis, was effected at the diet held at Orebro, under king Magnus, in 1347. Few of the provinces, however, were willing to adopt the 'Landzlagh,' or 'law of the land,' in abrogation of their local codes. These differ so little from each other, that the opposition maintained by the Landzlagli, can only have been occasioned by the spirit of resistance which always prompts the component parts of a monarchy to insist upon their peculiar rights and customs, however unprofitable, and which may be considered as a laudable folly. The *Landzlagh*, therefore, continued a dead letter: nor did it become law in practice until it was again promulgated, nearly a century afterwards, by king Christopher the Bavarian. This copious code is of great use in elucidating the sources from whence it is derived, being most frequently a glossed paraphrase of the older texts.

The ancient legal usages of the Jutes are preserved in the *JYDSKE LOVBOK*, which was compiled under *WALDEMAR* the Danish king, and accepted by the parliament of Jutland in 1280. A diligent study of this code, together with the other customals of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and of Transalbinia, would throw great light upon the principles of the English law, particularly with relation to the history of trial by Jury.

King *CANUTE* is supposed to have decreed his '*WITHERLAGSRET*' in England. This aulic and military code exists only in two abridgements; one inserted in the text of *Saxo Grammaticus*; the other comprised in the antient Danish translation of *Archbishop Absalom*. Other of the laws and ordinances of the Danes, are ascribed to obscure, perhaps to fabulous, legislators. *Sveno Tiufveskegg*, for instance, is said to have first enacted, that the daughter should share with her brother in the inheritance: and, with this boon, he rewarded female generosity. The Slavonian monarch demanded of the Danes, that they should release their King, by paying his weight in gold, and twice his weight in silver. The stock of the more precious metal was exhausted, and the Danes despaired lest *Sveno* should linger in lifelong captivity. But, when thus lamenting, the matrons of Denmark cast their earrings and broaches in the scale, and completed the king's ransom. ‡ This supposed edict

---

‡ In qua fortunæ violentia *Sveno* virili defectus auxilio, fæmineum expertus est: nam cum exhaustis regni opibus, ne aurum quidem redemptioni ejus suppetere videratur tanta ei matronarum humanitas

has been much discussed by the learned of the North; and not without reference to the laws of inheritance amongst the Jews and the Gentiles, the Chaldeans and the Arabs, the Greeks and the Romans. The unlearned will be more willing to consider it as a romantic fanciful tale, which Saxo probably borrowed from some Saga. The early history of the laws of all nations abounds in fables: they pass into it from mythology, and from mythological romance; because the first legislator is usually a deified hero. Odin was naturally considered as the founder of Northern jurisprudence. We are told, in the Ynglinga Saga, that he set such laws in the land, as before were 'in use amongst the Asi;' and throughout 'all Swedland, the people paid unto Odin a scotpenny for each nose.'\* So long have taxation and legislation been inseparable!

We must emerge from the darkness of fabulous antiquity, and reject these tales. And yet, after allowing for the influence of Christianity, and the tardy progress of civilization, the existing codes perhaps reveal the peculiar institutions of the Goths† at the dawn of history. Fragments of these laws may have been transmitted almost from the ages of the Asi: writing was probably known to the Goths before they advanced beyond the Euxine. Ulphila certainly modelled his characters of silver from the alphabet of the Byzantine scribes. Yet the magic runes were coeval with the alphabets of Celtiberia and Etruria. Like the Ogham and Cymbric alphabets, the angular forms of the Runic characters indicate that they were graven letters; and, in conformity to the usages of other ancient nations, tablets of wood received the signs. Thus, King Fengo addressed the English king by an epistle cut on a wooden tablet. Poetry was usually inscribed upon small quadrangular staves, which were conveniently adapted for the reception of a verse or stanza; each face containing a line. Amongst us, therefore, a verse and a stave are still synonymous. Not less significant and hoary are the designations of the books and chapters into which

---

affuit, ut detractis aurium insignibus, cæteroque cultu, certatim digestam pondere summam explerent, plus commodi in salute principis, quam amoenitatis in ornamentorum suorum.

\* 'Um alla Svithiod gulldu menn Odni skatt penning fyrir nef hvert.'—The Latin translators have, absurdly and unfaithfully, converted the nose tax into a capitation tax.

† We shall not enter into any controversy respecting the true appropriation or etymology of this appellation, which has created so much learned ire; but content ourselves with remarking, that we use it, in a general sense, to denote the entire genus, of which the Teutons, the Belgians, and those who afterwards became Scandinavians, are species.

the Swedish and Norwegian codes are divided. Each book is considered as a *Balk* or *Beam*; a title which would scarcely have been given after parchment became in common use: and each *Balk* is subdivided into *flokkur*, that is to say, into *flakes*, *planks*, or *tablets*. Thus, probably, were the laws engraved which Ulfiott brought over into Iceland. It is also worthy of remark, that the only manuscript written in Runic characters, and wholly free from suspicion, is a codex of the laws of Scania, referred by Suhm to the thirteenth century. Lawyers always affect to shroud themselves in antiquity and unintelligibility; and the transcriber was probably instructed to employ the alphabet of the Asi, for the same reason that acts of Parliament were printed in the black letter, long after that awful type had been banished from all other publications.

In maintaining the substantial antiquity of the Scandinavian laws, an argument may be drawn from the consent of all the various codes and customals, which agree with each other in every material principle, and in most of the minor details. Stjernhook compares the Swedish customals to the Naiads of Ovid—

*Facies non omnibus una,*

*Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.*

And this quotation may be applied to all the other laws of Scandinavia. Their mutual affinity proves their descent from a common source; and as the septs and tribes which retained these laws were severed and hostile before the beginning of the first chapters of their history, this source must have existed at a period anterior to their separation. Other internal proofs of their antiquity may be briefly indicated. In a former Essay, we noticed the versification of the ancient Teutonic laws, by which the precepts and maxims of the legislators were impressed upon the memory of the people. Now, the authentic legal forms of the Scandinavians abound with fragments of alliterative verse, and their language is singularly poetical and figurative. Legal memory extended to the age of Paganism. If the inhabitants of a township in West Gothland claimed a prescriptive right to common land, they were to bring proof by the oaths of two men chosen out of two juries, that the townland had been cultivated *in the heathen time*.\* The West Goths expressly deduced the series of their judges from the pre-Christian era; and the two first ‘lawmen’ of the country are stated to have been buried as heathens beneath the cairn.† In the same manner, the preface to the laws of Upland ascribes

\* Such a township was called *högbayr*. Ihre, in voce *Hedenhüs*.

† The brief chronicle of Biorn Kialki, the second ‘lawman’ of West Gothland, is given with so much peculiarity, that we can scarcely suspect a falsehood in the writer. He was from Medhalby;

the collection to a 'lawman,' 'a heathen in the heathen time,' who was sent as ambassador by the king of the Swedes, the heroic Ingvalld.

From this half-civilized state of society, were derived the 'visible signs which,' if we may borrow the words of Gibbon, 'imperfectly supply the want of letters, and perpetuate the remembrance of any public or private transaction.' Long after the laws themselves were committed to writing, the art was rejected in the proceedings which originated out of the precepts and maxims of these laws. When the shire-mote was to be convened, the summoning symbol was borne by the weary husbandman, from dwelling to dwelling, over moor and wild; and he was heavily fined if he failed to perform this public duty. The hieroglyphical token was varied in its form, according to its intent. An *arrow* called the people to sit in judgement upon the murderer, or told them that the land was harried by the enemy. War was signified by the *fiery cross* of the Gael; but in Scandinavia, the cross indicated that the precepts of the Church had been violated, and that the transgressors against the 'Kristendoms bolkr' were to appear before the court. An *axe*, or perhaps a *staff*, indicated that the tribunal would assemble merely in its usual course, and for the transaction of its ordinary business. Kindred customs may yet be faintly traced in England. There are manors where the tenants who have been presented as constables and tithing-men, are summoned, 'sitting the court,' by the delivery of the *wand* which is carried to their houses by the bailiff. Until the middle of the last century, the peace of the township of Chart was preserved by the dumb-horseholder: And this wooden magistrate, who discharged his duty as efficiently as many other country justices, was probably a Scandinavian summoning-token in his origin.

The same symbol which warned the freeholders to attend the court, summoned the defendant to appear before them. Regulations are prescribed, by the Scandinavian jurisprudence, for the institution of the process, which display the provident dili-

---

and there he was buried beneath a hillock, 'because he knew not holy Christ; and upon that same hillock stands the *clock-house* which is now in Medhalby.' This passage should find a place in the history of inventions. The clock in the clock-house built at Westminster in 1288 by Justice Hengham—an ominous name for a judge—is usually considered as the earliest recorded instance of a Tramon-tane clock: but it should seem that the machine of Dondi had travelled north before the middle of the thirteenth century. The '*Klockä-hus*' of Medhalby may, however, have been only a bell-tower.

gence of the lawgiver, equally solicitous to prevent delay, and to avoid injustice. Accompanied by the delivery of the arrow or the axe, the verbal citation was to be repeated by two freeholders, the 'stefnovitni,' or witnesses of the summons; and they were afterwards to swear, with uplifted hands, that they had duly declared their errand.

Corresponding with these *stefnovitni*, were the 'good summoners,' by whom the English Sheriff was directed to warn the tenant to appear in real actions; and an analogous office was assigned to the knights who witnessed that the Baron had been duly cited by the Bailiff or the Viscount, according to the custom of Normandy. † In these instances, we may observe how the usages of an earlier period of jurisprudence were strictly retained in the process employed by succeeding generations, when all recollection of the foundation of the law was obliterated from the memory of the lawyer.

Much practical ability is displayed by the Norwegian laws in the definition of the legal domicile of the defendant, wherein it was presumed that the citation would fairly come to his knowledge, though he might personally avoid the presence of the unwelcome messengers.—The domicile of the hind was to be sought in the cottage where he had sojourned for a fortnight and a day during the hay harvest.—The fisherman was summoned on the shore where his boat had lain during the fishing season.—A seaman who slept on board his vessel was summoned at his moorings.—If a priest had no certain place of habitation, the summoners proceeded to the house of any one of the inhabitants of the parish wherein he had last performed divine service, for all might equally be supposed to have afforded hospitality to the holy man.—If a freeholder quitted the country, he was to appoint a known agent, or 'unbodsmadr,' on his behalf, who was to represent him during his absence; and if he failed to do so, then it was sufficient to serve the process upon his next heir.—Individuals, however, might be found, to whom none of the foregoing regulations could apply; this case was also foreseen by King Magnus.—'Perhaps,' says the legislator, 'thou mayest intend to sue a man who hath newly come into the township, who hath no heir, and who hath settled since last Christmas Eve;'—such a person was to be asked to declare his domicile. If he named his place of residence, or

---

† L'on doit sçavoir que les Barons doivent estre semons par le Bailly, ou par le Viconte, ou par le maistre sergent pardevant quatre Chevaliers au moins, qui puissent porter tesmoignage de la semonse; car s'ils defaillent ilz ne doivent pas estre mesnez a la dearene. Ains doit la semonse estre recordée par le temoignage de ceulx qui y furent.—*Le Grand Coustumier*, Chap. LXI.

the place where he wished to receive process, it was well; but he was not allowed to name the house of an Earl for the latter purpose, unless he really dwelt there, lest his powerful host might scare the bearers of the summons. But perhaps he might refuse to answer the question,—and in that case the plaintiff was authorized to publish the summons at any house within the township which he thought best;—and this citation was to be held as confessed by the defendant. These regulations may moderate our current ideas respecting the rudeness and barbarity of the Northmen. When the absent debtor is charged on the pier and shore of Leith, the officer of justice now performs an unmeaning ceremony; but the publication of the Norwegian citation was suited to the state of society, and perfectly well adapted to its interests.

Equal precision was required in the publication of the legal forms of the Scandinavians.—The count, plaint, or appeal, preferred before the court; the betrothing of the maiden; the legitimization of the child born of an unwedded mother; the grant of freedom to the thrall; in short, every act by which property was transferred, or civil rights acquired or created, which constituted a stage in the suit, or was connected with its process, required to be enounced in the phraseology, and accompanied by the rites which immemorial tradition had prescribed.\* With

---

\* Many of the Saxon oaths and forms have been collected by Turner, who has left but a scanty gleanings for the industry of future historians. The Saxon appeals may be consulted in the *Mirror of Justices*. Andrew Horne, sometime citizen, fishmonger, and town-clerk of London, seems to have compiled his treatise from the Anglo-Saxon Doom-book, anciently preserved amongst the archives of the city, and to which, in his official capacity, he had ready access. The *Liber Horne*, a collection of legal matters which he formed for his own use, and which is still extant, bespeaks his industry and research; and a glossary of Anglo-Saxon law terms, contained in it, proves his acquaintance with that language. Gurth's manumission is familiar to all our readers; but a friend well conversant with these matters, observes—'I fear there is no better authority for this formula of emancipation, than for the exploits of Ivanhoe at Ashby de la Zouche. Many records of emancipation are found in Hickes's *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, and at the end of his Dictionary; but none resembling this formula, except in the words *free and sacless*, which occur in some of them, and in *scorne and not of love*, which are to be found in others. Indeed, I am afraid that Gurth's emancipation was good for nothing, according to Anglo-Norman law. It was not granted in the presence of the Sheriff, nor in the county court; nor were the spear and the sword, the arms of a freeman, put into his hands by his master, as symbols of his delivery from servitude.'



the nicety which still characterizes the English law, the variance of a word, the lapse of a syllable, improbated the entire proceeding. Practice and experience alone could teach these forms: the important knowledge was not generally diffused amongst the people: and the lore was concealed with jealousy from the profane multitude, by the wise and powerful 'lawmen.' Such was the efficacy ascribed to these mystic sentences, that words which seemed spoken in sport, and heard with inattention, were afterwards found to be invested with the rigid strength of judicial validity. The charm had struck, and no power could dissolve it. An example may be given, in the adventure of Gunnar, who, acting under the advice of the crafty Nial, proceeded in the disguise of a travelling smith to the house of Ruttr, a powerful chieftain, who had refused to refund the dowry of the repudiated Unna. The simulated Hedin, for this was the name of the smith whose garb Gunnar had assumed, contrived to lead the discourse of his host to the points in dispute, and to induce him to recite the proper form of citation adapted to the suit. Gunnar repeated it, but erroneously. The self-widowed husband laughed, and mocked him: Gunnar then uttered the summons in due form, and called his companions, who had accompanied him as his workmen, to witness it. The mirth of the evening was not interrupted, and no one present suspected that the ceremony was ought, save the gibe of Hedin, who was celebrated for his sarcastic humour. Gunnar departed early the next morning; but when the Chieftain heard from his servants that a scarlet sleeve discovered its bright hue beneath the sooty jerkin of the smith, and that a golden ring had been seen to glitter on his finger, he suspected the truth, and he felt himself compelled to obey the legal mandate.

A more romantic instance of the binding strength of the law-forms is found in the life of 'Gunnlaug with the serpent tongue.' The youthful Poet sought instruction in the law from Thorstein the Wise. A year was passed in listening to Thorstein's lessons; but the severer studies of Gunnlaug were relieved by the contemplation of the charms of the fair-haired Helga, the daughter of the sage; and he loved, and knew that he was loved again. It chanced that they were sitting at the board when Gunnlaug spake to Thorstein—'One law form yet remaineth, which thou hast not taught me; nor do I yet know how a maiden is to be wedded.'—Thorstein answered, that few words were needed; and he repeated the form of espousal. Gunnlaug then craved leave to repeat his lesson to Helga, a request to which the father assented, after slightly hinting that the sport was idle. The lover, however, pronounced the wedding words with

precision and solemnity, and named his witnesses. All who were present laughed at the playful children; but, in the after time, Gunnlaug vindicated his right to the hand of Helga in bloodshed and in death. Notwithstanding the labours of Augustine, we suspect that the ancient wedding form of the Pagan Saxons is yet retained in the ritual of the Established Church, when the wife is taken 'to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part.' These words, as a learned Catholic divine, Bishop Chaloner, observes, are inserted in the service according to the ancient custom of England; and even when the Latin mass was sung by the priest, the promises which accompany the delivery of the symbolical pledge of union were repeated to and by the blushing bride, in a more intelligible tongue. ‡

We have already alluded to the poetical spirit of the Scandinavian law forms. Being the foundation of the law, they could scarcely fail to retain the language, or at least the echo of the language, in which they were first framed. This is curiously exemplified in the '*Trygdamal*.' In times when the deadly feud might be compensated by the blood fine, no legal proceeding could be of greater importance than the ceremonies which taught the avenger that his hand was staid; and hence, '*the assurance of truce*' which was given to the murderer, was invested with impressive solemnity, and marked by deep poetical feeling. — '*Strife was between Harold and Thorwald*'—spake the judge — '*but now I and the country have set peace between them.* — '*The fine hath been told which the Deemsters doomed;—and let them be friends in the guild and the guesting house, at the folkmoot and at the bidding, in the church and in the hall.* — '*May he who breaks his plighted troth be banished and driven from land and home, as far away as man may flee.—Let him be a forflemmed man, whilst Christian men shall seek the*

---

‡ In the older forms, the alliteration as well as the rythm are more strongly marked. According to the usage of Salisbury, the bride answered—'*I take thee John to my wedded house bonder, to have and to hold, fro this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poverer, in sykenesse in hele, to be bonere and buxom (i. e. obedient), in bedde and at borde, till dethe us do parte, (if holy churche it woll ordain); and therto I plighte thee my troth.*' With the exception of the penultimate clause, every phrase in this energetic poetical declaration bespeaks its nationality and antiquity. The form received some slight variations in the different English dioceses; but the substance always continued the same.

‘ church, whilst the herds shall bleed before the altar of the  
 ‘ heathen god, whilst the fire shall flame, whilst the grass shall  
 ‘ be green, whilst the babe shall greet after the mother, whilst  
 ‘ the mother shall give suck to the babe, whilst the ship shall  
 ‘ sail, whilst the shield shall glitter, whilst the sun shall shine,  
 ‘ whilst the hawk shall soar, whilst the heavens shall roll, whilst  
 ‘ the wind shall blow.’——‘ Let him be forbidden from the  
 ‘ church and from christendom, from the house of God and the  
 ‘ fellowship of all good men, and let him never find a resting  
 ‘ place except in Hell.’——

Every legal form and act was done and pronounced in the presence of true and ‘steadfast’ witnesses; and it lived only in their memory. Wax and parchment were not trusted; no record or register authenticated the judgment of the court, which was preserved only by the recollection and knowledge of the judges who pronounced the decree, or of the assembled people who ratified the sentence. This usage of oral pleadings, and of proving legal proceedings by oral testimony, might be thought to be inconsistent with the assumption of the antiquity of written laws in Scandinavia, did we not know that the same practice was adopted by other systems of jurisprudence which are more familiar to us, such as the custumal of Normandy, and the assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In Normandy, a judgment pronounced by the King, sitting as Duke of Normandy, was ‘recorded’ by his testimony, added to that of one witness; or the royal judge might substitute three other witnesses in his stead: seven witnesses were required for the *record* of the exchequer of the assize.\* In these proofs it is clear the compilers of the custumal did not contemplate the production of any written document as evidence of past decrees or pro-

\* ‘ Le record de court le roi est record des choses qui sont faites devant le roy. Toutes les choses qui sont faites devant le roy, pourtant qu’il y en ait ung aultre avec luy, ont record. le record peult il faire soy et aultre. et si il ne le veult faire. il peult estre faict par trois aultres \* \* \* \* \* Record d’eschiquier doit estre faict au moins par sept personnes creables, a qui l’on doit enjoindre qu’ilz diront verité par le serment qu’ilz ont fait au roi. Et si ilz n’ont faict serment au roi ilz doivent jurer que ilz recorderont et diront verité \* \* \* \* \* Le record peut estre eu des choses qui sont faites et dictes ou attroyes en l’eschiquier \* \* \* \* \* Record d’assize est fait en la maniere comme celui d’eschiquier \* \* \* \* \* Tout record doit estre faict de ce qui a esté dict et ouy.’—*Le Grand Coustumier de Normandie*, c. 102. 3. 4. 7. The Normans had also record of view, of battle, of marriage, and of passage; all in conformity to the principles of their ancestors.

ceedings. The recorder swore 'as to what they had heard, and what had been said.' In fact, they constituted an inquest, or jury, of which the court was the visne. It may be supposed that this mode of authentication was often attended with difficulty, especially when any considerable period had elapsed. John of Ibelin, therefore, advises the suitor to assemble in court as many of his friends as he possibly can; and he was 'to pray them to be attentive to the words which are spoken in the pleadings,—to hear well, and to recollect well, in order that they may be able to record the plea when need shall require.'\* From these passages we may discern the reason why the customs of the city of London are never certified in writing to the superior courts, but only by the mouth of the Recorder, who for that purpose attends at the bar of the court, in person.

Litigation was not discouraged by the Scandinavians. In the enumeration of the 'laghmen' (lawmen) of the East Goths, a note of censure is attached to the name and memory of *Kring-Alli*. It is therein recorded, that he 'brought many crooks and crotchets into our law.' The evil, however, was of such wide extent, that it owed very little indeed to the perverted ingenuity of *Kring-Alli*. Subtlety was inherent in the law, chicanery in the people. Law, as is too well known, is often loved purely for its own sake,—for the stimulus which, like other perilous games, it affords to the minds of the conflicting parties, who, much as the lawyer is vituperated for ministering to their appetite, find quite as much pleasure in fighting for the shell as he ever does in swallowing the oyster. The Northmen were additionally excited by the nature of their judicial system: all might share in the administration of the law, and all might fancy that they were masters of the art. Reports of actions and suits at law are constantly narrated in the domestic Sagas of the Icelanders. They hold as distinguished a place in their histories as the achievements of the spear and battle-axe: and the acuteness of the pleader appears to have commanded no less respect than the genius of the Skald.

The skill of the Jurists would be of little worth, could it not make the worse appear the better cause, and delay the righteous judgment. The technicalities of Northern law, afforded a reasonable scope for such a display of ability; and the faculty

---

\* Qui veult tost son plait atteindre, il doit faire estre en la court tant de ses amis com il pora, et prier les que ilz soient ententis as paroles qui seront dites as plais. et bien entendre et retenir, si que il sachent bien le recorder as egars et as conoissances se mestier li est.—*Assizes de Jerusalem*, c. 45.

was so highly valued, that even the Monarchs of Norway sometimes entered the lists as Advocates. A remarkable dialogue has been preserved, or perhaps invented, by Snorro, in which the two brothers, King Eystein and King Sigurd, are introduced extolling their own merits, like the shepherds in Virgil or Theocritus. The rivals began by claiming praise for strength and dexterity.—Sigurd had walked erect, whilst loaded with a burthen, beneath which Eystein fainted; and Eystein could swim across the roaring torrent, when Sigurd had been appalled by its waves.—Sigurd sent forth the truest arrow; but Eystein darted over the frozen snow as swiftly as the shaft.—Then each insisted on his mental acquirements.—Eystein exulted in his knowledge of the law, and the fluency of his speech; Sigurd allowed the eloquence of his brother, but upbraided him for his unworthy quibbles; and, indeed, he had experienced their might in the suit defended by Eystein on the part of *Sigurd Hranson*; and which is an amusing exemplification of the evasions allowed by the Norwegian law.

King Sigurd had good ground of complaint against *Sigurd Hranson*, the receiver-general of the tribute paid by the Laplanders, whom he accused of peculation; and, without calling in the aid of his attorney-general, the King himself instituted proceedings against the discarded minister in the moot-hall of Bergen, where his Norwegian Majesty appeared in his own proper person. Here, as the Saga hints, it had been previously arranged, that ‘Sigurd Hranson was to be made an outlaw.’ Being in this predicament, the Defendant thought it expedient to solicit the assistance of King Eystein, who then was a kind of opposition King, and who gladly consented to appear as his advocate.—King Eystein took his first objection to the competency of the court—‘This matter must be judged according to the common law of the land, in the shire court; it appertaineth not to the jurisdiction of the town.’—King Sigurd allowed the exception, though with a very bad grace, and the suit was removed into the shire court of Arnanes.—Sigurd Hranson did not appear at Arnanes: at the expiration of his summons he had cast no essoign, and King Sigurd, therefore, craved that the deemsters should pronounce sentence of outlawry and fugitation.

Ever watchful of the interest of his client, King Eystein now arose and spake—‘It seemeth to me that in this wise and worshipful assembly there are men well arced in the laws of Norway, and who must know that the court cannot thus doom a King’s thane to outlawry.’—There were no peers of the accused in court, as we gather from the subsequent proceedings. The

point raised by the royal advocate was decided to be good law; and the court again broke up.

King Sigard now thought it advisable to try his cause in the shire court of Guloe, whither he summoned his chief thanes, who were associated with the shiresmen. Loud debates arose, and powerful arguments resounded; and the suit, according to the expression employed by Snorro, was 'thoroughly ransacked.' King Eystein lay by, and said nothing, until he felt that this investigation would end unfavourably for his client; but then he spoke, and excepted against the jurisdiction of the court—'for that the defendant, who had his domicile within *Frosta-things-law*, was accused of acts done in *Halogaland*; and there were no freeholders from either of these shires then present.' The court allowed that the Defendant was not properly put upon his country; and the Plaintiff King was dismissed without a day. Irritated by the repeated defeats which he had received from the ingenuity of his brother, King Sigurd yet became keener in the pursuit. He summoned *all* his thanes and their knights, and a sufficient number of freeholders from *every* shire, to the court which was held at Hrafniste. Before King Eystein departed from Nidaros into the place where the trial was to be held, he obtained a procuration from Sigurd Hranson, by which the cause and its defence was wholly made over to him. Each King spake; and the court was proceeding with the trial, when the wary Eystein appalled his brother with a new subterfuge. 'Since when'—quoeth he, addressing the court—'hath it been the law of Norway, that you freeholders are here to sit in judgment when King strives with King? I will show to ye, and I will prove to ye, that the cause and its defence are mine; and King Sigurd is now bringing his suit against me, against King Eystein, and not against Sigurd Hranson.' The 'lawmen' answered unanimously, that no court could take cognizance of a royal cause, except the '*Eyrar-thing*,' assembled at Nidaros; and consequently, that they had no further authority in the matter.

It is foreign to our present purpose to investigate the constitution of this judicial assembly, which also had the nomination of the monarchs of Norway; and we must only state, that, in due time, the trial came on before the Eight Hundreds of Drontheim. Witnesses were called on behalf of the crown; and *Bergthor-Bockr*, the son of *Svein Bryggjofot*, stood up and proved, that Sigurd Hranson had been guilty of applying a portion of the tribute to his own use. We may conclude, that King Sigurd now anticipated the fulfilment of his revenge. King Eystein, however, coolly remarked, that he did not know whe-

ther the witness had, or had not, spoken the truth;—‘but, be the proofs ever so clear, judgment for the defendant in this same cause hath been given thrice at the common law, and once in the moot of Bergen; and therefore I crave, that the Court do now absolve Sigurd Hranson from all further pursuit, according to law.’ The law was indisputable; and the court gave judgment for the defendant forthwith. Then spake Sigurd the king all wrathfully—‘Well do I see, King Eystein, that thou art cunning in the wiles of law, of which I am reckless;—but I can yet seek justice in a guise, to which I perchance am better versed than thou art:’—And King Sigurd now appealed to his own right hand.—The sea king prepared for battle; but in the afternoon, as he was sitting on the deck of his vessel feasting, a suppliant suddenly appeared, who threw himself at King Sigurd’s feet. It was the delinquent Hranson, who prayed the King to do his will with him, rather than that he should be the cause of enmity between brother and brother. Bishop Magnus and Queen Malfrida joined their prayers to this appeal; and king Sigurd granted an unwilling pardon.

Wherever settled or dispersed, from the Orkneys to Sicily, the descendants of the Scandinavians have always trod the mazes of law with unabated pertinacity. Their chicanery spread like a wide-wasting pestilence, flowing on with each warlike migration. Faithful ever to the cause of discord, \* the Normans of Normandy inherited their proverbial love of litigation from the first followers of Hastings and of Rollo; the subtleties of the Exchequer of Rouen, were lineally descended from the wisdom of the Northern folk-mote. Then, in England, the distemper was renovated by the grim Justiciars who came in with William the Conqueror, and whose ghosts, in the shape of quirks and quilllets, sometimes haunt the great hall of Westminster, even in an age of civilization, and without being scared by the sunshine of intellect which blazes there. In France,

---

\* ‘*Quand la Discorde encore toute noire de crimes.  
Sortant des Cordeliers pour aller aux Minimes,  
Avec cet air hideux qui fait fremir la paix  
S’arrêta pres d’un arbre au pied de son palais,  
La, d’un œil attentif contemplant son empire  
A l’aspect du tumulte elle même s’admire,  
Elle y voit par le coche d’Evreux et des Mans  
Accourir a grand flots ses fideles Normands  
Elle y voit aborder le Marquis, la Comtesse,  
Le Bourgeois, le Manant, le Clergé, la Noblesse.*’

the captious spirit of the Normans obtained a lordly sway. The 'wise custom of Normandy' was considered as the very model of jurisprudence; and its principles were adopted into most of the tribunals of the Pays Costumier. The Evil afterwards followed the Red Cross into the Holy Land. When Palestine was conquered by the Latins, the Norman law became one of the component parts of the Assizes of Jerusalem. The Cadi was displaced by the feudal seneschal; but if the Crusaders could have appreciated the Alcoran, the book of radiance might have excited regret when its summary and despotic justice was compared with the elaborate pages of John of Ibelin, who declares, that it is out of his power to enumerate all the modes of delaying a suit; 'for the more one man is wiser and more cunning, and a better pleader than another, the more is he able to discover;'†

---

† The naïveté of the language employed in the Assizes is sufficiently amusing. 'Il y a trois fuites principaux de plait, et en chascuns des dites fuites a plusiors manieres de fuites que trop seroient longues et riotteuses a mettre en escrit ce que l'en poroit metre a escrit, ne nul ne les y poroit toutes metre, car enci que chascun est plus sages et plus subtil et meillor Pleideoir l'un que l'autre, en contreuve il plus.'—*Assizes de Jerusalem*, c. xxxi.

No pettifogger imbued with all the mysteries of sham bail and sham pleas, could better understand the art of wearying a plaintiff than John of Ibelin, Earl of Jaffa, of Ascalon, Lord of Beritus and of Rama: his precepts for lengthening the law's delay, occupy many a folio page; and when he teaches 'comment l'on peut longuement plait fuir,' he declares his precepts with the zest and spirit of an old sportsman. As an example of the proceedings, we may note the course which he prescribes to a defendant in an appeal of murder or homicide, who, by 'demanding a day,' might have a reasonable chance of postponing the hearing of his cause until the great day of final judgement.—'Qui veut Plait fuir à clam de quoi l'on dit que assize tot le jour, et le clam est de murtre ou de homicide ou de chose que il conveigne avoir, ains qu'on demande le jour a cest clam se la Court l'esgarde et mete son retenail—sans dire plus a celle fois—Et quand il aura perdu cel esgart die "je veuil avoir jour se la Court l'esgarde par ce que l'on onques de cest clam ne se clama de moi en Court et mete son retenail."—Et quand il aura cel esgard perdu die ce meismes, et tant plus—que l'on onques ne se clama de moi en Cour ou je fusse present et mettra soi en esgart sauf son retenail, et die, "Je veuil avoir jour se la Court l'esgarde par ce que j'entends que l'on a de tous noviaus clams jour, et mete son retenail."—Et apres die, "je veux avoir jour se la Court l'esgarde por ce que j'entends que l'on doit avoir jour au noviau clam, se costume ne le tot; et mete son retenail."—Et apres die, "Je veuil avoir jour en



and certainly, according to the mysteries which he unravels, it may be suspected, that many an action which was begun in the first year of the reign of King Godfrey of Bullen, must have remained still undecided when Saladin delivered the Holy City from the pollution of the unbelievers.

Montesquieu supposes, that the knowledge of the older laws of the Teutonic tribes, became useless or obsolete at the period when trial by battle acquired greater prevalency. But his theory relating to the battle ordeal, and its supposed connexion with negative proofs, does not retain its pertinency in Scandinavia, when this mode of trial was irregular in its system, and often extrajudicial.

King Frotho decreed, that all controversy, that is to say, all wrongs or affronts, were to be decided in the field. † According to a chapter added to the Uppland law, ‡ and which has been quoted by Robertson from Stiernhöök, the usage of the ‘heathen days’ allowed of duel or single combat, in answer to the inexpiable accusation of cowardice, an accusation which could only be effaced by blood; the recreant who refused to give the satisfaction of a gentleman, ‘where three ways meet,’ *lost his law*, and

‘cest clam par ce que j’entens que l’on doit avoir jour a tous noviaus clams se assize ne le tot, et mete son retenail.’ — Et *apres* die, “je veuil avoir jour se la Court l’esgarde, par ce que a tous noviaus clams, se l’assize ou l’usage ou coustume ne le tot [l’on doit avoir jour] ne je n’entens que il ait coustume que cel jour teulle, et mete son retenail.” — Et *apres* “je veuil avoir jour se la cour l’esgarde por ce que n’entens qu’il soit usage que cest jour teulle et se mete en esgart et en retenail.” — Et *apres* die, “je veuil avolt jour si la Court l’esgarde, par ce que je n’entens qu’il y ait assize en cest Royaume qui le jour teule & mete son retenail.” — A summary of the Assizes is given by Mr Mill in his lucid and valuable history of the Crusades. The text published by La Thaumassiere is much corrupted by the blunders either of the transcriber or of the printer. A correct edition of the Assizes and of the Customals of France, most of which, in their *antient* form, are yet inedited, would do honour to the French Nation.

† ‘De qualibet verò controversia ferro decerni sanxit, speciosius viribus quam verbis, configendum existimans. Quod si alter dimicantium relato pede prænotati orbis gyrum excederet perinde ac vinctus causæ detrimentum reciperet.’

‡ The chapter is entitled—

‘On battle and single combat; from the *old laws which were used in the heathen time*. — ‘If a man speaks to another those words which ought not to be spoken—Thou art not a man’s equal, thou art not a man in thy heart—I am as much a man as thou art. Then shall they meet at the meeting of three ways, &c.’

never could afterwards defend himself by oath, or be received as a witness. That, which was the direful cause of war before the rape of Helen, could not fail to inflame the anger of the Scandinavians; and their combats very frequently originated in 'ladies love and drucry.' The last and most memorable duel in Iceland was fought between the two poets, Gunnlaug with the serpent tongue, and Ragn. They contended for the hand of the fair-haired Helga, whose espousal we have already related, and both died in the conflict. The fate of these youthful lovers excited universal commiseration; and it was enacted, 'in one of the greatest folk-motes ever known in Iceland, and by the advice of the wisest men in Iceland, that thenceforth the duel should be taken away for ever.' It is scarcely proper, however, to give the name of judicial battle to such conflicts, to which, as in a modern duel, the parties were incited, because no award of a judge could either redeem their honour, or allay their feelings.

Although the Sagas furnish many instances of duels in which mere right of property,—debt, or dowry, or inheritance,—was the object of contention;—yet, strictly speaking, it cannot be asserted that trial by battle was the legal mode of deciding any civil action. The law put the Scandinavians upon their country; but still they fought, because it was proved by experience, that the stroke of the sword quieted possession more effectually than the judgment of the court; and, like King Frotho, they thought it beseeemed them better to strive in strength than in words. We doubt whether any instance occurs of the employment of a champion in Scandinavia, unless we admit the authority of a Danish ballad, in which, according to the usual plot of romance, a maiden is delivered by a friendly arm from the slander of a false accuser. It is singular, that, according to the Teutonic customs, a champion was not allowed to the weaker sex. A woman appealed by a man was compelled to wage battle in her own proper person; but a strange device was adopted, by which the combatants were brought to a certain degree of equality. The man was planted, as it were, in a hole dug in the ground, so deep that he sank into it up to his girdle; thus confined, a great advantage was afforded to his female opponent, who could range round and round him, striking him on the head with a thong, or sling, to which a heavy stone was attached. He was furnished with a club; and if, in attempting to reach the woman, his blows failed three times, so that the club thrice beat upon the ground, it was decided that he was vanquished.\*

---

In the well known duel between the false traitor Macarius and

Usage determined the size and nature of the weapons, and the theatre of the Scandinavian combat. Desperate warriors chose an island, or a 'holm,' from whence neither could flee. The duel, therefore, often acquired the name of the 'holm-gang.' A narrow space was assigned to the duellists. A hide, nine ells in length, was extended upon the ground upon which they fought. Sometimes, also, the lists were enclosed by hazel stangs, or a ring was marked out by stones;—many of the Druidical circles, as they are called, were, probably, battle-rings of this nature. He who slipped under the barrier, or he who was beaten out of the ring, though his foot only passed beyond the boundary, was to be considered as conquered. This, indeed, was King Frodo's law. He also was conquered whose blood first stained the hide. Such regulations were obviously intended to save the waste of human life. A conventional termination was given to the battle, which satisfied the honour of the victor, whilst the vanquished knew that he could not obliterate his disgrace by protracting the struggle. It is not

---

the dog of Montargis, the faithful plaintiff was protected by a contrivance not dissimilar to that which here confined the stronger party. Grave authors who have treated on judicial combat, have received this romantic tale as truth, though it requires no great exertion of sagacity to doubt its authenticity. It has not been remarked, that the whole adventure is in fact borrowed from a romance, most probably of French origin—but which we have only seen in an ancient Spanish translation, [*Historia della Reyna Sevilla, Impreso con licencia en Valladolid en casa de la viuda de Francisco de Cordova, 1623.*] The murderer, in the romance, bears the same name as in the French tradition, and all the incidents correspond, except that the dog is not furnished with a hiding place. The combat is oddly described; and an extract may amuse some of our readers. 'Dixo el Obispo, Macayre id a besar las reliquias, y seredes mas seguro del can e de vuestro hecho acabar.—E dixo Macayre, Señor no, no besare las reliquias, ni rogare a Dios que me ayude contra un can; - - - - El duque Don Jayme solto el galgo, y dixole, a Dios te encomiendo que te vengue de aquel que a tu Señor mato, y el galgo dexose yr para Macayre. Macayre quando lo vido venir, tomo su palo, y pensole herir; Mas el can se abaxo y salto de traves y no le pudo alcançar, y dio tal herida en tierra que mas de un dedo entro en ella; y el galgo andava al derredor mirando por do podria travar. y Nuestro Señor quiso mostrar ay un gran milagro que quiso ayudar al galgo porque tomase vengança de quien mato a su Señor Aubertin de Mondifer - - - - y assi anduvo assechando hasta que se fue a travarle dela gargarta ante que el traydor le pudiesse dar el palo y tuvo lo como a un puerco que no se podia partir del' - - - -

difficult to discern the affinity between these customs and the code which governed the more gorgeous exercise of the tournament: Nor do we want a more homely parallel. In the *Kamping Matches* of Norfolk and Suffolk, our East Anglian clowns are the genuine successors of the Scandinavian *Kæmper*; \* and the observances which determined the victory of the champions of the heroic age, are rudely imitated by our churls, in wrestling, and single-stick, and boxing.

When we read of Scandinavia, it seems enveloped in a perpetual snow-storm. Its inhabitants are pictured in our imaginations, as a race of stern and barbarous warriors, intent only upon war and plunder; yet, according to their polity, the members of the community were knitted together by the closest social bonds. Moral duties were enforced by the penalties of the law which came in aid of the precepts and dictates of friendship, of charity, and of natural affection. The husbandman, if his own hands failed him, could demand the gratuitous assistance of his fellow-yeomen in gathering his crop; and, with solemn earnestness, the law endeavoured to avert the hand of the spoiler, by reminding him, that the field, open to the trespasser, and unguarded by the master, 'was under *God's lock*, with heaven for its roof, though but the hedge is its wall.' † The crew, whose united strength was unequal to the task of launching the vessel, could summon the people of the country to join in the labour; and if the ship of the seaman was wrecked, they were required to attend with their teams, to help him to save his property. When the mother died in childbed, the law ordered matrons of the hundred to give suck to the infant, each in her turn, and the corpse was borne to the grave by the neighbours of the departed. Even animals were considered as being, in some measure, included in the compact of society. The industrious beaver 'bath his house like the husbandman;' and if the beaver was killed, and his cell overturned, a fine of three marks, both for

---

\* See Ihre, in voce *KAMP*.

† 'Now, it may happen that a man steals corn out of the field, and breaks *God's lock*, and binds his burthen, and bears it into his lathe, or into the shaw, then he is called strawback, (v. Ihre, in voce *Agnabaker*.) If he is taken, and lawfully convicted, then hath he forefaulted his life, and all his fec.'—*Ostgotha L. Edzöris*, B. F. 33.

The Westmanna lagh, though less severe, is equally poetical in its expression. 'If a man plucks ears of corn from the field, and is taken in the open fact, let him forfeit three marks, or defend himself with the oaths of twelve men. The field hath the hedge for its wall, and heaven for its roof.'—*W. L. Manhelgis*, B. F. 82.

blood-wite, and hamesoken, was paid to the owner of the land. But the grim inhabitants of the forest, the enemies of mankind, were declared by Haco Athelstane to be out of the protection of the law. 'The bear and the wolf shall be outlaws in every place.' ['*Biörn og ulf skal hvervetna utlegr vera*;']—a phrase which illustrates the Saxon definition of an outlaw,—the bearer of the wolf's head. Yet, notwithstanding this perpetual sentence of outlawry, the bear himself was entitled to a legal summons, before he could be punished for his misdeeds. But this strange opinion belongs rather to the history of superstition than to the history of law.

Scandinavia affords, we believe, the earliest example of a legislative provision for the relief of the Poor. He who could not earn his food, might claim a home in every house in the township. The owner was compelled to receive the beadsman, passing him on to the next farm, after he had entertained him during the period prescribed by law. Lest the churlish farmer might ill-treat the needy under the colour of the law, it was forbidden to refuse shelter to any pauper after sun-set. And if any mischance then befel him,—if he was starved by the cold, or torn by the wolves,—the full blood fine was exacted from the inhuman transgressor. Poverty and riches arise, in an agricultural community, according to their natural and unforced average. Toil is the capital of the husbandman; his weal and his woe, his losses and his gains, are interchanged in each generation like the summer and the winter; and in each generation the account is balanced. Nor was the charity unwise which diminished the sum of human misery, by ensuring to the destitute a small portion of the harvest which others had sown and reaped. In the middle ages, Norway and Sweden alone possessed this system of Poor-laws, which were called into action there by the poverty of the Church. Few religious communities existed. The dole was not dealt to the beadsman at the gate of the abbey. No spire arose amidst the wilds, directing the wanderer to the mansion of the Cross, under whose roof the hungry were fed, and the weary found rest and kindness. It was therefore necessary that each individual hand should be compelled to afford that aid which piety—though perhaps mistaken piety—bestowed in other realms.

War might seem to be the most favourite occupation of the followers of the sea kings, from whose fury Europe prayed to be delivered. Yet their legislation is copious in determining the rights arising from the most peaceful of all human occupations. And the Agricultural laws contained in the Norwegian and Swedish customs, in the books entitled the *Landskeigo*

*Balkr*, the *Bygninga Balkr*, or the *Widherboa Balkr*, are compiled with peculiar care and precision. Under an inclement sky, the harvest was not to be earned but by unwearied labour; and hence the legislators of the North protected the husbandman by their tillage code. No exact parallel can be found to this portion of Scandinavian jurisprudence. In *Fleta*, there are some chapters relating to the management of a manor, and pointing out the duties of the farming servants, or demes- nial vassals of the lord. Of more importance is a treatise on Agriculture, written in Norman French, and which our English lawyers often included in their legal collections. Thus it is inserted in the *Liber Horne*, to which we have before alluded; but these works merely teach agriculture. They do not legislate upon the subject; whilst the Scandinavians gave a legal sanction to the 'custom of the country.' As elucidating the history of society in the uttermost march lands of European civilization, the agricultural law of the Scandinavians is of singular value. It presents a perfect view of their rural economy; defining all the rights and duties of the landlord and the tenant, the master and the servant. The following chapter, found in the code of Haco Athelstane, is repeated in the laws of King Magnus. \*

'Now it may happen that a man *buys work* (*i. e.* agrees for labour) from a free man, then all the matters upon which they have agreed shall be well and truly held.'

'If the husbandman (*bondi*) will not hold his covenant with his labourer, but discharges him from his service, then the labourer shall crave his victual in the presence of two witnesses, and offer to do such work as they had before agreed upon: and if the husbandman will not accept the work of the labourer, then he forfeits three oras of silver to the King, and the labourer shall have his wages and the worth of his victual.'

'But if the labourer will not hold his covenant with the husbandman, then the husbandman shall crave the work which the labourer undertook to perform, and offer to provide his victual in the presence of two witnesses; and if the labourer will not perform the work, then he forfeits three oras of silver to the King; and he shall also pay to the husbandman as much as he would have received for his wages. But nevertheless, the husbandman is not to have the worth of the victual, because he keeps that to himself.'

---

\* This chapter relating to a pact, is placed in the *Kampa-Balkr*, though rather out of its natural order.

‘ And if any man knowingly takes another man’s labourer into his service, then he forfeits half a mark of silver to the King.’

‘ And if a labourer undertakes to do one man’s task, and cannot work it out, then trustworthy men shall reckon how much ought to be foreprized out of his wages.’

‘ If a labourer is sick or wounded, and lies thus during one fortnight, and no longer, then no abatement shall be made out of his wages, (provided it be ascertained by trustworthy men, that the husbandman hath enough to maintain himself); but if he lies longer, the loss of work is to be reckoned by trustworthy men, together with the worth of the victual he enjoys, both which shall be deducted; or otherwise let him leave his service and go to his relations.’

Equally minute and perspicuous are the laws which regulate the cultivation and management of the land; and they may be put in competition with the most accurate farming lease of modern days. The details of crops and fallows, of the manure which the farmer was to bestow upon the fields, of the course of cropping which he was to pursue, and of the stock which he was to leave at the expiration of his tenure, occupy many a chapter in these ancient monuments of legislation, and afford frequent proof of the comforts which had fallen to the lot of the Northmen. Luxury was denied to them by nature, and the magnificence of art was unknown; but they had corn in the barn, and kine in the byre; and the free and opulent yeoman ploughed the stubborn soil. \*

---

\* If the Breton laws were collected, they would outweigh and outvalue all the jurisprudence of Scandinavia. Hitherto, the authentic antiquities of Ireland have been miserably neglected; but we may now hope for better days, since the learning of an O’Connor is patronized by the munificence of a Grenville. That the ancient Irish, the wild Irish, calumniated as they have been by their invaders, had attained a high degree of civilization, may be inferred from the agricultural laws included in the Fragments published by Vallancey. The fines for trespasses are curiously detailed and graduated. They had common land, and also much enclosed land. Heavy penalties were imposed for *breaking fences*. For a gap of the width of three stakes, a young bull heifer was paid; for five, a full grown bull heifer; for eight, a good heifer; for twelve, five cows. Timber trees were protected against injury: the country, therefore, must have been cleared, and well cultivated. We pen this note with peculiar pleasure, when we recollect that we first derived our information from one of the fairest of the daughters of the Gael.

The safeguard of the wealth and of the liberty of the Scandinavians, was found in the popular tribunals which were the origin of our juries. These institutions have been imperfectly explained by Stiernhook, whose abridgement of the Swedish laws is the only work relating to the subject which is easily accessible to the general reader; and we would willingly enlarge upon them, were we not compelled to close our desultory observations. We now find, that we have lingered too long amongst the singularities of the Northern law, without attempting to investigate its essential basis. Contemplating the antique garb of the judges, as they are seated on the Hill of Pleas, we have neglected to listen to their wisdom; yet we are less willing to regret our negligence, when we recollect, that the principles embodied in the judicial polity of the Scandinavians, may receive a more familiar and useful illustration, by considering them in conjunction with the ancient common law of England. If we return to these investigations, it is because the details of the law are the fresh and perennial comments of history. The life of man is consumed in striving against his own follies, his own vices, and his own crimes;—and the volumes which teach us to consider every fellow-creature as a fellow-knave, afford the most afflicting, yet the most instructive, anatomy of the human heart.

---

- ART. X. 1. *Endymion: A Poetic Romance.* By JOHN KEATS. 8vo. pp. 207. London, 1818.
2. *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, and other Poems.* By JOHN KEATS, Author of *Endymion*. 12mo. pp. 200. London, 1820.

WE had never happened to see either of these volumes till very lately—and have been exceedingly struck with the genius they display, and the spirit of poetry which breathes through all their extravagance. That imitation of our older writers, and especially of our older dramatists, to which we cannot help flattering ourselves that we have somewhat contributed, has brought on, as it were, a second spring in our poetry;—and few of its blossoms are either more profuse of sweetness or richer in promise, than this which is now before us. Mr Keats, we understand, is still a very young man; and his whole works, indeed, bear evidence enough of the fact. They are full of extravagance and irregularity, rash attempts at originality, interminable wanderings, and excessive obscurity. They mani-



festly require, therefore, all the indulgence that can be claimed for a first attempt :—but we think it no less plain that they deserve it; for they are flushed all over with the rich lights of fancy, and so coloured and bestrewn with the flowers of poetry, that even while perplexed and bewildered in their labyrinths, it is impossible to resist the intoxication of their sweetness, or to shut our hearts to the enchantments they so lavishly present. The models upon which he has formed himself, in the *Endymion*, the earliest and by much the most considerable of his poems, are obviously the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Fletcher, and the *Sad Shepherd* of Ben Jonson;—the exquisite metres and inspired diction of which he has copied with great boldness and fidelity—and, like his great originals, has also contrived to impart to the whole piece that true rural and poetical air which breathes only in them and in *Theocritus*—which is at once homely and majestic, luxurious and rude, and sets before us the genuine sights and sounds and smells of the country, with all the magic and grace of *Elysium*. His subject has the disadvantage of being mythological; and in this respect, as well as on account of the raised and rapturous tone it consequently assumes, his poetry may be better compared perhaps to the *Comus* and the *Arcades* of Milton, of which, also, there are many traces of imitation. The great distinction, however, between him and these divine authors, is, that imagination in them is subordinate to reason and judgment, while, with him, it is paramount and supreme—that their ornaments and images are employed to embellish and recommend just sentiments, engaging incidents, and natural characters, while his are poured out without measure or restraint, and with no apparent design but to unburden the breast of the author, and give vent to the overflowing vein of his fancy. The thin and scanty tissue of his story is merely the light frame work on which his florid wreaths are suspended; and while his imaginations go rambling and entangling themselves everywhere, like wild honeysuckles, all idea of sober reason, and plan, and consistency, is utterly forgotten, and are ‘strangled in their waste fertility.’ A great part of the work indeed, is written in the strangest and most fantastical manner that can be imagined. It seems as if the author had ventured everything that occurred to him in the shape of a glittering image or striking expression—taken the first word that presented itself to make up a rhyme, and then made that word the germ of a new cluster of images—a hint for a new excursion of the fancy—and so wandered on, equally forgetful whence he came, and heedless whither he was going, till he had covered his pages with an interminable arabesque of connected and

incongruous figures, that multiplied as they extended, and were only harmonized by the brightness of their tints, and the graces of their forms. In this rash and headlong career he has of course many lapses and failures. There is no work, accordingly, from which a malicious critic could cull more matter for ridicule, or select more obscure, unnatural, or absurd passages. But we do not take *that* to be our office;—and just beg leave, on the contrary, to say, that any one who, on this account, would represent the whole poem as despicable, must either have no notion of poetry, or no regard to truth.

It is, in truth, at least as full of genius as of absurdity; and he who does not find a great deal in it to admire and to give delight, cannot in his heart see much beauty in the two exquisite dramas to which we have already alluded, or find any great pleasure in some of the finest creations of Milton and Shakespeare. There are very many such persons, we verily believe, even among the reading and judicious part of the community—correct scholars we have no doubt many of them, and, it may be, very classical composers in prose and in verse—but utterly ignorant of the true genius of English poetry, and incapable of estimating its appropriate and most exquisite beauties. With that spirit we have no hesitation in saying that Mr K. is deeply imbued—and of those beauties he has presented us with many striking examples. We are very much inclined indeed to add, that we do not know any book which we would sooner employ as a test to ascertain whether any one had in him a native relish for poetry, and a genuine sensibility to its intrinsic charm. The greater and more distinguished poets of our country have so much else in them to gratify other tastes and propensities, that they are pretty sure to captivate and amuse those to whom their poetry is but an hindrance and obstruction, as well as those to whom it constitutes their chief attraction. The interest of the stories they tell—the vivacity of the characters they delineate—the weight and force of the maxims and sentiments in which they abound—the very pathos and wit and humour they display, which may all and each of them exist apart from their poetry and independent of it, are quite sufficient to account for their popularity, without referring much to that still higher gift, by which they subdue to their enchantments those whose souls are attuned to the finer impulses of poetry. It is only where those other recommendations are wanting, or exist in a weaker degree, that the true force of the attraction, exercised by the pure poetry with which they are so often combined, can be fairly appreciated—where, without much incident or many characters, and with little wit, wisdom, or arrangement, a number of bright pictures are presented to the imagination,

and a fine feeling expressed of those mysterious relations by which visible external things are assimilated with inward thoughts and emotions, and become the images and exponents of all passions and affections. To an unpoetical reader such passages always appear mere raving and absurdity—and to this censure a very great part of the volume before us will certainly be exposed, with this class of readers. Even in the judgment of a fitter audience, however, it must, we fear, be admitted, that, besides the riot and extravagance of his fancy, the scope and substance of Mr K.'s poetry is rather too dreary and abstracted to excite the strongest interest, or to sustain the attention through a work of any great compass or extent. He deals too much with shadowy and incomprehensible beings, and is too constantly rapt into an extramundane Elysium, to command a lasting interest with ordinary mortals—and must employ the agency of more varied and coarser emotions, if he wishes to take rank with the seducing poets of this or of former generations. There is something very curious too, we think, in the way in which he, and Mr Barry Cornwall also, have dealt with the Pagan mythology, of which they have made so much use in their poetry. Instead of presenting its imaginary persons under the trite and vulgar traits that belong to them in the ordinary systems, little more is borrowed from these than the general conception of their conditions and relations; and an original character and distinct individuality is bestowed upon them, which has all the merit of invention, and all the grace and attraction of the fictions on which it is engrafted. The antients, though they probably did not stand in any great awe of their deities, have yet abstained very much from any minute or dramatic representation of their feelings and affections. In Hesiod and Homer, they are coarsely delineated by some of their actions and adventures, and introduced to us merely as the agents in those particular transactions; while in the Hymns, from those ascribed to Orpheus and Homer, down to those of Callimachus, we have little but pompous epithets and invocations, with a flattering commemoration of their most famous exploits—and are never allowed to enter into their bosoms, or follow out the train of their feelings, with the presumption of our human sympathy. Except the love-song of the Cyclops to his Sea Nymph in Theocritus—the Lamentation of Venus for Adonis in Moschus—and the more recent Legend of Apuleius, we scarcely recollect a passage in all the writings of antiquity in which the passions of an immortal are fairly disclosed to the scrutiny and observation of men. The author before us, however, and some of his contemporaries, have dealt differently with the subject;—and, shel-

tering the violence of the fiction under the ancient traditional fable, have created and imagined an entire new set of characters, and brought closely and minutely before us the loves and sorrows and perplexities of beings, with whose names and supernatural attributes we had long been familiar, without any sense or feeling of their personal character. We have more than doubts of the fitness of such personages to maintain a permanent interest with the modern public;—but the way in which they are here managed, certainly gives them the best chance that now remains for them; and, at all events, it cannot be denied that the effect is striking and graceful. But we must now proceed to our extracts.

The first of the volumes before us is occupied with the loves of Endymion and Diana—which it would not be very easy, and which we do not at all intend to analyze in detail. In the beginning of the poem, however, the Shepherd Prince is represented as having had strange visions and delirious interviews with an unknown and celestial beauty; soon after which, he is called on to preside at a festival in honour of Pan; and his appearance in the procession is thus described.

——‘ His youth was fully blown,  
Showing like Ganymede to manhood grown;  
And, for those simple times, his garments were  
A chieftain king’s: beneath his breast, half bare,  
Was hung a silver bugle, and between  
His nervy knees there lay a boar-spear keen.  
A smile was on his countenance; he seem’d,  
To common lookers on, like one who dream’d  
Of idleness in groves Elysian:  
But there were some who feelingly could scan  
A lurking trouble in his nether lip,  
And see that oftentimes the reins would slip  
Through his forgotten hands.’ pp. 11, 12.

There is then a choral hymn addressed to the sylvan deity, which appears to us to be full of beauty; and reminds us, in many places, of the finest strains of Sicilian or English poetry. A part of it is as follows.

“ O THOU, whose mighty palace roof doth hang  
From jagged trunks, and overshadoweth  
Eternal whispers, glooms, the birth, life, death  
Of unseen flowers in heavy peacefulness;  
Who lov’st to see the hamadryads dress  
Their ruffled locks where meeting hazels darken;  
And through whole solemn hours dost sit, and hearken  
The dreary melody of bedded reeds—  
In desolate places, where dank moisture breeds  
The pipy hemlock to strange overgrowth.—

" O thou, for whose soul-soothing quiet, turtles  
 Passion their voices cooingly 'mong myrtles,  
 What time thou wanderest at eventide  
 Through sunny meadows, that outskirt the side  
 Of thine enmossed realms : O thou, to whom  
 Broad leaved fig trees even now foredoom  
 Their ripen'd fruitage ; yellow girted bees  
 Their golden honeycombs ; our village leas  
 Their fairest blossom'd beams and popped corn ;  
 The chuckling linnet its five young unborn,  
 To sing for thee ; low creeping strawberries  
 Their summer coolness ; pent up butterflies  
 Their freckled wings ; yea, the fresh budding year  
 All its completions—be quickly near,  
 By every wind that nods the mountain pine,  
 O forester divine !

" Thou, to whom every fawn and satyr flies  
 For willing service ; whether to surprise  
 The squatted hare while in half sleeping fit ;  
 Or upward ragged precipices flit  
 To save poor lambkins from the eagle's maw ;  
 Or by mysterious enticement draw  
 Bewildered shepherds to their path again ;  
 Or to tread breathless round the frothy main,  
 And gather up all fancifullest shells  
 For thee to tumble into Naiads' cells,  
 And, being hidden, laugh at their out-peeping ;  
 Or to delight thee with fantastic leaping,  
 The while they pelt each other on the crown  
 With silvery oak apples, and fir cones brown—  
 By all the echoes that about thee ring,  
 Hear us, O satyr king !

" O Harkener to the loud clapping shears,  
 While ever and anon to his shorn peers  
 A ram goes bleating : Winder of the horn,  
 When snouted wild-boars routing tender corn  
 Anger our huntsman : Breather round our farms,  
 To keep off mildews, and all weather harms :  
 Strange ministrant of undescribed sounds,  
 That come a swooning over hollow grounds,  
 And wither drearily on barren moors." ' pp. 114–117.

The enamoured youth sinks into insensibility in the midst of  
 the solemnity, and is borne apart and revived by the care of  
 his sister ; and, opening his heavy eyes in her arms, says—

" I feel this thine endearing love  
 All through my bosom : thou art as a dove  
 Trembling its closed eyes and sleeked wings  
 About me ; and the pearliest dew not brings

Such morning incense from the fields of May,  
 As do those brighter drops that twinkling stray  
 From those kind eyes. Then think not thou  
 That, any longer, I will pass my days  
 Alone and sad. No, I will once more raise  
 My voice upon the mountain-heights; once more  
 Make my horn parley from their foreheads hoar:  
 Again my trooping hounds their tongues shall loll  
 Around the breathed boar: again I'll poll  
 The fair-grown yew tree, for a chosen bow:  
 And, when the pleasant sun is getting low,  
 Again I'll linger in a sloping mead  
 To hear the speckled thrushes, and see feed  
 Our idle sheep. So be thou cheered sweet,  
 And, if thy lute is here, softly intreat  
 My soul to keep in its resolved course."

' Hereat Peona, in their silver source,  
 Shut her pure sorrow drops with glad exclaim,  
 And took a lute, from which there pulsing came  
 A lively prelude, fashioning the way  
 In which her voice should wander. 'Twas a lay  
 More subtle cadenced, more forest wild  
 Than Dryope's lone lulling of her child;  
 And nothing since has floated in the air  
 So mournful strange.' pp. 25-27.

He then tells her all the story of his love and madness; and is afterwards led away by butterflies to the haunts of Naiads, and by them sent down into enchanted caverns, where he sees Venus and Adonis, and great flights of Cupids, and wanders over diamond terraces among beautiful fountains and temples and statues, and all sorts of fine and strange things. All this is very fantastical: But there are splendid pieces of description, and a sort of wild richness on the whole. We cull a few little morsels. This is the picture of the sleeping Adonis.

' In midst of all, there lay a sleeping youth  
 Of fondest beauty. Sideway his face repos'd  
 On one white arm, and tenderly unclos'd,  
 By tenderest pressure, a faint damask mouth  
 To slumb'ry pout; just as the morning south  
 Disparts a dew-lipp'd rose. Above his head,  
 Four lily stalks did their white honours wed  
 To make a coronal; and round him grew  
 All tendrils green, of every bloom and hue,  
 Together intertwin'd and trammel'd fresh:  
 The vine of glossy sprout; the ivy mesh,  
 Shading its Ethiop berries; and woodbine,  
 Of velvet leaves and bugle-blooms divine.

Hard by,  
 Stood serene Cupids watching silently.  
 One, kneeling to a lyre, touch'd the strings,  
 Muffling to death the pathos with his wings;  
 And, ever and anon, uprose to look  
 At the youth's slumber; while another took  
 A willow-bough, distilling odorous dew,  
 And -hook it on his hair; another flew  
 In through the woven roof, and fluttering-wise  
 Rain'd violets upon his sleeping eyes.' pp. 72, 73.

There is another and more classical sketch of Cybele.  
 'Forth from a rugged arch, in the dusk below,  
 Came mother Cybele! alone—alone—  
 In sombre chariot; dark foldings thrown  
 About her majesty and front death-pale,  
 With turrets crown'd. Four maned lions hale  
 The sluggish wheels; solemn their toothed maws,  
 Their surly eyes brow-hidden, heavy paws  
 Uplifted drowsily, and nervy tails  
 Cowering their tawny brushes. Silent sails  
 This shadowy queen athwart, and faints away  
 In another gloomy arch.' p. 83.

In the midst of all these spectacles, he has, we do not very well know how, a ravishing interview with his unknown goddess; and, when she melts away from him, he finds himself in a vast grotto, where he overhears the courtship of Alpheus and Arethusa, and, as they elope together, discovers that the grotto has disappeared, and that he is at the bottom of the sea, under the transparent arches of its naked waters. The following is abundantly extravagant; but comes of no ignoble lineage, nor shames its high descent.

'Far had he roam'd,  
 With nothing save the hollow vast, that foam'd  
 Above, around, and at his feet; save things  
 More dead than Morpheus' imaginings:  
 Old rusted anchors, helmets, breast-plates large  
 Of gone sea warriors; brazen beaks and targe;  
 Rudders that for a hundred years had lost  
 The sway of human hand; gold vase emboss'd  
 With long-forgotten story, and wherein  
 No reveller had ever dipp'd a chin  
 But those of Saturn's vintage; mouldering scrolls,  
 Writ in the tongue of heaven, by those souls  
 Who first were on the earth; and sculptures rude  
 In ponderous stone, developing the mood  
 Of ancient Nox;—then skeletons of man,  
 Of beast, behemoth, and leviathan,

And elephant, and eagle, and huge jaw  
Of nameless monster. ——— p. 111.

There he finds antient Glaucus enchanted by Circe—hears his wild story—and goes with him to the deliverance and restoration of thousands of drowned lovers, whose bodies were piled and stowed away in a large submarine palace. When this feat is happily performed, he finds himself again on dry ground, with woods and waters around him; and cannot help falling desperately in love with a beautiful damsel whom he finds there pining for some such consolations, and who tells a long story of her having come from India in the train of Bacchus, and having strayed away from him into that forest:—so they vow eternal fidelity, and are wafted up to heaven on flying horses, on which they sleep and dream among the stars;—and then the lady melts away, and he is again alone upon the earth; but soon rejoins his Indian love, and agrees to give up his goddess, and live only for her: But she refuses, and says she is resolved to devote herself to the service of Diana; and when she goes to dedicate herself, she turns out to be the goddess in a new shape, and exalts her lover with her to a blest immortality.

We have left ourselves room to say but little of the second volume, which is of a more miscellaneous character. *Lamia* is a Greek antique story, in the measure and taste of *Endymion*. *Isabella* is a paraphrase of the same tale of Boccaccio, which Mr Cornwall has also imitated under the title of ‘a Sicilian Story.’ It would be worth while to compare the two imitations; but we have no longer time for such a task. Mr K. has followed his original more closely, and has given a deep pathos to several of his stanzas. The widowed bride’s discovery of the murdered body is very strikingly given.

‘ Soon she turn’d up a soiled glove, whereon  
Her silk had play’d in purple phantasies,  
She kiss’d it with a lip more chill than stone,  
And put it in her bosom, where it dries.  
Then ‘gan she work again; nor stay’d her care,  
But to throw back at times her veiling hair.  
That old nurse stood beside her wondering,  
Until her heart felt pity to the core  
At sight of such a dismal labouring,  
And so she kneeled, with her locks all hoar,  
And put her lean hands to the horrid thing:  
Three hours they labour’d at this travail sore;  
At last they felt the kernel of the grave, &c.  
In anxious secrecy they took it home,  
And then the prize was all for Isabel:  
She calm’d its wild hair with a golden comb,  
And all around each eye’s sepulchral cell



Pointed each fringed lash ; the smeared loam  
 With tears, as chilly as a dripping well,  
 She drench'd away :—and still she comb'd, and kept  
 Sighing all day—and still she kiss'd, and wept.

Then in a silken scarf,—sweet with the dew  
 Of precious flowers pluck'd in Araby,  
 And divine liquids come with odorous ooze  
 Through the cold serpent-pipe refreshfully,—  
 She wrapp'd it up ; and for its tomb did choose  
 A garden pot, wherein she laid it by,  
 And cover'd it with mould, and o'er it set

Sweet Basil, which her tears kept ever wet.' pp. 72-75.

The following lines from an ode to a Nightingale, are equally distinguished for harmony and feeling.

' O for a beaker full of the warm South,  
 Full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene,  
 With beaded bubbles winking at the brim,  
 And purple-stained mouth :  
 That I might drink, and leave the world unseen,  
 And with thee fade away into the forest dim :  
 Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget  
 What thou among the leaves hast never known,  
 The weariness, the fever, and the fret  
 Here, where men sit and hear each other groan ;  
 Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last grey hairs,  
 Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies ;  
 Where but to think is to be full of sorrow  
 And leaden eyed despairs.

The voice I hear this passing night was heard  
 In ancient days by emperor and clown :  
 Perhaps the self-same song that found a path  
 Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,  
 She stood in tears amid the alien corn ;

The same that oft-times hath  
 Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam  
 Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.' p. 108-111.

We must close our extracts with the following lively lines to  
 Fancy.

' O sweet Fancy ! let her loose ;  
 Summer's joys are spoil'd by use,  
 And the enjoying of the Spring  
 Fades as does its blossoming ;  
 Autumn's red-lipp'd fruitage too,  
 Blushing through the mist and dew,  
 Cloy's with tasting : What do then ?  
 Sit thee by the ingle, when  
 The sear faggot blazes bright,  
 Spirit of a winter's night ;

When the soundless earth is muffled,  
 And the caked snow is shuffled  
 From the ploughboy's heavy shoon ;  
 When the Night doth meet the Noon  
 In a dark conspiracy  
 To banish Even from her sky.

— Thou shalt hear  
 Distant harvest carols clear ;  
 Rustle of the reaped corn ;  
 Sweet birds antheming the morn :  
 And, in the same moment—hark ! \*  
 'Tis the early April lark,  
 Or the rooks, with busy caw,  
 Foraging for sticks and straw.  
 Thou shalt, at one glance, behold  
 The daisy and the marigold ;  
 White-plum'd lilies, and the first  
 Hedge-grown primrose that hath burst ;  
 Shaded hyacinth, alway  
 Sapphire queen of the mid-May ;  
 And every leaf, and every flower  
 Pearled with the self same shower.  
 Thou shalt see the field mouse peep  
 Meagre from its celled sleep ;  
 And the snake all winter thin  
 Cast on sunny bank its skin ;  
 Freckled nest-eggs thou shalt see  
 Hatching in the hawthorn-tree,  
 When the hen-bird's wing doth rest  
 Quiet on her mossy nest ;  
 Then the hurry and alarm  
 When the bee-hive casts its swarm ;  
 Acorns ripe down-pattering,  
 While the autumn breezes sing.' pp. 122-125.

There is a fragment of a projected Epic, entitled 'Hyperion,' on the expulsion of Saturn and the Titanian deities by Jupiter and his younger adherents, of which we cannot advise the completion: For, though there are passages of some force and grandeur, it is sufficiently obvious, from the specimen before us, that the subject is too far removed from all the sources of human interest, to be successfully treated by any modern author. Mr Keats has unquestionably a very beautiful imagination, and a great familiarity with the finest diction of English poetry ; but he must learn not to misuse or misapply these advantages ; and neither to waste the good gifts of nature and study on intractable themes, nor to luxuriate too recklessly on such as are more suitable.

---

ART. XI. *Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance.* By JOHN FOSTER. 8vo. pp. 317. London, Holdsworth, 1820.

THE subject upon which we are now about to enter, has always appeared to us not only to be in itself of the greatest and most permanent importance of any which we have ever considered, but as that upon which it is most essential that right notions should be entertained by every class of the community. The question is as to the best practical means of Promoting the Education of the body of the People—in other words of improving, and in many cases, we might say, creating, the religious, the moral, and intellectual character of the nation. To this it is manifest that every other improvement is necessarily and intrinsically subordinate. Our individual enjoyments and our national prosperity—our freedom and our loyalty—our peace and our plenty—our comforts and our renown—all obviously depend upon the rank which we may be enabled to hold as rational and moral beings; and our eternal as well as our temporal concerns must be mainly affected, in so far as human means are concerned, by the tenor of our early instructions. We most earnestly entreat all our readers, therefore, to favour us with their patient attention, in the exposition we are now to make; and seriously to consider, whether an opportunity has not now arisen, of conferring a greater practical benefit on the country than was ever in its choice before, and whether any man can be excused for withholding his countenance and support from the plans that have now been so nearly matured for that purpose.

The great difficulty arose, as was foreseen from the beginning, from the mutual jealousy of the Established Church and the Dissenters; and our apprehensions of misconduct were certainly long directed towards the former. Its chiefs, however, have ultimately made the most liberal concessions; and the Legislature is ready to sanction a scheme, to which we sincerely think no reasonable objection can now be stated. Some of the Dissenters, however, are understood not to be satisfied; and it is from them only that any serious opposition to the scheme is now to be apprehended. We shall consider their objections by and by;—but, in the outset, we may be permitted to claim for ourselves the credit that is due to the unvarying, fearless, and zealous advocates of religious independence, and entire freedom of conscience and of worship. The members of our own National Establishment are Dissenters from the Church of England; and, in this very controversy on the subject of education, in all its stages,

as well as upon every other question, our readers must be aware that we have uniformly taken the side of the Dissenters, and fought their battles with equal zeal and constancy. We trust, therefore, that our decided and deliberate opinions will have some weight with them, even where they differ from those of some of their less temperate advisers; and think that we may reckon, at all events, upon a candid and favourable consideration of the reasons by which alone we wish to secure their adoption. We shall now proceed, therefore, to detail, as clearly and concisely as possible, the measures to which we have alluded, and the nature and result of the views and inquiries on which they are grounded. We have purposely delayed the consideration of this great subject, till the Plan, in its matured shape, should be brought before Parliament by Mr Brougham. This has now been effected; the plan has been formally introduced and expounded; the Bills in which it is embodied have been read a second time, committed and reported, with the blanks filled up; and the further consideration of them having been adjourned, for the express purpose of allowing the country to consider and to discuss them, we are naturally called upon to exercise the privilege that belongs to us.

The inquiries of the Education Committee have laid the foundation of this plan. Our readers are aware, that Queries were addressed by that body to all the parochial clergy of England and Wales, respecting the state of Education in each parish and chapelry. Their answers were given with an alacrity and fullness, which, both in the Report of the Committee, and in Mr Brougham's observations in the House of Commons, have been largely commended. So ready was their compliance with the requisition of the Committee, that the Chairman states himself to have received between two and three thousand letters in one day. From time to time new questions were proposed, and further information obtained. The defective returns were thus supplied in a great degree, and all obscurities explained. A vast mass of information being thus obtained, it was digested with great diligence and care. The unremitting labour of two years, has now produced the large printed volumes which embody the substance of the information respecting England; a third volume, of smaller size, being nearly ready for delivery, and comprising Scotland and Wales. The Scotch part of the Inquiry naturally required local assistance; and the General Assembly of our Church, in compliance with the request of the Committee, appointed a committee, at the head of which was Principal Baird, to aid the Investigation by a correspondence with the Scottish clergy, in addition to the

correspondence carried on by the Committee. The Scotch returns were then digested in the Committee, to which they were communicated by the Reverend Principal, accompanied by his own valuable remarks. It is understood that he also assisted in the work of digesting these returns; although the accuracy of the work rests entirely upon the original documents themselves, which were all transmitted to London.

It is impossible to deny the great value of the work thus completed. As a Statistical document it is in some degree new in its kind; for, instead of mere dry figures, it contains a map of the state of society, and of the moral state of the people. It is a complete chart of the Education of the Island, in all its essential particulars. The construction of it may be shortly described—Each county has a *Digest* and a *Table*. The *Digest* contains the substance of the Parochial returns, arranged under three heads—1st, the particulars relating to *endowments* for education—2d, those relating to other institutions, or *unendowed* schools—and, 3d, *general observations* on the state of the people in respect of education and matters connected with it. There are two other columns added—one giving the names of the Parishes in alphabetical order—the other giving the Population of each. The *Table* is extracted from the *Digest*, and consists of as much of it as can be reduced to a strictly tabular or numerical form. It differs in its construction for England and Wales—and for Scotland. The Table for English and Welsh counties, consists of four divisions or great columns—each subdivided into smaller columns. The divisions are, 1. Parishes or Chapelries—and this is subdivided into three columns; one for the alphabetical list of *Parishes*, with their *Chapelries*, another for the *Population*, and a third for the *Poor* of each parish and chapelry. 2. Endowments—subdivided into three columns; one for the number of the endowments in each ecclesiastical district, another for the number of children educated by each, and a third for the revenue of each. 3. Unendowed Day schools—subdivided into two columns; one for the number of such schools, another for the children educated at each. 4. Unendowed Sunday Schools, subdivided into two columns for the same purposes as the division of Day schools. The Scotch Tables are differently constructed. The first division is the same as in the English Tables, and is subdivided in the same manner. But there are four other divisions—1. Schools supported by Mortifications, that is, gifts in Mortmain—subdivided into three columns for numbers, children, and revenue. 2. Parochial Schools, subdivided in like manner. 3. Unendowed Day Schools—subdivided into four classes, and each class into two columns, one of

numbers of schools, the other of numbers of children.—The classes are, Society Schools—Dame Schools—Ordinary Schools—and Totals of the preceding three classes. 4. Sunday Schools—subdivided into two columns for numbers and children. In the Scotch Tables, there are no marks of reference; in the English and Welsh, there are three of importance—one indicating that, beside the sum given, the endowment has other property not specified, or which cannot be valued in money—another that the school in question is a Dame school—a third, that the school in question is one either upon the National plan, or the plan of the British and Foreign School Society.

The reader will at once perceive how completely this Digest with its Tables must exhaust the subject, and present a picture of the state and the means of education in general and in detail; for the whole Island, and for each even the smallest parish and chapelry in it—and of the education in all its branches, and in every point of view in which it may be regarded. It should be further observed, that these volumes contain the substance also of the two great volumes, the Population Returns, and the Poor Abstract, as far as relates to the number of people and of poor in each ecclesiastical district. Indeed it furnishes a statement not to be gathered from those other works without much labour, namely, a corrected statement of the inhabitants and poor for each of the ecclesiastical subdivisions; it is the first work in which the population of each chapelry has been assigned; indeed no former work ever gave even the particular townships of each chapelry, and the townships of those parts of the parishes not included in the limits of the subordinate chapelries.

Beside the Digest and Table of each County in the Island, two General Tables are added, containing the Totals of the Counties in one view—but in a more complete subdivision. If we add the General Totals for all England, it will more satisfactorily show the construction of these Tables. The first relates to *numbers* educated:—And the Total is as follows—the imperfect returns having been filled up by calculating from the complete ones.

---

*Grand Total, or General Result of a Table, showing the State of Education in England.*

Population in 1811	-	9,543,610
Poor - in 1815	-	853,249

*Endowed Schools.*

Number of new schools *	-	-	302
----- of children educated there	-	-	39,590
----- of ordinary schools	-	-	3,865
----- of children there	-	-	125,843
<i>Totals</i> —Number of schools	-	-	4,167
----- of children	-	-	165,433
Revenue	-	-	L. 300,525

*Unendowed Day Schools.*

Number of new schools	-	-	820
----- children	-	-	105,582
----- dame schools	-	-	3,102
----- children	-	-	53,624
----- ordinary schools	-	-	10,360
----- children	-	-	319,643
<i>Totals</i> —Number of schools	-	-	14,282
----- of children	-	-	478,849

*Sunday Schools.*

Number of new schools	-	-	404
-- children	-	-	50,979
-- ordinary schools	-	-	4,758
-- children	-	-	401,838
<i>Totals</i> —Number of schools	-	-	5,162
----- children	-	-	452,817

The Second General Table gives the proportion of children taught *gratuitously* and *paying* for education; and this table is extracted from the details contained in the Digests of the different counties—the former table being deduced from the different tables. The grand total for England, in this Second table, is as follows.

<i>Endowments</i> .—Free scholars	-	-	145,952
Pay scholars	-	-	19,481
Total	-	-	165,433

<i>Unendowed Day-schools</i> —Free scholars	-	-	168,064
Pay scholars	-	-	310,785
Total	-	-	478,849

Total free scholars	-	-	322,518
----- pay scholars	-	-	321,764
Total taught	-	-	644,282

\* On the National, and British and Foreign Plan.

We have been favoured with the following statement of the totals for Scotland.

Endowed schools, including parochial schools	-	1,144
Where there are taught	-	65,533
Unendowed day schools, including society schools	-	2,412
Where there are taught	-	110,770
Total schools	-	3,556
— children	-	176,303

—or about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th less than  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the whole population of Scotland. But the returns for Edinburgh and the Islands are extremely defective, so that the average is certainly rather above  $\frac{1}{6}$ th, as is stated by Mr Brougham. Of the endowed schools above given, 267 are not parochial; of the unendowed, 202 are society schools, and 205 dame schools. The Sunday schools amount to 687, and are attended by 49,285.\*

It is upon the mass of information contained in this Digest, and in these Tables, that the Plan for National Education, which we are now to consider, has been constructed; and as, in the course of the argument respecting its merits, we shall be constantly obliged to appeal to this work, it was necessary to begin by explaining its nature and arrangement.

Among the topics which we think may now safely be passed over in entering upon this discussion, the benefits of Education must be reckoned as one. Happily the season seems gone by

---

\* A most absurd statement has lately appeared in the newspapers, purporting to be a *return up to May last* of the schools in England and Wales. No such return has been, or could have been made to Parliament; and this statement seems, from internal evidence, to be a *concealed advertisement* of a Book, which it mentions as used in 3682 schools. By this statement it is pretended that there are above 37,000 schools, taught by above 56,000 teachers, and attended by *above a million and a half of children*—consequently, that every human being in the kingdom above sixteen years old can read, at the least; nay, that there are 7520 schools where French is taught, and 3327 where Greek and Latin are taught; or, in other words, the English are so accomplished, that every third person speaks French, and so learned that every sixth person reads the classics. This fabrication, we must in justice add, cannot for a moment be supposed to have been made for the purpose of helping the arguments urged against the New Plan; for it represents the Church Catechism as used in 22,583 schools; or, in other words, that nine millions and a half, that is, nearly the whole population, belong to the Church. So much for this *statement*; which, whatever be its origin, is sufficiently discreditable to its authors.



for ever, when men could be found capable of denying, in a civilized nation, the policy of diffusing knowledge among the people. It is not indeed above twelve or thirteen years since some eminent persons thus lingered behind the times in which they lived; and, though gifted with genius to go before their age, preferred the doubtful fame of displaying ingenuity in support of an absurd paradox,—lavishing their eloquence in extolling the usefulness and safety of darkness in the most enlightened period of history, as their predecessors among the luxurious Romans, but, in the decline of Latin taste, had employed their Rhetoric in making the panegyrick of rudeness and barbarity. But the case is now wholly changed; no persons, or next to none, have openly denied the policy, and even the duty, of Educating the people. If any still doubt it in their hearts, they are now fain to conceal their scruples, and, we suspect, will rather be found to oppose the measures in contemplation, by objecting to their details, than by attacking their principle. This great and salutary change deserves to be marked in passing; and relieves us from all necessity of adding any thing to the observations which we have formerly made upon the more general views of the question.

Another remark of a preliminary nature must be added. Some worthy persons, how deeply soever they may be impressed with the importance of universal Education, are disposed to question the expediency of Government interfering with the Instruction of the people, and that on two grounds:—They are suspicious of Government, and afraid of entrusting it with so powerful an engine of authority and influence; and they rely upon the general maxim of modern policy, which prescribes the rule of leaving the concerns of the people as much as possible to their own care. Now, we conceive that both these objections to a system of National Instruction countenanced and supported by the State, are founded upon most fallacious grounds—and we shall take them in their order.

1. Admitting that a superintendence of the education of youth were likely to give the Government some increase of influence, it would by no means follow that this price was not a cheap one for the benefit purchased, unless it were shown that any other means existed of securing the same benefit; and this consideration belongs to the other head of the argument. An established religion and endowed church certainly arms the civil magistrate with no small power—a power wholly foreign to the purposes of supporting a hierarchy, and only arising incidentally out of the means necessary for accomplishing those purposes. The expediency of such an establishment has accord-

ingly been denied by many, who had never witnessed, or not duly reflected upon the numberless evils of unlimited fanaticism, and the great risks of the people receiving no religious instruction, or at least such instruction as could hardly lead to any religious improvement, were they left entirely to the tuition of their own stipendiaries, at all seasons of private and of publick fortune. But no man has ever denied the advantages, nay the necessity of providing for the administration of justice; and yet it may safely be affirmed, that the Judicial establishment of a State, in the present liberal-minded age, furnishes as much of what Mr Bentham terms the '*Matter of Influence*' to its government, as the hierarchy itself: For we believe that Lawyers have, in most enlightened countries, succeeded to no little portion of the sway once enjoyed by their predecessors, the Priests. But there is another and a most important circumstance to be taken into consideration. Not only may checks be devised which shall control the interference of the Government, and confine its operation within certain limits; but the principal portion of the influence thus acquired is over the minds of children, whose ripened understandings will easily shake it off, if indeed time does not silently efface its impression: and above all it is never to be forgotten, that the natural effect of the system is to increase, beyond all calculation, the power and energy of the people generally, and especially to furnish, in each individual instance, the very antidote most adapted to counteract any tendency which the mode of tuition might have, unfriendly to perfect independence. All considerations of patronage being put out of view for the present, because means may be devised of removing any such dangers, it seems obvious, on the one hand, that no very great harm can result from the Government, or the establishments connected with it, generally superintending the manner in which the first rudiments of learning shall be conveyed to children; and, on the other, that the progress of popular improvement will, by the great and certain supply of instruction thus obtained, be so accelerated as indirectly to counteract a far greater weight than can ever be gained by Government through the direct operation of such a cause. Let the people but read and write and cipher, and they must think for themselves: and it would, in our humble opinion, be quite as unreasonable to complain of the power which the superintendence of their education may give to their rulers, as to be alarmed at the chance of their knowledge leading them into habits of insubordination. Such fears on the part of the Governors have now happily been removed. It will argue very little for the good sense of the governed, if any considerable portion of them fall a victim to the

opposite alarm, and still less for their candour, if they make an outcry of this description without really feeling the alarm.

2. The other objection to Government interfering, rests upon a plain misconception or perversion of the principle which it professes to proceed from. Nor are similar errors at all uncommon among shallow and half-read economists, in dealing with that principle. It is indeed one of the evils which have flowed from its great simplicity and easy application. Before the time when the science of political economy was purified and simplified by the labours of the French theorists and of our countrymen Hume and Smith, a considerable stock of learning, and a great familiarity with details, was required to set up as a political speculator. When the change took place, which was found mainly to consist in rejecting the officious interference of the Government with men's private concerns as useless, or repudiating it as pernicious, every sciolist who had turned over a few pages of the great works where this principle is unfolded with infinite practical knowledge and much nice limitation and qualification, thought he was at once master of the whole science, and could settle all questions belonging to it, by merely saying, if a Frenchman, '*Laissez-faire*'—and if an Englishman, '*Leave things to themselves.*' How many persons have we heard thus disposing of all nice matters of national polity by crying out, '*Adam Smith,*'—and adding, '*things will find their level*'—persons who had no knowledge of things, and hardly knew what level meant!

But the same error has pervaded men considerably above this description of shallow talkers. The first province and proper office of the doctrine in question has not been sufficiently regarded; still less has it been observed with what material guards and modifications its original patrons always promulgated it. This principle originally was never meant to extend further than to the laws by which capital is distributed and accumulated. Its import was, that every man being the best judge of his own interest, and that interest being necessarily the same with the interest of the community, as far as the augmentation of national wealth is concerned, the State ought to leave the employment of his industry, skill, and capital, as much as possible to himself, both because he has a right to chuse for himself in this respect, and because he will in general make a far better choice for himself, that is, also for the state, than the state can make for him. But neither Adam Smith, nor any one else whose authority is worth mentioning, ever dreamt of prescribing the same neutrality and abstinence to the Government upon all matters of publick concernment. On the contrary, they all admitted very ample heads of exception, even to the application

of the rule as far as regards capital itself. Smith, as is well known, went so far as to approve of the Usury laws, although Bentham has since most satisfactorily erased this chapter from the catalogue of excepted cases; but the Navigation Law of England, and indeed of Holland, has never been allowed to be absolutely founded on false principles, although it be by far the widest deviation from the general rule ever made, and in a matter of the greatest importance. The excuse given for it by Dr Smith seems still to be admitted, that there are other things which deserve our care beside the increase of wealth, and that defence is more important than riches. This seems to satisfy men's minds that the Navigation Law was beneficial at the time, although unquestionably we have adhered to it long after it had ceased to do any thing but mischief in every way.

But who ever dreamt of carrying the principle so far as the persons do with whom we are at present contending? They might as well talk of leaving the settlement of disputes between individuals, to the private settlement, the *domestic forum*, of arbitration. They might contend that the demand for justice, like every thing else, would produce a sufficient supply of the article; that all the useless machinery of civil courts might thus be dispensed with, its attendant patronage taken from the government, and its heavy expense saved to the people; and that the only necessary interference here, would be by compulsory process to compel appearance and execution. Then, why the crowds of lawyers that blacken the gates of Themis's temples? Why degrees in the Civil, and Canon, and Common law? Why not let every man conduct causes before the arbitrators—as there is no fear of suitors employing bad counsel, any more than unskilful and unjust referees.

An hundred such instances might be added: But upon this matter of education let Adam Smith be heard for himself. In his Fifth Book, he expressly devotes one Part of the three into which the Chapter upon the Expenses of the State is divided, to the subject of Public Works and Institutions; the other two discuss the defence of the nation and administration of justice; and of the third Part, one article, and a very leading one, is, '*Of the Expense of Institutions for the Education of Youth.*' In handling this subject, he displays great learning, and his accustomed sound sense. He shows very clearly how the work of education has often been marred by the mismanagement of the Government, and how many branches of learning might be better taught by private encouragement. But this remark is only applicable to those accomplishments for which the wealthy furnish the chief demand. He never for a moment supposes that the poor could be expected either to seek

or to find the means of instruction in the mere elements of knowledge, without any aid from the State. Nay, he goes further, and proposes that a national education should not only be provided by the State, but that means should be taken for compelling the people to take advantage of it. 'For a very small expense, (says he,) the public can facilitate—can encourage—and can even impose upon almost the whole body of the people the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education,' (namely reading, writing, and accounts.)—*Wealth of Nations, Book V. Chap. I. Part 3. Art. 2.* He then recommends the means which he thinks best adapted to these ends; the establishment of parochial schools; with part of the expenses paid by the public, and part by the scholars; and the exclusion of such as cannot read and write and cipher, from corporate rights, and '*the freedom of setting up any trade either in a village or town corporate.*' We question, after this, if the authority of Adam Smith will be with much confidence appealed to a second time upon the present occasion.

But it will be said, that authority ought not to usurp the place of reason; and the opinion of Smith may be combated, by his more rigid followers affirming that they preserve the faith in more absolute purity, nay, that they correct the backslidings of the master, and are destined to be the Bentham's of this chapter, for the purpose of making him throughout consistent with himself. We fear this is not precisely the destiny to which they are called; for reason seems to put them down quite as triumphantly as authority. The principle of non-interference—of leaving things to themselves—applies not to the case of education, unless where the thing to be taught can be learnt in private, or by a very small number of pupils; that is to say, unless the question regards only the education of the rich. The moment a numerous school is required, the principle fails; and fails more or less completely in proportion as the district is less or more populous. No man thinks that every farmer or tradesman, still less every poor labourer or mechanic, can have a private tutor for his children. To be taught at all, they must go to a school, where so many children attend, that each can be taken at a low rate of school wages, fees or quarter pence. In populous places, it may not be difficult to find masters who will make a trade in opening such schools for profit; but, in villages or country districts, where the whole neighbourhood afford no more than twenty or thirty children, how is such a thing to be expected? Sixpence a week is a high price for such a school; it is more than the original price of the High School of Edinburgh, where the persons of the highest rank in Scotland educate their children in Latin, Greek, and Geography. Yet that

high rate of quarter pence would not maintain a master of a decent description in such a situation as we are supposing. It would take twice as much. Yet thirty children of the years for going to school, exclusive of nine or ten whose parents may prefer educating them at home, and especially girls, answers to a population of above four hundred inhabitants;—and it is needless to say how many districts there are in England and Wales, where not above four hundred persons live. If, however, we suppose a moderate rate of quarter pence only to be paid, then the lowest number of inhabitants who could afford to maintain a school must be above 800; and this is about the average population of the parishes all England over, including cities and towns, as well as country districts and villages. Supposing, again, that we separate the parishes into two classes, those of cities or great towns, and country ones; we can reckon the average of the latter at little more than 600—which is evidently far too thin a population to maintain a school, by trusting to the voluntary supply following the demand.

This seems to settle the matter as to country districts; but even in the towns where the poor might more easily supply themselves with education, a difficulty occurs well deserving of attention. The supply of articles of prime necessity in every country, may safely be left to be regulated by the demand; and there is no risk of any class of persons being long in want of them who can afford to pay a fair price for the acquisition; because all pretty nearly stand equally in need of them. But it is far otherwise with education. The poor are apt to undervalue it, or at least to postpone it to more sensible objects; and if there are many, or even several persons in any district who seek it not, their negligence puts it out of the reach of those who desire it, because it reduces the number of scholars below that which can maintain a master. It would indeed be a fair position to lay down, that the whole of the poor in any country care considerably less for instruction than they ought; and that their wish for it is never strong and steady enough to command a regular and secure supply. Bad times come, and the quarter pence are grudged; the school is broke up. The distress passes away, and the poor next year are anxious for instruction; but a long time must now elapse before another school will be ventured upon in that quarter where it had so lately failed. From a consideration of this circumstance, it seems reasonable to conclude, that they are right who maintain the principle of bringing Education to the door as it were of the poor man, both in towns and country districts, by extraordinary encouragements to the establishment of schools, which requires a

certain zeal and a certain combination to effect it; and may therefore most strictly be placed on the same footing with the erection of public works.

The evidence contained in the Digest signally confirms this view of the subject in every particular. It may be seen, no doubt, that the average number of children attending the unendowed Day schools (exclusive of Dame schools) is only thirty-one; but then the Tables also show, that a considerable proportion of these are educated by charitable contributions. Indeed, of the 478,000 children educated at unendowed Day schools, 168,000 are maintained by subscription, or other charity. Almost the whole of the Sunday schools, too, are free schools; and of the 165,000 educated at endowed schools, only about 20,000 pay quarter pence. It thus appears, that nearly all the Sunday schools, and one half of the Day schools in England; are supported by charity.

But another ground is taken upon this point by the objectors. Seeing the impossibility of trusting to the poor themselves, they tell us, nevertheless, that we may trust to private beneficence. But this is a most fallacious argument, and is liable to be refuted by the very considerations to which its supporters appeal. The exertions which charitable persons have made in England for promoting Education, as well as for all other benevolent purposes, are far above our praise. Nevertheless, such efforts must have their limits; and we suspect those limits have of late years been reached. The fact, that the British and Foreign School Society never has at any time had an income of 1500*l.* a year, even on paper, speaks volumes on this head. It is equally true, that the more individuals have exerted themselves in such efforts, the more likely they are now to be exhausted; and it is a known truth, that the difficulty of obtaining subscriptions for new charities, has of late become almost insurmountable. Besides, such resources are fluctuating and uncertain in their nature; and nothing can be more obvious, than that such a variable supply is ill adapted to meet a demand which either is or ought to be made constant and regular. The charitable labours of good and enlightened men for educating the Poor, are necessarily confined to populous places. There only can great meetings be held, and large contributions obtained. Accordingly we find, that the two great Societies for promoting Education, the National, and the British and Foreign School Society, only, plant schools upon the new plan; and this plan, from its nature, must be confined to towns of considerable size. We are aware, that mere private munificence has furnished many supplies to the same good cause; but that is a still more uncertain

supply. Alms may be asked; and therefore, there is far better ground for trusting to individual charity for supporting the poor. But how long would it take before individuals should bethink them of planting schools for the thousands of poor children who have now no means of instruction? Let it be recollected, too, that private charity is not always very judiciously bestowed. A desire to do too much for a few children, is far more prevalent among the humane, than a wise disposition to do somewhat for a greater number; and the truth is undeniable, that many well-intentioned men have founded establishments of a kind really hurtful to society, at a great cost, when a tenth of the funds would, if well applied, have proved really beneficial.

But we are desired to look at the result; and the vast progress made of late years in Educating the poor, is cited as a convincing proof how much may be expected from this source. We join willingly in this appeal to facts; for we know that it must at once decide the whole question. From the Digest it appears, that there are about 145,000 children taught at the new Day schools, exclusive of those taught at Sunday schools,—which ought in this question to be kept apart, both because almost all of them attend Day schools also, and because the tuition at Sunday schools, without any other, is extremely imperfect. Now, from the numbers taught at these New schools, no one can doubt that a large deduction must be made for those educated before their establishment either at the same school previous to its being new-modelled, or at some neighbouring seminary, given up since the larger one was set on foot. Perhaps 100,000 is not too small a number for the whole addition made in the means of Education by those new schools during the last fifteen years; and at this rate, nearly forty years would be required to afford the means still wanting, even if we supposed private charity to make the same exertions during the next half century that it has during the last few years; whereas no man can pretend to expect such a thing; and, indeed, every one knows that those exertions are almost wholly confined to large towns.

But the Digest likewise shows how many institutions of this description are languishing for want of funds, and how many unendowed schools of all kinds have been discontinued everywhere from the same cause. The necessity of some less precarious supply being provided of an article of such primary necessity as elementary education, is, indeed, proved in almost every page of these volumes.

The result of the Tables may now be shortly referred to, as establishing beyond all controversy the want of education which now exists. The Endowed Schools in England teach about



165,000 children; the Unendowed Day schools 478,000. But this includes 53,000 taught at the Dame schools, where infants are generally sent before they are of an age to go to school, or learn almost any thing. It includes also the lace and straw schools of the midland counties, where we much fear little that is useful is in general learnt. If, then, we deduct for these schools, we shall have about 590,000 children taught at Day schools; and we must add about 10,000 for deficient returns, several parishes having made none. To this number of 600,000 are to be added the children belonging to persons in the upper and middle classes of society who educate their children, particularly daughters, at home or at boarding schools, not noticed in the Tables, though frequently in the Digest. Mr Brougham, from the population returns, considered 50,000 as a proper allowance for this class, but, if any thing, too small; and the next addition made was incontestably much too large, except that he was desirous of rather understating than overstating the deficiency. He allowed, of the 452,000 taught at Sunday schools, 100,000 as attending those institutions beyond the numbers included in the column of Day schools; the known fact being, that a greater proportion than seven-ninths of the Sunday scholars attend Week-day schools. The grand total of children educated in any way, even in the scanty measure dealt out by Sunday schools, is thus only 750,000. Now, the lowest estimate of the means of education for any country, requires that there should be schools for one-tenth of the population; but from the Digest it clearly appears that a larger proportion is requisite, especially if we include the means for all classes, high as well as low. Mr Brougham reckons rather more than one-ninth; but, taking one-tenth as the scale, it thus appears that there are only the means of educating seven millions and a half of the people in England, leaving no less than two millions without any education, and three millions without the only effectual education, namely, that obtained at Day schools. Let us shortly compare this with the state of other countries, where popular education is supposed to be well attended to.

In Scotland, taking the average of twelve counties, the population of which is 636,000, and making no allowance for the education of the upper classes, or for private tuition at all, there are schools where between one-ninth and one-tenth of the population are taught. In Holland, by the Report of the Commission of 1812, at the head of which was Mr Cuvier, it appears that there were 4451 schools, where 190,000 children were instructed, or one-tenth of the population. In the Pays de Vaud, about one-eighth of the people attend the parish

schools; and not one person in sixty is to be found who can't read. France presents a very different picture. The Report of the Commission in 1819 gave the numbers attending schools at 1,070,500, or 1-28th of the population. Yet the exertions making in that country may well excite our admiration. In two years, the numbers had increased from 866,000; the proportion in 1817 having been only 1-35th. During those well spent, and, let us say, truly glorious years of civil triumph, 7120 schools had been planted, capable of educating 204,500 children, and supplying the means of education to a population of two millions. The zeal of individuals being powerfully seconded by the Government, in a very few years France will be as well educated as Holland. Wales appears to be much worse off than England; there are not schools, even including Dame schools, for above one-twentieth—that is, there are only the means of educating half the people of the principality.

The inequality with which the education of which we have been speaking is diffused through the different parts of England, is a very striking circumstance; and affords perhaps the strongest of all arguments against leaving matters to themselves, or relying entirely upon the charitable exertions of individuals. In the four northern counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, the average is about one-tenth; in Westmoreland it is as high as one-seventh or one-eighth—being superior to the Pays de Vaud, and consequently the best educated district in Europe. In Wilts and Somersetshire, the average is one-eighteenth, or one-nineteenth; in Lancaster and Middlesex one-twentyfourth. But before the establishment of the new schools in Middlesex, it was as low as one-fortysixth. This fact, respecting such a county, is truly deplorable. Calculating, as we before did, for the whole country, it thus appears, that at the present moment there are not the means of Education for one half the people in the metropolitan county; and that, but a few years ago, there were three-fourths of that population destitute of those means!

We cannot conclude this argument, without referring somewhat more particularly to the labours of the two most meritorious institutions which we have already mentioned. It is very far indeed from our intention to undervalue their usefulness, when we contend, that something is wanting both more powerful and more permanent, than their constitution and means enable them to accomplish, for educating the whole people of England. The Lancaster Society, or, as it is now called, the British and Foreign School Society, has long been familiar to our readers, through the pages of this Journal. We, from the

earliest period of the controversy to which the opposite plans of the two Institutions gave rise, have expressed our decided opinion in favour of the system which professes to teach the poor reading and writing, without distinction of sects, and to open schools in which all forms of worship, and all shades of faith, may indiscriminately unite in bestowing the inestimable benefits of education, alike necessary to make good disciples of the Church, and good followers of the Sects. But it never appeared to us at all maintainable, as some professed to argue, that the National Society would not be productive of good in places where there was room for the exertions of both societies, that is to say, in all places of a certain size, where the exclusive plan might be adopted in one school for the education of churchmen, and the universal plan be pursued in another for sectaries as well as churchmen. And in places where there were no sectaries, it was obvious that as much good must be done if a school was founded on the exclusive as on the universal plan,—with this material difference, that the children attending it would be taught the religion of their families, as well as the common elements of knowledge. The only harm to be apprehended from the exclusive plan, unquestionably was, that in places of a small size, which could not maintain two schools, it was likely to prevent the children of poor dissenting parents from receiving any instruction, unless they were prepared to give up their peculiar creed; that is, unless they were only dissenters in name. It is fair to add, that the experience of ten years has materially diminished these apprehensions; and the praiseworthy liberality of the Directors of the National Society has been tending more and more towards opening their school-doors wide to all. The truth is, that the New System of Education is only adapted to great towns, as we have already observed; and in those there will always be abundant room for the execution of both the plans, without any risk of their interfering with each other. But the National Society have wisely and liberally been rendering their schools more and more accessible to conscientious dissenters from the Establishment; and the value of such concessions is not to be lightly spoken of by sectaries, when it is recollected how much more ample the means of the one Society are than those of the other.

Giving all praise to both those useful Bodies, let it be again remarked that their labours are necessarily subject to fluctuation, and limited in extent. Thus, the British and Foreign Society has more than once depended for its existence upon the extraordinary exertions of two or three individuals like Joseph Fox and William Allen (if indeed, beside themselves, any such

are to be found), who have risked their fortunes, and pledged their credit for the common good, with a generous enthusiasm of which there is perhaps no other example on record." The Society afterwards was in debt, and we believe has only been relieved by a number of persons coming forward with subscriptions of 500*l.* each. The National Society, too, has been obliged to call upon its members, of late, for an extraordinary contribution to relieve it, and enable it to pursue its laudable course. But such calls cannot be often repeated; they drain the source from which the supplies proceed; and they make even the best of us grow weary of well-doing. The zeal of leading members may not cool; but no system can be long depended on which must be supported by extraordinary efforts. A regular supply of means is wanted, which shall be subject to no ebbs and flows. The evidence before the Education Committee, who examined the leading members of both Societies, plainly shows how cramped their operations are, for want of funds. It is clearly proved, that the grand difficulty in founding schools, even where they are most wanted, is, the first expense, the cost of outfit, as it were. Local subscribers will be found who will support the school after it is once established; because, to raise 80*l.* or 100*l.* a year, is not so hard a task; but to raise 800*l.* or 1000*l.* for building or buying a commodious schoolhouse and dwelling for the master, is not so easy a task. Accordingly, the Committee reported, both in 1816 and 1818, in favour of grants being given by Government, to enable the local subscribers to overcome this difficulty:—for it was manifest, that both the Societies together could do little or nothing towards such purposes; the one having only 1200*l.*, and the other not, we believe, 3000*l.* a year to meet all demands. How the money should be distributed was another question, and of far more difficulty and delicacy. The obvious method of entrusting each Society with a certain sum, was liable to serious objections. To invest private and irresponsible individuals with large funds for a public purpose, was, upon principle, extremely unadvisable; and to incorporate any bodies of men with this view, beside other objections, was open to this, that the State protecting a religious establishment, could hardly be said to act consistently, if it gave equal, or nearly equal, encouragement to the sectaries dissenting from that Establishment. That some such grants may be necessary for the service of large towns, in addition to the provisions of the general plan which we are about to describe, is highly probable; and in that case the distribution must unquestionably be made upon the principles of the plan itself, and through the Charity Commissioners, or some other body of re-

sponsible publick functionaries.—But to return to the two Societies.

We have mentioned one very obvious limit to their benevolent operations. As the great desideratum is schools in places where there are none, and as it appears not only that in country districts those societies never profess to attempt planting any, since there the new methods do not apply, but also that in large towns they have not the means, both together, of planting half a dozen in the course of a year—it may be asked in what their usefulness consists, and how so many schools have been founded within the last fifteen years upon the New Plan, all stated to be the work of one or other Institution? The Education Digest unquestionably states a large number of new schools in all parts of the country. In England, there are 1122 Day schools and 404 Sunday schools on the New Plan—and about 70 in Wales—making a total of about 1600 schools. This is considerably under the numbers reported by the two societies as in connexion with them; and very possibly the clergy may have omitted some in their Reports, that is to say, may have omitted to mention that a given number of schools were conducted upon the new methods. But then as those returns contain all schools so conducted, whether in connexion with the two societies or not, it seems impossible to doubt that the Reports of those societies take credit for more schools than are actually connected with them. But a further remark is necessary upon this point. It is not pretended that all, or even any considerable number, of those schools, admitted to be in their connexion, have been founded by their means. They have encouraged the foundation, by giving advice and information upon the subject generally, and by corresponding with the local associations; and, above all, they have educated teachers at their central schools in London, where many country schools have thus been able to obtain masters. They have also occasionally given them a number of books and lessons. But the substantial work has, of course, been done by the activity, charity, and resources of the local subscribers—except in the very few instances where assistance in money has been lent by the Societies. As soon, however, as a considerable number of new schools are established in different parts of the country, the principal use of the Societies ceases. Because the funds for educating masters, as well as for paying them when they are placed, come from the local subscribers, it is far better for them to send masters to be educated in some neighbouring new school than in London.

Thus, suppose a new school is devised at Bolton, and a fund provided for planting it—the first step is to procure a master.

Now, no one will at the present day pretend, that there are numbers of masters ready taught either at the Borough Road or in Baldwin's Gardens, one of whom can be despatched at a call, to take the school under his care. Once we thought such a magnificent scheme practicable; and as we trusted both Societies would confine themselves to qualify masters, so we had hoped their funds would have enabled them to have a succession of these always ready. The event has not realized those hopes. In the Borough Road Establishment, above all, the boarding and lodging a small number of such masters was found to exhaust all the funds, and involved the Establishment in considerable difficulties. The good men at Bolton must therefore, at their own expense, send a young man to be qualified for his new office. There is an excellent school at Manchester, a few miles off, where he may learn the art as well as in London, and be boarded much cheaper. Why must they equip him for a journey to London and back, merely that it may be said that their school is founded by one of the Societies? In a word, it seems to us self-evident that those two excellent Institutions will commit a great error if they do not now confine their operations to the Metropolis. They have propagated the method, and, thanks to their zeal and skill, it is sufficiently known, to render any further expense ill-judged, except for local purposes. London, with a million of inhabitants, for only one half of whom there exist the means of education—London within their reach, before their eyes, spreads out to their humane and enlightened view a scene of ignorance, vice, and misery, which might appal others, but ought to encourage them. It affords an ample field for all their exertions; and they may rest assured, that the glory of reforming such a community, or of putting it in the way of being reformed, is far greater than that of most imperfectly, and indeed nominally, superintending the improvement of the whole kingdom.

But if this remark applies in some measure to both Societies, how much more cogent is its application to that whose very name reminds us of the degree in which it is rising, from excess of humane and expansive zeal no doubt, against all fitness and moderation! The British and Foreign School Society is founded in that very London which we have been describing as in absolute want of schools, and more destitute of them than any portion of the Island. Meeting in the very worst parish of all this metropolis, in St Giles's, where they cannot boast of more than the pittance of revenue already so frequently deplored, they listen to reports of the progress which they are making with the new method—in St Giles's?

—in any part of London?—in the Country?—in Ireland? No; but in France—Spain—Poland—Russia—Finland— even on the shores of the Euxine and the Caspian! Not that we undervalue such a large philanthropy—but we maintain it to be far from being appropriate to the means of the Society, or judicious in the ignorant state of their immediate neighbourhood.\* Then, is the statement quite free from ridicule which represents the Society as educating, or even aiding in the education of France, when there is a most regularly arranged Association there so fully adequate for the purpose, as its labours above detailed, during the last four years, have shown it to be? But the British and Foreign Society may be the parent of this Gallican Association. We do not say that there has been no connexion between them; we believe that the labours of Lancaster, and of the two Societies in this country, and the success of the system here have had a most beneficial effect in stirring up the spirit now prevailing among our neighbours, and in directing their zeal in a right course. But we can hardly allow it to be seriously maintained, that the French Society is a branch or a shoot of the British and Foreign Society, when we recollect that in all its Reports the name of Bell is uniformly coupled with and placed before that of Lancaster; and that the French writers, after their usual manner, deny to both our countrymen the merit of the invention, which they ascribe to their own pious and enlightened fellow-labourer, Father De la Salle, who flourished a century ago.

One word more may be added before quitting this subject. The British and Foreign Society objects vehemently to the plan of exclusion adopted more or less by the other Institution; and its members are apt to complain that any churchmen should show repugnance to send their children to the Lancaster schools. Our opinion in favour of the universal system has been already

---

\* We desire to have it distinctly understood that our objection here is confined entirely to this exclusive philanthropy, when made the object of such societies as the one in question. Upon individuals, it must ever reflect the highest honour. Thus, no one can hear of the labours encountered by William Allen in his long and perilous journeys in the East and elsewhere, for the purpose of propagating the new method, without feelings of the deepest gratitude. He is a man almost without parallel for genuine philanthropy, in an age of benevolence. But all the good that can be done abroad by communications from this country, is effected by one such person; and a Society devoting itself to the same pursuits, is sure of distracting and weakening its effects at home, without rendering any perceptible service abroad.

given, both now and upon former occasions; but we must protest against the blindness which can induce any one to charge churchmen with bigotry and intolerance for preferring schools where the doctrines of the Church are taught. Nothing in the history of controversy ever was so unreasonable. A churchman as naturally prefers a school where the catechism is taught, as a sectary prefers one where it is excluded. Nor is it any answer to say, that the dissenter cannot send his child where it is taught, while the churchman may send his where it is excluded. He may, undoubtedly; but he may also prefer the other; and this preference produces no sort of evil effect, unless in the single case of the community he lives in not being large or rich enough to support schools on both plans. As to the charge which was brought against the National Society at first, that they were taking the work of education into their own hands in order to mar it;—they may now safely despise it; they have long outlived it; and, very early in their career, they triumphantly put it down with the strong arm of Good Works. It was an outcry, indeed, never encouraged by the truly respectable leaders of the rival association, whose toleration is in proportion to their wisdom and their benevolence. But we feel the more anxious to state our own sentiments on this subject, because we were among those who really did at first regard that Society with a certain distrust, from the intolerance which some of its advocates displayed. A more serious charge, however, remains to be brought against some of those excellent persons; we mean against their good sense,—for of their pure intentions no man can doubt. Symptoms have appeared of their aversion to any Parliamentary proceedings connected with Education. And the one which we single out as the most remarkable, is the entire silence of their yearly Reports upon the subject of the Education Committee. There is certainly in those documents no lack of detail upon all matters connected with Education. Every little anecdote is with laudable industry picked up, and with exemplary minuteness detailed, from all parts of the country having any bearing upon the subject. Hardly a circumstance occurs respecting any school in any part of the empire, that is not recorded. All the proceedings of foreign societies and foreign princes in favour of popular instruction, are enumerated. But year after year has passed, during which one trifling event has been taking place, which all those Reports have passed over in profound silence—probably because it happened in the immediate neighbourhood, and was therefore of no account to a British and Foreign Society;—we mean a Parliamentary Inquiry concerning the Education of the Poor in the British Dominions



—and measures founded upon that Inquiry, and receiving the sanction of the Legislature. If we were speaking of any other men and any other association, we should be tempted to ask whether they are jealous of Parliament—whether they will let nobody educate but themselves—whether they dread the number of reapers becoming too great for the extent of the harvest—whether, in a word, it is the instruction of the people, or the glory of teaching them, that they have at heart? But the well known character of those worthy persons precludes the possibility of harbouring any such suspicions, and we are inclined to believe, that the extraordinary appearance in question is referable to jealousy of another description,—we mean the dread of Parliament acting upon the exclusive principle which the British and Foreign Society has certainly opposed with most consistent perseverance. Upon this we shall hereafter offer a few observations, after developing the plan now before Parliament. In the mean time, we cannot better close these preliminary remarks, than in the words of an eminent writer, whose speculations upon the '*Civil and Christian Economy of large Towns*,' cannot be too highly commended, for the sound practical sense, as well as the large and enlightened views of human nature, which everywhere distinguish them. The following passages, from the last number of this excellent little work, strongly illustrate both the arguments which we have now been maintaining.

'It is with common, as it is with Christian education. There is, not such a native and spontaneous demand for it in any country, as will call forth a supply of it at all adequate to the needs of the population. If the people are left to themselves, they will not, by any originating movement of their own, emerge out of ignorance at the first; nor will they afterwards perpetuate any habit of education to which they may have been raised in the course of one generation, if, in all succeeding generations, they are left wholly to seek after scholarship, and wholly to pay for it. To keep up popular learning, there is just the same reason for an establishment, as we have already alleged in behalf of an establishment for religion. The article must be obtruded upon them, and, in some degree, offered to them; and if the best way of so obtruding it is, that there shall be one fabric of general repair for the people of each distinct locality, to which parents, under the impulse of near and surrounding example, may send their children for the purposes of education—then let these fabrics be multiplied to a sufficient extent, and under a right management will the security be complete, both for the people attaining a right place in the scale of mental cultivation, and, after they have attained it, for never again descending to the low state out of which they had been called.

'Voluntary associations have come forward in the cause of educa-

tion, without waiting for any such signal. And if, to look confidently forward to a proposed end, with feeble and disproportionate means, be to incur the character of visionary, then we fear that this imputation must be made to rest upon them also. They have all been greatly less efficient than they might have been, from their neglect of the principle of locality. There are many associations which, by their resources, could have done that permanently and substantially for a district of the town, which they have vainly attempted, and have, therefore, done partially and superficially for the whole. The money which could have built a local school, and emanated enough of interest for ever to have kept it in repair, and provided the teacher with a perpetual salary, has been dissipated in transient and ineffectual exertions for the accomplishment of a universal object. The error is, to have been led away, by the splendour of a conception, far greater than it was able to realize. It is this ambition, to plan beyond the ability to execute, which has involved in failure and misdirection, so many of the efforts of philanthropy. And they who have so precipitately counted on any general result, that would be at all sensible, from the proceedings of any one society, however magnificent in its scale, and however princely the offerings that were rendered to it, have evinced themselves well entitled to the character of visionaries.

\* The great mischief of any such society is, that it blinds the public eye to the utter inadequacy of its own operations. It sends a feeble emanation over the whole city; which were doing an important benefit, had it only the effect of making the darkness visible. But, instead of this, we fear that the light which it thus diffuses, imperfect as it is, is rated, not according to the intensity with which it shines upon our population, but according to the extent in which it is thinly and obscurely spread over them. The very title of a school for all, is enough to deceive a miscalculating public, into the imagination, that all are provided with schooling. If, instead of trying to engross the whole, the society in question had concentrated its means and its energies upon a part, and upon such a part too, as it could overtake most thoroughly, there would have been no such pernicious delusion in the way of rendering a solid and entire benefit to the labouring classes. The very contrast it had produced between the district it so effectually brightened, and the total darkness of the surrounding or contiguous spaces, would have forced that lesson upon the public notice, which, under the generalizing system, is thrown into disguise altogether. Instead of a semblance of education for the whole, let there be the substance of it in one part; and this will at length spread and propagate its own likeness over all the other parts. It will serve, like the touch of a flame, to kindle the whole mass into a brilliancy as luminous as its own. It never would be permitted to stand a barren and solitary memorial. Other men would soon feel a responsibility in other quarters, who now feel none at all. Other societies would speedily arise in other districts; and the whole effect,

which was so vainly looked for, as the result of one great organization, will at length be made out, by the apposition of successive parts to one another.

Our earnest advice, for these reasons, is, that no benevolent society for education shall undertake a larger space of the city than it can provide for, both completely and perpetually; by reclaiming its families to a habit of scholarship for ever, through the means of a permanent endowment, attached exclusively to the district of its operations. It is far better to cultivate one district well, though all the others should be left untouched, than to superficialize over the whole city. It is far better, that these other districts be thrown as unprovided orphans, upon a benevolence that is sure to be called out at other times, and in other circles of society. Instead of casting upon them a feeble and languid regard, it is infinitely better to abandon them to the fresh, and powerful, and unexpended regards of other men. Let none of us think to monopolize all the benevolence of the world, or fear that no future band of philanthropists shall arise, to carry the cause forward from that point at which we have exhausted our operations. If education is to be made universal in towns by voluntary benevolence, it will not be by one great, but by many small and successive exertions. The thing will be accomplished piecemeal; and what never could be done through the working of one vast and unwieldy mechanism, may thus be completed most easily, in the course of a single generation. — But the spirit of benevolence will not be evaporated among all these difficulties: It will only be nurtured into greater strength, and guided into a path of truer wisdom, and sobered into a habit of more humble, and, at the same time, far more effective perseverance. Man will at length learn to become more practical, and less imaginative. He will hold it a worthier achievement to do for a little neighbourhood, than to devise for a whole world. He will give himself more assiduously to the object within his reach, and trust that there are other men and other means for accomplishing the objects that are beyond it. The glory of establishing in our world, that universal reign of truth and of righteousness which is coming, will not be the glory of any one man; but it will be the glory of Him who sitteth above, and plieveth his many millions of instruments for bringing about this magnificent result. It is enough for each of us to be one of these instruments, to contribute his little item to the cause, and look for the sum total as the product of innumerable contributions, each of them as meritorious, and many of them, perhaps, far more splendid and important than his own.

pp. 142–168.

From the details into which we have already entered, it appears sufficiently manifest, that the lawgiver who was called upon to frame a system of National Education in Scotland two centuries ago, and the Legislature of the present day, when devising a plan for supplying the want of education in England, had very different tasks to perform. In Scotland, there were

hardly any means of instruction generally diffused; in every part of England schools are now planted; and one of the principal difficulties is therefore to accommodate the new plan to the existing order of things, so as to improve and confirm it, and to make that which is created harmonize and not conflict with that which already exists. Another difficulty arises from the greater proportion of dissenters in England, and the greater difference of their tenets. But with reference to the period when the Scotch Parish Schools were first attempted to be planted, this circumstance does not in reality create so great a distinction; because, although now the Scotch Seceders differ chiefly from the church on matters of discipline, and those form the bulk of the dissidents from the established church; yet, during the whole of the seventeenth century Scotland was divided into religious parties, remarkable for their mutual rancour, and differing most widely in all their tenets. The exhausted state of the country, from excessive taxation, the grievous amount of the parish rates above all, and the admitted inequality with which those press already upon the landed interest, may be stated as an additional obstacle to the favourable reception of any plan which must to a certain, though doubtless an inconsiderable degree, occasion at least a temporary increase of those burthens. We shall now proceed to describe the principles of Mr Brougham's plan, as gathered from the Bills before Parliament.

It consists of four great branches, the nature and connexion of which may be best understood by supposing we had a district to improve by teaching. The *first* object would be to find the means of providing a school, and endowing it with a sufficient salary. The *next* would be to find a proper master, and to keep him in the regular performance of his duty. The *third* would be to admit scholars upon proper terms, and to prescribe the fit method of educating them. The school being thus planted, endowed, placed under a master, and filled with scholars, there would only remain the task of examining how the endowments for education formerly existing in the district might be made most available for the purpose, either by connecting them with the new school, or by otherwise improving them. The same order of inquiry applies to the whole country, and gives rise to the whole arrangements of the plan. The *first* branch, then, is the *Establishment* of schools—the *second*, the appointment, visitation and removal of *masters*—the *third*, the admission and tuition of *scholars*—the *fourth*, the improvement of old *endowments*. The three first branches form the subjects of one bill; the last is treated of in the other bill.

I. It is equally clear, that if we have a district in which a school is wanting, the first thing to be done is to put in motion the proposition for providing such a school. When the question is moved, the next thing is to have it discussed or tried before some proper tribunal; and if the judgment shall be given in favour of the proposal, the means must be devised of executing or carrying it into effect. Thus the first branch naturally subdivides itself into three—the *moving*, the *trial*, and the *execution* of the proposition for planting a school or schools in any ecclesiastical district, that is, any great parish or chapelry.

1. The Bill lays down two ways in which the question may be raised or moved. A *complaint* may be made by certain persons, that there is no school, or no sufficient school, in the district, and that one, two, or three schools are required for the use of the inhabitants; or an *application* may be made by the private conductors and owners of schools already carried on, and, failing for want of means, to place them upon the footing of parish schools, on certain conditions. It is necessary, in order to insure the complaint being made, that various persons should be authorized to prefer it. Accordingly, it may proceed, either from the Grand Jury at quarter sessions, who may *present*, as it were, themselves, or may *adopt* the complaint made to them by any householder—or from the resident officiating minister of the district—or from two justices—or from five householders. If none of these persons can be found to complain, we may be assured a school is not wanting in the place, either in the judgment of the inhabitants, or of the county at large. In order to make an *application*, the minister, or two justices, or five householders, must concur with the conductors or master of the private school. Both complaints and applications are to be made after four weeks' notice in the parish church or chapel, and upon the doors. Two or more small districts may be joined in the proposal, the consents being here varied, so as to include all the ministers, and only to require three householders of each.

2. The *trial* is to be by the Justices at Sessions, and their decision to be final on all points referred to them. The parish or chapelry officers are to defend if they think fit, or if required by five householders; but the Justices may award the costs to either party. They may order schools to be provided, not exceeding three for any district; so that if several districts are joined, and a school is provided for them in common, and if, afterwards, from increased population, more schools shall be wanted, still the number of parish schools shall not exceed three for each of the districts. The master's salary is likewise limit-

ed; it is not to exceed thirty pounds, nor to be less than twenty; but he is to have a house and garden; or, if a garden cannot be had, an allowance for it, of not more than eight, nor less than four pounds a year. No change of salary is to be made during any master's incumbency; but, when the place is vacant, the persons paying school rates may, at a meeting with notice, augment the salary by any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, provided three-fourths of the meeting concur. The repairs of the school are to be made by the parish officers, as far as ten pounds in two years; but, if more be wanted, a complaint must be made either by the master, or, during a vacancy, by the persons authorized to move, with the same notices, and triable in like manner as the complaint for providing a school. In all trials, the Education Digest may be given in evidence; but it may be explained or rebutted by other proof.

3. The Justices are to issue their warrant, which authorizes the minister and officers to obtain, from the Receiver-general of the county, the sum specified for house and garden; and this is to be repaid to him by the Treasury, so far as 200*l.*; any thing over that to be paid out of the county rate. If any person's property is required, he must have had notice, so as to oppose the order at Sessions, if he thought fit; and a jury in the usual way, but from a neighbouring district, is to assess the damages, if he is to part with it. The parish officers are not to be concerned, under a penalty, in any building, alteration or repairs, or in selling any building or land, without the estimate of the county surveyor. The master's salary and repairs are to be levied, like other parish rates, upon the land owners. The freehold of the house and garden is to be in the master; but he is not to vote at elections of members of Parliament, in respect of it.

II. The school being thus established and endowed, in order to secure its being always taught by a fit master, it is clear that means must be devised for requiring a proper *qualification* in the candidates, for *appointing* him by proper authority, and for *superintending*, or *visiting* him during his incumbency, or preventing him from continuing longer in office than while he shall be fit for it. The Second Branch, therefore, subdivides itself into three parts—the *qualification* and the *election* of the master, and the *visitation* of the school.

1. No person can either be appointed master to a school provided upon complaint, or continued in a school made a parish school by application, who is under 24 or above 40 years of age, and who has not a certificate to his good character, and being a member of the Established Church, from the resident minister

and two householders of the parish in which he last resided. Parish clerks are declared eligible as schoolmasters; but the officiating minister of the district is ineligible.

2. The persons paying school rate, and the authorized agents of such as are absent, and have 100*l.* a year in the parish, are to meet, after a month's notice, in the schoolhouse, and choose a master; the senior church-warden presiding, determining all disputes as to votes, reading the certificates, and other testimonials of the candidates; having a casting vote in case of equality, and reporting to the officiating minister the name of the person elected. The minister is then to examine him and his certificate, and to notify to the church-warden his approval or rejection. If he rejects, a new election is to take place; if he approves, the election is complete. Where, upon application, the premises of the private school are either given over for nothing, or for less than their value, to the parish, the justices may order the former master to be continued, if duly qualified, and if approved by the minister: but all future vacancies are to be filled up in the manner already pointed out.

3. The Ordinary may visit all the Parish Schools within his diocese, either in person, or by the Dean within his deanery, the Chancellor within the diocese, or the Archdeacon within the diocese or his archdeaconry, where it is divided. And the actual Visitor may remove the master, or may superannuate him, after fifteen years' service, with a pension equal to two-thirds of his salary, subject to an appeal to the Metropolitan, if the Ordinary visits, or to the Ordinary, if any other person is the actual visitor. The Ordinary is to report yearly the state of the schools in his diocese in the returns required by the Residence Acts, 43 & 57 Geo. III.; and the officiating minister is to have access at all times to the schools in his parish, for the purpose of examining them.

III. The Third Branch relating to the Scholars, subdivides itself into two parts—their *admission* and *tuition*.

1. The minister, with the advice of the church-wardens, is to fix the rate of quarter pence as often as the place of master is vacant; and that rate is not to exceed fourpence, nor be less than one penny a week. The children of paupers are in all cases to pay a penny; and the minister, with the advice of the officers, may recommend any very poor child to be admitted without paying. No distinction whatever is to be made in the treatment of the children; and if the master teaches at extra hours, or extra learning, he is to agree as he pleases with the parties.

2. The minister on each vacancy is to fix the hours of teaching, not exceeding eight, nor less than six hours a day; and the

times of vacation, not exceeding twice a year, and a fortnight each time, or one month if taken at one time. Reading, writing and accounts are to be taught in each school; and the master may hire an usher to assist him, with the minister's approbation. The Bible is to be taught, and no other religious book. No book whatever is to be taught without the minister's consent; and he may direct such passages of Scripture as he thinks fit to be taught among others selected by the master. No religious worship is to be used except such as may consist in saying or reading the Lord's Prayer, or other portions of Scripture. The Church catechism is to be taught one half day in the week, and, if the minister directs it, also on the Sunday evening; and the scholars are to attend the parish church, with the master, or with those having care of them, once every Sunday. But if any parent or other person having care of a child, notifies to the master that he desires the child not to attend the parish church or the school meetings when the Catechism is taught, the master is strictly commanded not to punish, rebuke, admonish, or otherwise molest the child for his absence.

IV. When we consider the state of old endowments, the defects in their constitution or in their management present themselves in different classes. Some foundations are in abeyance for want of trustees, who have either died out altogether, or been reduced below the quorum appointed to fill up vacancies. In others, the property of the Institution is ill managed with a view to revenue, or security, or convenience, from want of powers in the managers to deal with it. In many, the funds actually enjoyed are applied in a manner little calculated to accomplish the objects of the foundation; and in not a few, those objects have failed in whole or in part, through changes in the state of society generally, or in the circumstances of the neighbourhood, so as to leave the whole, or a part of the funds, unapplied. To provide the general means of remedying all these defects, without the necessity of applying to Parliament in each case, is the object of the Fourth Branch of the Plan; which accordingly subdivides itself into four parts, beside a fifth, intended to check or to prevent any abuse in the application of the remedy itself. Thus these five subdivisions relate to the failure of trustees—the improved administration of funds—the improved application of funds—the failure of objects—and the checks upon the misuse of the four preceding remedies. The Bill relates only to endowments connected with education; but its provisions are equally applicable to all charities whatever; and it will most probably be extended to them, when it has been adopted with respect to education.



1. Where the number of the trustees has been reduced below the quorum, the remaining trustees are allowed to fill up the vacancies; where all are gone, the special visitor, if there be one, may name; where there is none, the founder's heir may name; where he can't be found, the clerk of the peace may hold the legal estate, if above five pounds a year; and any three commissioners of charity abuses, if under five pounds.

2. Trustees are allowed to sell, mortgage, pledge, or exchange, for repairs, or for improvement of the revenue or property; the price being always paid into the hands of the county receiver, or accountant-general, who are only to pay it over upon an order from a court of equity, or from the charity commissioners, and to pay it back to the purchaser, if the sale is not allowed. A declaratory clause is added against trustees being parties to any such transactions, or to any lease of the trust-property.

3. Managers of endowed grammar schools are *declared* to have power to bargain with masters already appointed for teaching reading, writing and accounts, beside grammar; to appoint masters, on future vacancies, with the condition of their so teaching; to bargain with existing masters, or prescribe a condition to the future masters to teach more than the numbers of classes limited by the foundation, and to take a limited number of boarders, or none at all. Managers of charities are *empowered* to confine them to teaching, where the numbers appointed to be clothed, or boarded, or lodged, cannot be so maintained; and the provisions of the Mortmain Act are prospectively extended to personal estates given or left for clothing, boarding, or lodging children. Managers of education funds, where no school is built, are empowered to apply them in aid of parish schools, fulfilling the purposes of the endowment; and where children of one parish are appointed to be educated in another, the managers are empowered to educate them at the schools of their own parish. Managers of endowed schools are empowered to make *applications*, as in Branch I., to put them on the footing of parish schools; the master to be appointed as in Branch II. Where the funds are insufficient to afford their full salary, and where they are sufficient, the masters to be always appointed as directed in the endowment, subject only to the qualification, and to the approbation of the Ordinary; but in all other respects, the school is to be subject to the regulations of these acts, except that the visitation shall be in the special visitor, if there be one.

4. Where the object of an endowment has failed in whole or part, the managers may *propound a scheme*, either to a court of equity, or to the charity commissioners, for applying the whole

funds, or the unapplied surplus, in providing parish schools; the scheme to be approved by those tribunals, either wholly, or with such alterations as the propounders may assent to. They may direct the planting of schools; and, if the fund is inadequate to provide the whole salaries, application may be made to supply the deficiency, as in Branch I., with the same consents and notices. If the fund is sufficient to pay the whole salary of any school, the appointment of master may be directed to be always as directed in the endowment, subject to the approbation of the Ordinary; and to his visitation, as in Branch II., except where there is a special visitor; in which case, he shall both approve and visit.

5. Nothing under this Fourth Branch can be done without three months notice on the church-doors and schoolhouse, if any school is concerned; and a memorandum of whatever is done must be filed by the clerk of the peace one month afterwards, and open to all for a shilling fee. Any two persons whatever may petition, either before or within two months after any thing is done, under the 52 Geo. III., unless it has been done by the Justices, or a court of equity, or the Charity Commissioners; and the court may prohibit or rescind. Wherever there is a Special Visitor, his consent must be had; and where there is none, that of either the Ordinary or Metropolitan. Wherever any school is built, or endowed, or aided out of any fund, the donor's name, and dates of the foundation and improvement, are to be carved upon the building. Scotland, Ireland, and the Universities, and great public schools, are excepted from both acts.

The plan of which we have now given a faithful sketch, affords much matter of remark, and is quite certain to produce some controversy. Upon its various details, and even upon the leading principles which have regulated its construction, we shall at present forbear to comment; and shall confine our attention, in the little that remains of this article, to the portion of it which is likely to create the most difference of opinion—we mean, the connexion between the proposed Establishment for National Education, and the existing Church Establishment. Nor shall we now go through even the whole of this subject; for although it is possible that some persons may object to the principle of leaving the parish schools open to Dissenters, by excluding, for the most part, such religious instruction as would prevent any conscientious sectary from sending his children there, yet we can hardly anticipate any considerable stress being laid upon so unjust and intolerant a doctrine in the present day. If the whole community is to pay for the school, to the whole community it

should in all reason and fairness be open; and surely no rational or liberal member of the Church would contend for such an arrangement as should increase the burthens already borne by Dissenters in support of an Establishment, from the benefits of which they are necessarily excluded—burthens justified by their absolute necessity in regard to the Established Church, but for that reason to be carried no further than the necessity prescribes. It is rather from an opposite quarter that we anticipate some objections; we mean from the Dissenters, who appear already to have conceived an alarm, and who, we cannot help thinking, have been misled in the notions they have formed of the measure. Perhaps many of the most liberal among that most respectable class of men, may be convinced of the mistakes under which they have laboured, by attending to the foregoing analysis of the measure. But we shall, with the utmost deference, and the most sincere good-will towards the whole body, proceed to submit a few additional remarks upon this interesting topic, in order still further to remove the existing misapprehensions.

First of all, it is to be observed, that the Plan in question professedly and openly connects itself with the Church Establishment; it avows and claims this alliance; so that they make no discovery, and still less detect any hidden design in its construction, who charge it with such a connexion, or maintain that its tendency is to give the clergy an influence upon the education of youth. But let us only attend to the strong reasons which exist for this arrangement. When a new system is to be established of so extensive a description, it is most natural to wish that it should be engrafted upon one already existing, and which has been coeval with the existence of the Government. Nothing can tend more to give solidity and permanence to the fabric we are rearing, than building it on such a foundation. Again, the new system is to be local in all its arrangements, and to have its seat in the particular districts of the country. Would any man reject the known and ancient division of the kingdom into parishes and chapelries, in order to subdivide it anew, by cutting it into squares, like some of the most speculative reformers, or splitting it into little compartments, with a pond or maypole in each, as the French divided their country into larger departments, by rivers and mountains? The parochial division, moreover, is analogous to the one required in its object; the one refers to the neighbourhood of the church, and the residence of the parson; the other to the position of the schoolhouse and dwelling of the master. To take the ecclesiastical distribution of the country, therefore, was quite a mat-

ter of course. But as the school and church boundaries were to be the same, it followed that the living parts of the Plan, as it were, might correspond with great convenience. But a certain mechanism was to be found, or made, for electing the master; and if one could conveniently be found, that was a good reason for not making it. Were it not better to use the churchwardens already known to the law, and accustomed to parochial offices, than to contrive new functionaries for calling meetings, levying rates, and looking after buildings or repairs? The master, when once elected, was to be superintended by some higher authority. The Ordinary of the diocese, with his assistants, has already the superintendence of each parish *quoad sacra*; and nothing could be more convenient than to vest in the same known quarter the visitation of the schools. Some inspection was desirable as to lesser particulars; and a person of learning and character being already established in each district, was it fit to reject his services because he also happened to have the care of religion within the same bounds? Discretion and authority in all these particulars, and in others which we have stated above, was to be vested in some persons; and those must be persons of responsible character, known to the publick, accustomed to instruction, of sufficient learning themselves, and, above all, persons perpetually existing, by continued uninterrupted succession. Could any thing have been more absurd, than to pass over the parochial clergy, who seemed made for the very purpose, there being necessarily one of the body in each district where such a functionary was required? Surely the strongest reasons must be urged against this arrangement, to justify the Legislature in hesitating about taking advantage of a machinery ready made, and so peculiarly adapted to the purpose. We are now only arguing upon the ground of convenience; and purposely because this is a ground on which the most rigid Dissenter from the Establishment may, consistently and conscientiously, meet the members of it; and if they have a common object in view, the Education of the People, they must concur in adopting that plan which most easily and permanently secures the object by means of existing institutions, unless it can be shown that serious evils are likely to arise from seeking such aid in such a quarter. Let us see then what those dangers are which the Dissenter may apprehend.

He objects, first of all, to the increased power which this plan will give to the Church; and, if any considerable power were so conferred by it, he would have a perfect right to feel this repugnance. But we cannot help thinking that he greatly overrates it. Nothing can be more fallacious than to suppose

that the *veto* given to the parson will give him the choice of the master. All the householders are to elect; and, put the case relied on as possible, at least in some parts of the country, that the majority of the inhabitants are Dissenters, how can the parson ever compel them to elect the man of his choice? It is true, that they cannot compel him to approve the man of their choice; but does not every one at all acquainted with such matters know, that, in practice, such differences always end in a compromise? The electors may not succeed in carrying their man, and the parson will assuredly not carry his; but some third person will be taken, probably better adapted for the place, at least free from the chief objections which one party had to each of the other two. But such controversies will be rare; and practically the matter will be accommodated: Wherever the minister lives on good terms with his flock, his advice will have its weight on the one hand, and their wishes will weigh with him on the other. For let it be observed, that the *resident* and *officiating* minister alone is to interfere, either in the election or in any other part of the Plan;—and there is a much better security against contentions and jarrings between him and the parish, than between the nonresident incumbent, and those who only know him by paying tithes. But it is said that the master will be a mere creature of the parson. Nothing can be more unfounded than such a fear. The moment he is elected and approved, he holds his office perfectly independent; and care is taken in the Plan to prevent the least influence from being exercised over him by the parson, who has no authority whatever to interfere as to either salary, or hours, or vacations, except when the place of master is vacant. Every arrangement is made during that vacancy, and is to last as long as the master continues in office.\*

The Bishop, however, may be said to exercise more effectual controul over the master. But this is very different from a local power. Practically speaking, how can a parish school-master so far come in contact with the diocesan as to make him swerve, through private pique, from the line of impartial justice? Besides, the Bishop acts in this, as in all cases of visitation, upon his responsibility; he is before the world; his conduct may be canvassed; and Parliament is open to complaints if he abuses his power. Nor must it be forgotten, that no sentence of removal can be carried into effect without the

---

\* The authority given to the parson to approve of an usher, seems the only exception to this principle, introduced probably from necessity; but an appeal may be given to the Ordinary in this case.

deliberate concurrence of two dignitaries, after both have separately investigated the case and heard the parties;—for, under the powers of the Act, a court of law would compel them to hear before they determined! Is it contended that the Bishops will dismiss schoolmasters who do not favour their own views of temporal policy, or religious doctrine? But the Plan wisely excludes the Master from all share in political contests, by depriving him of a vote; and it is difficult to discern in what way he can influence the religious opinions of his scholars, when he is not allowed to teach any religious book but that to which all sects equally appeal. And this leads us to the grand objection of all—the fear that all children will be made Churchmen, whether they and their parents will or no.

Now, we own ourselves unable to perceive by what means this process of conversion can be carried on. Children at the early age of five or six, and even as old as eight or nine, are surely not very likely to imbibe the principles of one creed rather than another; nor, if they should receive any slight impressions in favour of particular forms or doctrines, are they very likely to retain them in their riper years. Will not any man of ordinary sense be persuaded, that, as far as regards the sect to which a child shall belong, his tuition under eleven or twelve years of age is of very trifling importance, compared with what he learns after that period of life? We by no means undervalue the usefulness of early, even of the earliest, religious impressions. We are aware that the infant mind may be imbued with a sense of the great truths of religion—those truths which all sects equally admit and revere in common. We grant, too, that habits of decent respect for the outward ordinances of religion, the ceremonial of a particular church, may be formed at a very tender age. But we cannot imagine that the nice points on which Churchmen and Sectaries differ, are very likely to occupy a child's attention, or to engrave themselves on his memory, at least to the exclusion of his reason and reflexion upon further inquiry in after life. Supposing, then, that the New Plan took no precautions at all to prevent one doctrine more than another from being taught, or one form of worship rather than another from being adopted, in the parish schools, we are clearly of opinion that the children of Dissenters educated there would not on that account be made converts from the faith of their parents, and would only learn that respect for the ordinances and observances of the Church which the best and wisest of the body have never failed to pay, even while they differed. But it is most fit that the matter should not rest here: it is most just that the scruples of the parents should be consulted; and that the

schools for which all pay should be open to the children of all, without the possibility of the most tender conscience being hurt by taking advantage of the institution. The Plan appears to remove every ground of cavil on this head. The Bible alone, of all books of religion, is suffered to be taught; no form of prayer, except that which all Christians use alike, is to be adopted; the Catechism of the Church is only to be taught at an hour when the children of dissenting parents may absent themselves; and attendance at church is to be perfectly voluntary also. Is it not uncandid to represent this arrangement as excluding Dissenters from the benefit of the Institution? The Churchmen might as well say, that because the Catechism is not taught daily, and because the Liturgy is not daily read, therefore they cannot conscientiously send their children to the parish schools. It is plain that as much is required from the one as from the other, in the way of mutual sacrifice, for the sake of a common benefit to all.

Still the Dissenters contend that the system is clerical; that the priests and bishops have too great sway in it; and that they cannot take the benefit of such a scheme. Yet, who ever thought of carrying this refinement into any of the other establishments connected far more intimately with the Church? Do not conscientious Dissenters send their children to the universities and publick schools, which are completely ecclesiastical in all their branches? They will not, indeed, permit them to take degrees which require subscription to the thirty-nine Articles; but the rest of the academical course they freely allow them to pursue. Nay, why should the Dissenters refuse to give their child education at a school, because a part of the Church has had some concern in the choice of the master, any more than they abstain from employing a Catholic to teach musick, or French or Italian, in the upper classes of society, or in its humbler walks refuse parish relief from the hands of the minister and parish officers? Let the evidence of some eminent sectarians before the Education Committee be examined, where they are questioned upon the principle adopted in the Report of 1818, and pursued in Mr Brougham's Plan. It is very instructive; for it shows that the only argument which they adduce, when pressed to state the bad consequences apprehended from the controul of the Church over the school, is the dread that the fittest master would not always be chosen. Now suppose this to be true in a still greater degree than they have stated; suppose that the fittest were *never* chosen; we still may venture to suggest, that teaching young children to read, write, and cipher, is not the most difficult of all tasks, but one which

a man of good character and ordinary accomplishments may be able to perform; and that, therefore, no very enormous mischief would ensue either to the Dissenter or to the cause of education, were the most competent person passed over, and an inferior artist appointed, provided he could do the work; for surely no man will pretend to be afraid that the system can end in chusing a set of masters who can neither write nor read.

The Dissenters, or rather some among that worthy and respectable Body, have decried all attempts at establishing a national system of education as superfluous. They have alleged, that Mr Brougham greatly overrates the defects in the existing means of instruction; for, it seems, 'they are convinced, by their own inquiries, that those means are not deficient.' Surely it can hardly be admitted, that this is the language of candid reasoners, only seeking after the truth. Surely it is somewhat too much to claim from the publick an implicit confidence in the result of such 'inquiries.' Mr Brougham's statements are the numerical results of an inquiry carried on for years among the persons best able to report the state of education in each village and hamlet of the Island. Those persons have, by the most minute details of matters within their own knowledge, enabled him to state the exact numbers of schools actually existing, and the number of children actually taught in each. Either the Population of the country has fallen away three millions within the last few years, or the deficit is what he has stated to Parliament; unless indeed the objectors mean to deny the truth of the Parochial Returns, and to charge all the clergy of the country, to the number of twelve thousand, with a conspiracy to understate the number of schools or of children taught. Those who set up against such documents as these, their 'reason to think' from 'their inquiries,' in common justice to the magnitude of such a subject, should have recollected that those with whom they were differing had *inquired* also, and that they had shown, in full detail, the grounds of *their* 'reasons for thinking' the most lamentable deficiency existed.

It has also been said, in a manner if possible more vague and gratuitous, that it would be hard if the Dissenters, who educate all their own children, were compelled to contribute towards the education of others. They require no new system of instruction, it seems, themselves, and are quite content with the present state of things. These assertions are easily made, and, unquestionably, they come either from persons profoundly ignorant of the truth, or hostile to the Plan, for reasons which they are unwilling to avow; for nothing ever was more unfounded than this statement. The middling classes of Dissenters educate



their own children like their neighbours of the same class in society. The wealthier members of the body, too, have been most laudably zealous in affording, by their charitable contributions, the blessings of instruction to many of their poorer brethren. Thus the various schools established on the British and Foreign Society's plan, receive many thousands of their children, as well as of the children of churchmen. But it is neither true that Dissenters alone support those schools, nor that all their poor, or any thing like it, receive the needful portion of instruction. There are whole districts in London and its neighbourhood, and in all the great towns of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, where the Dissenters form a considerable proportion of the population, and where the means of education are wanting to their poor, as well as to the other classes of poor, in the same, or nearly the same, proportions. While we admit how much this respectable body of men have done for education, let us not forget, in the present argument, how much has been done by the piety and benevolence of the Establishment. The Digest shows that permanent endowments exist in England, with a revenue, at this moment, of above 300,000*l.* a year, but which is worth, if duly improved, and all property included, near half a million, which already afford education to 165,000 children, and might, with ease, instruct 200,000; and it is certain that this magnificent work is all raised by the hands of churchmen, who have thus for ever provided the means of educating two millions of the people. Were we to reason upon the principles adopted by those whom we are now most reluctantly forced to combat, we should be entitled to contend, that such good works of the Church well entitled her to confidence in this question. At least they who argue that no scheme should be adopted against the wishes of the Dissenters, because those worthy and conscientious men have done so much for education themselves, may fairly be met by a statement of how much more has been done by the Establishment; and all the pains taken, and zeal displayed by the resident parochial clergy in helping the labours of the Education Committee, may well be appealed to in further support of the same argument.

To conclude, we firmly believe that we have now been meeting the reasons of a few only among them; and we most earnestly implore the Dissenters at large to turn a deaf ear towards any restless agitators who may, on the present important occasion, seek the means of gratifying their own spleen or vanity by fomenting suspicions and ill will among their more respectable and conscientious brethren. It is not very easy, however pleasing it might be, to refuse our belief to the suggestion, that a-

mong the reasons which have been urged in different quarters, there are some on which those who used them for the purposes of controversy did not place any reliance; and that other motives dictated the opposition which those arguments were employed to justify. The body of the Dissenters never *can* so far shut their eyes to all that passes around them, as to believe that all the poor are well educated—or even all their own poor: nor *can* they so far forget all their own principles of pure and enlightened charity, as to be lukewarm upon the question of a plan for universal instruction. What they do not really believe, they are wholly incapable of maintaining as a cover for what they chuse not to avow. A more honest body of men exists not in the world, nor one more devoted to the cause of civil liberty, and more desirous of promoting the improvement of their fellow-creatures. To them at large we should fearlessly appeal, even if the question were about founding, at the expense of the whole community, a system which could only give full instruction to the children of all churchmen; because they know so well the infinite importance of even this good to the whole State, and to its liberties, religious as well as civil, that they would cheerfully contribute their share towards the attainment of it, and overlook the injustice of being made to pay for benefits from which their own sect were excluded.

Why do we express such a confidence in their liberality? Because they are at once enlightened and humane—but also because we never heard of their raising any serious objection either to the annual grants to the poor clergy, or to the million lately voted for building churches, to which they contributed their share, although without the possibility of benefiting by it—nay, with the avowed reason of the grant before their eyes, that the want of churches multiplied sectaries. Can we doubt that, in behalf of Education, they would make equal sacrifices? No—But they are called upon to make none at all. Their scruples are consulted; their peculiar interests are preserved; the schools which they are required to support are, in the strictest and largest sense of the word, schools for all. It would be in the highest degree unjust, then, to suspect them of joining the clamour which some are trying to raise; above all, of endeavouring to cry down the whole Plan, without attempting to amend the parts which they dislike, and of using arguments which go to stop every effort in favour of National Education, because some of the measures proposed appear to them objectionable. Let us hope that such attempts will fail as they deserve; and that the painful sight will not, upon this great occasion, be displayed, of the best friends to the happiness and improvement of mankind taking the very course

most agreeable to the victims of bigotry, and the patrons of servile principles. \*

---

\* As a justification of our distrust in the candour of some active men in London among the Dissenters, we may mention the appearance of resolutions concerning Mr Brougham's plan, because it imposed a Sacramental Test, a week after the provision had been openly given up.

We have avoided loading this article with a comparative statement of the Scotch System of Parish Schools, and the System proposed for England, because we trust that we shall soon have an opportunity of discussing the improvements that are universally admitted to be wanting in the former; and notice has been given in Parliament that these will be made the subject of a separate measure. We may here observe, however, upon the subject of the prejudices said to be entertained by our Presbyterian brethren of the South, against the interference of the Parson with the appointment, and of the Bishop with the superintendence of Masters, that this principle, *mutatis mutandis*, is amply recognised in our Scotch scheme. The minister, with the heritors, elects; the Presbytery approves and visits—removing without appeal, if it thinks fit. Undoubtedly the Presbytery, acting as a court, may be, in the eyes of Presbyterians at least, better fit to discharge the visitatorial office. But an Episcopalian establishment must, of necessity, entrust the bishop with that function. And let us only ask the objectors, whether they would be satisfied with vesting the power of approbation and visitation in a body of the neighbouring clergy—which is the case in our Presbyterian scheme? Surely they would, on behalf of the Dissenters, not prefer this to one minister and a bishop. The Seceders, Baptists, and Catholics in Scotland, have never yet objected to our plan of school discipline; and yet there are whole districts in the North peopled with Catholics, and some of the most populous of the districts in the West are filled with Baptists and other sectaries.

We shall add two facts here respecting the use of the Education Inquiry generally. In one county in Scotland, four advertisements to contract for building parish schools, appeared immediately after the Education circular reached the neighbourhood, and showed that the eyes of that watchful Committee were turned towards it. The law had thus been evaded for above a century.

In the last Report of the Commissioners under Mr Brougham's acts, the St Bees' school coal is stated to have been taken constantly during the last 20 years, by the Lonsdale family, under their celebrated lease for 867 years, at 3*l.* rent; and they are stated by the Commissioners to have, in that time, raised from thence no less than 677,600 cubick yards or tons of the coal! See the attacks on the Education Committee now.

---

# QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

*From May to August 1820.*

## AGRICULTURE.

The Farmer's Magazine, No. 83. 3s.

## ANTIQUITIES, ARCHITECTURE, AND FINE ARTS.

Hughes's Views in Cambria, Part II.

Londina Illustrata; Graphic and Historic Memorials of Monasteries, Churches, Chapels, &c. in the Cities and Suburbs of London and Westminster. By R. Wilkinson. Elephant 4to, 12l. sheets; Atlas, 15l. 15s.

Part I. of Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. Elephant 4to, 12s.; Atlas 4to, 1l. 1s.

Part I. of a Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes, illustrated by four coloured Views, and 24 pages of Letter-press. Demy 4to, 6s.; Elephant 4to, 10s. 6d.

A New Series of twenty-one Plates to illustrate Lord Byron's Works. By Charles Heath. 4to, 3l. 3s.; 8vo, 2l. 2s.; and foolscap 8vo, 1l. 10s.

No. XVI. of the Annals of the Fine Arts. 6s.

Kenilworth illustrated, with Designs by Westall. Part I. medium 4to. 10s. 6d. sewed.

Retch's Series of Outlines to Goethe's Tragedy of Faust, engraved from the Originals. By Henry Moses. Part I. containing 12 Plates. 4to, 2s. 6d.; Imperial 4to, with proof impressions, 10s. 6d.

A History of the several Italian Schools of Painting, with Observations on the present State of the Art. By J. T. James, M. A. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Part II. of Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. 4to. 12s.

Part II. of a Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes. 4to. 6s.

Views of the Remains of Ancient Buildings in Rome and its Vicinity, with Plates, beautifully coloured to imitate Drawings. 7l. 7s.

Lectures on Painting, delivered at the Royal Academy. By H. Fuseli. 4to, with engravings and a portrait. 1l. 16s. boards.

Part X. of Picturesque Delineations of the Southern Coast of England; engraved by W. B. and G. Cooke, from Drawings by J. M. W. Turner, R. A. &c. Royal 4to. 12s. 6d.

Select Views of the Principal Ruins of Rome; with a Panoramic Outline of the Modern City from the Capitol. By H. Abbot Esq. 3 Numbers. 1l. 1s. each.

Pyne's History of the Royal Residences in England, illustrated by 100 Graphic Representations of the State Apartments, beautifully coloured. 3 vols. 4to. 25l. 4s. boards; or large paper, 37l. 16s.

Sketches illustrative of the Manners and Costumes of Italy, Switzerland, and France, with coloured Plates and Descriptive Letterpress. By R. Bridgens. No. I. Royal 4to. 10s. 6d.

A Catalogue of the Pictures at Grosvenor House, London; containing Etchings of the whole Collection, and an historic notice of each Picture. By John Young, Keeper of the British Institution. 4to, 2l 2s.; India paper, 3l. 3s.

## ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Supplement to the Fourth and Fifth Editions of the Encyclopædia Britannica, with Engravings. Vol. IV. Part II. 1l. 5s.

A New and Comprehensive System of Modern Geography, Mathematical, Physical, Political, and Commercial; with coloured Maps and Plates. By T. Myers. 7s.

Rosarum Monographia. or a Botanical History of Roses. By John Lindley Esq. F. L. S. 16s. plain; 21s. coloured.

Hortus Suburbanus Londinensis, or a Catalogue of Plants cultivated in the neighbourhood of London. By R. Sweet, F. L. S. 18s. boards.

A Practical Introduction to the Science of Short-Hand, upon the Principles of the late ingenious Dr Byrom. By William Gawtress. 12mo. 5s. boards.

A Treatise on Heat, Flame, and Combustion. By T. H. Pasley. 2s. 6d.

The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, No. V. With eight Engravings. 7s. 6d.

Eight Familiar Lectures on Astronomy, intended as an Introduction to the Science. By William Phillips, F. L. S. Second Edition, corrected. 12mo. 7s.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Part III. of a General Catalogue of Old Books for the year 1820. By Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. 2s.

Catalogue of a Collection of Books, Scarce Tracts, &c. By J. Taylor. Part I. 1s. 6d.

Catalogue of a valuable Collection of Books in various Languages and Literature, selling by John Lepard. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Catalogue of Foreign Music for 1819. Sold by Boosey & Co. 2s.

Part IV. of a General Catalogue of Old Books for the year 1820. By Longman, Hurst & Co. 2s. 6d.

Boosey and Son's Catalogue of Books in various Languages, ancient and modern, for 1820. 2s. 6d.

Baldwyn & Co.'s Catalogue of Miscellaneous New and Second-hand Books. 1s. 6d.

A Catalogue of a Miscellaneous Collection of Books, New and Second-hand, selling by J. Biggs 2s.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits representing distinguished Persons in the History and Literature of the United Kingdom. 4to. 2s.

A Catalogue of Engraved Copperplates, by the most esteemed

Artists, with an Index of the subjects ; forming part of the Stock of Hurst, Robinson & Co. 2s.

Lackington & Co.'s Catalogue of Dictionaries, Classics, and School Books.

A General Index of the first Forty Numbers of the Classical and Biblical Journal. 6s.

James Rusher's (of Reading) Catalogue of Books in Theology and general Literature.

Catalogue of Books for 1820, by Payne and Foss. 2s. 6d.

Richard Baynes's Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Ancient and Modern Books for 1820. 8vo. 3s.

A Catalogue (Part first) of a small Collection of Rare and Curious Books, chiefly in Morocco, Russia, and elegant bindings, lately purchased, and now selling at the prices affixed to each article, by William Clarke, New Bond Street.

#### BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Mrs Joanna Turner. 4s.

Georgiana, or Anecdotes of King George III., with a Selection of Poetical Effusions on his Character, and on that of the Duke of Kent. By J. Cobbin. 2s. 6d.

Memoirs of the late R. L. Edgeworth, with Portraits and Plates. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

The Life of John Wesley, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By R. Southey. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Relics of Royalty, or Anecdotes of George the Third. By Jos. Taylor. 5s.

No. I. Portraits of Eminent Foreign Composers, accompanied with Biographical Notices. 7s.

Biographia Curiosa, or Memoirs of Remarkable Characters of the Reign of George the Third. No. I. and II. 2s. 6d. each.

Life of President West. By John Galt. 8vo. 14s. boards. Part II. separate. 7s. boards.

Memoirs of Grenville Sharpe. By Prince Hoare.

The authentic Life of Augustus Von Kotzebue, from the German. 7s.

Memoirs of Henry Hunt Esq. No. I. Written by Himself. 1s.

Narrative of a Soldier in his Majesty's 92d Regiment of Foot. Written by Himself, with a Preface by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Second Edition enlarged. 12mo. 3s. boards.

#### CLASSICS.

The Comedies of Aristophanes, translated by T. Mitchell. 15s.

Juvenal et Persius ; containing Ruperti's and Konig's Text, with Delphin Notes, without the Ordo. 8s. bound.

The Delphin and Variorum Classics, No. XVII. and XVIII. (Tacitus.) 1l. 1s.

• Scapula Lexicon, Gr. Lat. cum Indicibus Græc. et Lat. Consilio et cura J. Bailey ; Opera et Studio J. R. Major A. B. Editum. 4to. 5l. 5s.

R. Porsoni Notæ in Aristophanem, quibus Plutum Comœdiam, partim ex ejusdem Recensione, partim e Manuscriptis emendatam et variis Lectionibus instructam præmisit et Collationum Appendicem adjecit P. P. Dobree. 2l. 2s. Imp. 8vo; 1l. 1s. Med. 8vo.

Lucian of Samosata, from the Greek; with the Comments and Illustrations of Wieland and others. By William Tooke, F. R. S. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s. boards.

Amyntas, a Tale of the Woods, from the Italian of Torquato Tasso. By Leigh Hunt. Foolscep 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

The Classical Journal, No. XL. and XLI. comprising a great variety of Classical, Biblical, and Oriental Literature. 6s. each.

#### DRAMA.

Catherine de Medicis, a Tragedy, in 5 acts.

The Cenci, a Tragedy, in 5 acts. By P. B. Shelly. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Gonzalo, the Traitor, a Tragedy. By Thomas Roscoe. 2s. 6d.

El Teatro Espanol. No. 16. 4s.

The Gentle Shepherd, a Scots Pastoral Comedy, by Allan Ramsay; to which are prefixed, a Description of the original Scenes in reference to the Poems, and a Guide from Edinburgh to and through them as they succeed each other in nature. 12mo. 3s. boards.

New Sacred Dramas, for young Persons. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Ricciarda, Tragedia, di Ugo Foscolo. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Virginius; a Tragedy. By James Sheridan Knowles, Esq. 3s. 6d.

An Analysis of the Tragedy of Faust, in illustration of the outlines, and printed uniform with them. 6s.—large paper 8s.

Too late for Dinner. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Dion, a Tragedy; and the Naturalist, a Comedy. By G. A. Rhodes, M. D. 2s. 6d.

Aguilhar, a Tragedy. By H. M. Tweddell. 8vo. 4s.

The Fate of Galas, a Melo-Drama. By Thomas Dibdin. 1s. 6d.

Sappho, a Tragedy. By F. Grillparzer: translated from the German, and adapted to the English Stage. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Abdallah; or, the Arabian Martyr; a Christian Drama, in 3 acts. 1s. 6d.

#### EDUCATION.

Extracts on Education, from the most popular writers. 2 vols. 18mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

An Italian and English Grammar, from Virgini's Italian and French Grammar. By M. Giuncheny. 12mo. 5s. 6d. boards.

A Key to the above, and to the Italian and French, by the same. 4s.

Rural Employments; or a Peep into Village Concerns. By Mary Elliot. 2s.

Davenport sur la Pronunciation Angloise. 12mo. 4s. boards.

A Key to Bland's Algebraical Problems. By J. Darby. 8s. 6d.

An Essay on the Nature and Genius of the German Language. By Dr Boileau. 8vo.

A Grammar of the German Language, on a new plan, illustrated by tables and examples. By Ernest Jehr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

**The Ladies' Arithmetic.** By ——— Morrison. 18mo. 3s. 6d. half-bound.

**The Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape, from Nature, in water colours.** By F. Nicholson. 4to. 1l. 1s. boards.

**Dialogues, chiefly intended to assist in forming the Morals and Taste of Young Persons in the Middle Ranks of Life.** By the Rev. J. Bowden. 12mo. 5s. boards.

**The Biographical Class-Book, consisting of 500 Lives, with 150 Portraits.** By the Rev. J. Goldsmith. 6s. 6d. bound.

**A System of Education for the Infant King of Rome, and other French Princes of the Blood; drawn up under the personal superintendence of the Emperor Napoleon.** 8vo. 8s. boards.

**The Principles of Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical.** By the Rev. Lant Carpenter. 8vo. 12s.

**Early Education; or, the Management of Children considered, with a view to their future Character.** By Miss Appleton. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

**Les Protégés du Dix-huitième Siècle; Histoire Religieuse en Morale.** Par Madame D \* \* \*. 12mo.

**Les Ogres du Seizième Siècle, Conte des Fées Historique.** 12mo. Par Madame D \* \* \*.

#### HISTORY.

**Chronology of Public Events and remarkable Occurrences within the last 50 years.** 15s.

**The History of Spain, from the earliest ages to the return of Ferdinand VII. in 1814.** 12mo. 8s. 6d.

**Lectures on the Philosophy of History; accompanied with Notes and Engravings.** By the Rev. E. Bloomfield. 4to. 1l.

**History of British India.** By J. Mill, Esq. 6 vols. 8vo. 3l. 12s.

**The Parliamentary Debates; comprising the Session Nov. 23, 1819, to Feb. 28, 1820, the close of the reign of George III.** Vol. XLI. in royal 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

**Historical Documents and Reflections on the Government of Holland.** By Louis Buonaparte. 3 vols. 1l. 16s. boards.

**The third volume of a Summary of the History of the English Church.** By J. Grant. 8vo. 12s. boards.

**The History of the Anglo-Saxons.** By Sharon Turner. 8 vols. 2l. 8s.

**Letters on History. Part II.** 5s. 6d.

**A History of the West Indies.** By the late Rev. Thomas Coke. 3 vols. with maps and plates. 1l. 4s.

**Chronological Tables of Universal History, brought down to the end of the reign of George III.** By Major James Bell. royal folio. 1l. 10s. half bound.

**Historical Account of the Origine and Succession of the Family of Innes, collected from Authentick Writs in the Charter-Chest of the same, from an original manuscript in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Roxburghe.** In 4to. 2ls.



## LAW.

Hale's Common Law. Royal 8vo. 17. 10s.

Vesey's Reports in Chancery, Vol. XIX. 7s. 6d.

Reports of Cases of Controverted Elections in the Sixth Parliament of the United Kingdom. By U. Corbett and E. R. Daniell. 9s.

Reports of Cases in the House of Lords upon Appeals of Writs of Error, in 1819. By D. Bligh. Vol. I. Part I. 8s.

A Treatise on Leases, third Edition enlarged. By Robert Bell, Lecturer on Conveyancing appointed by the Society of Writers to the Signet. 8vo. Boards.

The Attorney's Pocketbook. 18s. boards.

An Abstract of the Laws of Jamaica relating to Slaves, with the Slave Law at full length. By John Lunan. 1 vol. 4to. 15s.

A Law Glossary of the Latin, Greek, Norman, French, and other Languages interspersed in the Commentaries, by Sir William Blackstone; and various Law Treatises upon each Branch of the Profession, translated into English, and alphabetically arranged by Thomas Taylor. 8vo. 9s.

A Treatise on the Law of Dower, with a view to the modern practice of Conveyancing. By J. T. Park of Lincoln's Inn Esq. 8vo. 18s.

The Barrister, or Strictures on the Education proper for the Bar. By Thomas Ruggles Esq. 18mo. 6s.

A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, from the earliest period to the present time, with Notes and other illustrations. Compiled by T. B. Howell Esq., F. R. S. F. S. A.; and continued by his Son, Thomas Jones Howell, Esq. Royal 8vo. 17. 11s. 6d. boards. Vol. XXVIII. being VII. of the Continuation.

## MEDICINE, SURGERY, ANATOMY.

Remarks on the Cow Pox. By J. Malden. 1s. 6d.

A Sketch of the Causes, Extent, &c. of the Contagious Fever epidemic in Ireland in the years 1817-1819, with the System of Management adopted for its Suppression. By Dr William Hasty.

Practical Observations on Diseases of the Rectum. By John Howship. 8vo. 8s. 6d. boards.

Vol. II. of the First Lines of the Practice of Surgery. By Samuel Cooper. 8vo. 15s. boards.

Medical Notes on Climate. By — Clarke. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Medical Hints for the Use of Clergymen. 2s. 6d.

An Inquiry into Certain Errors relative to Insanity, and their consequences. By G. M. Burrows. 8vo. 8s.

Lectures on the Natural History of the Teeth. By L. S. Parmey. 5s.

A Treatise on Uterine Hæmorrhage. By D. Stewart. 6s.

The Mother's Medical Guardian on the Diseases of Children. By C. F. Vandeburgh. 8vo. 6s.

The Pharmacologia. By T. Paris. 10s.

The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, No. 64. 4s.

Exposition of Elementary Principles specially concerned in the Preservation of Healthiness, and production of Distempers among Mariners, &c. By A. Simson. 18s.

The Mother's Medical Assistant; containing Instructions for the prevention and treatment of the Diseases of Infants and Children. By Sir Arthur Clarke, M. D. &c. &c. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A Treatise on Midwifery. By John Power. 8vo. 8s. 6d. bds.

An Address to Persons afflicted with Deafness. By W. Wright. 4s. boards.

A Treatise on Inflammation of the Mucous Membrane of the Lungs. By Charles Hastings. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Historic Sketch of the Causes, Progress, Extent, and Mortality of the Contagious Fever Epidemic in Ireland, during the years 1817-18-19, with numerous Tables; and an Appendix, containing various Documents illustrative of its general history, and of the system of management adapted for its suppression. By William Hartz, M. B. 16s.

Cases of a Serious Morbid Affection, chiefly occurring after Delivery, Miscarriage, &c. &c. By Marshall Hall, M. D. &c. 8vo. 4s.

Instructions for the Relief of the Sick Poor in some diseases of frequent occurrence. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Medical Jurisprudence; a Dissertation on Infanticide in its relations to Physiology and Jurisprudence. By William Hutchinson, M. D. F. L. S. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

A Complete Treatise on Rouge et Noir. 2s. 6d.

Notices illustrative of the Drawings and Sketches of some of the most distinguished Masters in all the principal Schools of Design. By the late Henry Revely. 8vo. 12s.

Studies of the Historic Muse; or a Philosophical Argument. By R. Lascelles. 4to. 12s. boards.

Memorabilia; or Recollections, Historical, Biographical, and Antiquarian. By J. Savage. Nos. 1 to 6. 1s. each.

Diary of an Invalid. By — Mathews. 8vo. 15s.

The Pamphleteer. No. XXXI. 6s. 6d.

Sketches of the Philosophy of Life. By Sir T. C. Morgan. 1 vol. 8vo.

The Female Economist; or a Plain System of Domestic Cookery. By Mrs Smith. 4s.

A New Dictionary for the Fashionable World; translated from the French. 12mo. 6s.

The Cambridge University Calendar for 1820. 6s.

An Essay on the construction of Wheel-Carriages, as they affect both the Loads and the Horses; with suggestions relative to the Principles on which the Tolls ought to be imposed, and some Remarks on the Formation of Roads. By Joseph Storrs Fry. 8vo. 6s. boards.

The Annual Register; or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the year 1819. 8vo. 16s.

**Rivington's Annual Register ; or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the year 1809 ; being the Ninth Volume of the New Series.** 17. boards.

**The Transactions of the Horticultural Society of London. Part I. of Vol. IV.** 17. 13s. boards.

**Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay ; with engravings. Vol. II.** 4to. 37. 3s. boards.

**The Round Table. The Order and Solemnities of Crowning the King, &c. &c.** 4s.

**Narrative of the Loss of the Winterton East Indiaman, on the Coast of Madagascar, and of the Sufferings connected with that event ; to which is subjoined, an Account of the Natives of Madagascar, with Suggestions for their amelioration. By a Passenger in the Ship.** 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

**Lacon ; or, Many Things in a Few Words ; addressed to those who think. By the Rev. C. C. Colton.** 8vo. 7s. boards.

**Essays and Sketches of Life and Character.** 12mo. 9s. boards.

**Annals of Oriental Literature. Part I., to be continued quarterly.** 8vo. 6s.

**The Italian Confectioner ; or, Complete Economy of Desserts. By G. A. Jarrin.** 8vo. 15s.

**Private Correspondence of David Hume, the Historian, with several distinguished Persons.** 4to. 17. 11s. 6d.

**Fragments of a Civic Feast ; being a Key to M. Volney's Ruins ; or, the Revolutions of Empires.** 2s.

**The Whole Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.** 4 vols. 8vo. 27. 8s. boards.

**Picks's Annual Racing Calendar.** 7s.

**The Improvement of English Roads urged, during the existing dearth of employment for the poor.** 8vo. 2s.

**The Parlour Portfolio ; or, Post Chaise Companion : being a curious selection of the most amusing and interesting Articles and Anecdotes that have appeared in the Magazines, Newspapers, and other periodical Journals, from the year 1700 to the present time.** 2 vols. 8vo.

**The Classical Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow, Statistical Tables, &c. ; by James Cleland.** 12s.

**The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy. By William Paley, Archdeacon of Carlisle. New edition, with portraits.** 12mo. 5s. boards.

**The Edinburgh Gazetteer, or General Geographical Dictionary, Vol. IV. Part II.** 8vo. 9s. sewed.

**Duncan's Itinerary of Scotland, with Maps, &c. &c. Fourth edition, with important alterations.** 12mo. 7s. 6d. bound in blue roan.

**A New Geological Map of England and Wales, reduced from Smith's Map ; exhibiting a general view of the Stratification of the Country ; intended as an Elementary Map.** 14s.

**A Geological Map of England, coloured, with a Memoir and an Index to the Hills. By G. B. Greenough, F. R. S. &c. President of**

the Geological Society, on 6 sheets. 6l. 6s., or 7l. 10s. on rollers, or in a case.

Essays and Sketches of Life and Character. By a Gentleman who has left his Lodgings. 12mo. 9s.

The Pamphleteer, No. XXXII. 6s. 6d.

Letters from Germany and Holland during the years 1813-14; containing a detailed Account of the Operations of the British Army in those Countries. 12mo.

Rules for Repairing Roads, drawn up from the evidence of Mr Telford and Mr M'Adam. 8vo. 2s.

A Key to the Regalia; or the Emblematic Design of the various forms observed in the Ceremonial of a Coronation. By the Rev. James Dennis. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Thoughts on the Love of Excelling, and on the Love of Excellence. 8vo. 6s.

Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse. By Thomas Jones. 6s. 6d.

Observations on the Nature and Extent of the Cod Fishery, carried on off the coasts of Zeland and Orkney Islands. By A. Edmonstone, M. D. 2s.

#### NATURAL HISTORY.

The Natural History of Ants; translated from the French of P. Huber; with additional Notes; by J. R. Johnson, M.D. F.L.S. &c. &c. 12mo. 9s.

The Natural History of British Quadrupeds, with Figures; accompanied by a Scientific and General Description of all the Species that are known to inhabit the British Isles. By E. Donovan, F. L. S., &c. Part VI. 9s.

Taxidermy; or, a complete Treatise on the Art of preparing, mounting, and preserving every object of Natural History, for Museums. 12mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

#### NOVELS.

The Abbot; being a sequel of the Monastery. By the Author of Waverley, &c. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 4s.

De Clifford; or, Passion more powerful than Reason. 4 vols. 1l. 2s.

The Hermit of Glenconella. By A. M'Donnell. 7s.

The Priory; or a Sketch of the Wilton Family. 12mo. 3s. bds.

The Hermit in London; or, Sketches of English Manners. Vol. 4 and 5. 12s.

The Orientalist; or, Electioneering in Ireland, 2 vols. 15s.

The Italian Don Juan; or Memoirs of the Devil. Translated by H. M. Milner. 5s.

The Retreat; or, Sketches from Nature. By the Author of "Affection's Gift."

Pin Della Pietra; a Tale. By the Hon. Wm. Herbert Clark. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Tales of the Priory. By Mrs Holland. 4 vols. 12mo. 1l. 8s. bds.  
Nice Distinctions. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Gwelygordd; or, the Child of Sin; a Tale. By the Rev. Charles Lucas, author of the *Infernal Quixote*. 3 vols. 16s. boards.

Tragic Tales. By Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. boards.

Warbeck of Wolfstein. By Miss Holford. 3 vols. 24s.

Theban, and Carthaginian Tales. By J. Hifford, Esq. 12mo. 6s. boards.

Laura; a Tale. By Mrs H. Woodcock. 8vo.

Lochiel; or the Field of Culloden. 3 vols. 1l. 1s. boards.

Tales of Imagination. 3 vols. 12mo. 18s.

Tales of the Heart. By Mrs Opie. 4 vols. 12mo. 1l. 8s. boards.

The Rector's Memorandum Book; being the Memoirs of a Family in the North. 12mo. 6s. boards.

Giovanni Sbogarro, a Venetian Tale. By Percival Gordon. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

Sintram and his Companions, a Romance, from the German of Baron la Motte Fouque. 12mo.

The Crusaders, an Historical Romance of the Twelfth Century. By Louisa Sidney Stanhope. 5 vols. 12mo. 1l. 7s. 6d.

Carnwath Muir; or Tale founded upon Facts. foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d.

#### POETRY.

The View, and other Poems. By C. Leigh.

Poems. By B. Barton. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Ismael, an Oriental Tale, with other Poems. By E. G. L. Bulmer. 12mo. 7s. boards.

Fables of La Fontaine, translated. 10s. 6d.

The Fancy, a Selection from the Poetical Remains of the late Peter Corcoran.

The Galloway Hunt, or Actæon in the Glenkens, an Epic Poem, in Limping Doggerel Measure, dedicated to Willy the Earth-Stopper, near Balmawhapple. 2s.

Select Works of the British Poets, with Biographical and Critical Prefaces. By Dr Aikin. 18s. boards.

The Fudge Family in Edinburgh. 5s.

Advice to Julia; a Letter in Rhyme. foolscap 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Lamia, Isabella, the Eve of St Agnes, and other Poems. By John Keats, author of *Endymion*. 7s. 6d.

A Queen's Appeal. *Dieu et mon Droit*. 8vo. 5s.

Poems descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery. By John Clare. 5s. 6d. boards.

Sacred Leisure; Poems on Religious Subjects. By the Rev. F. Hodgson, A. M. Foolscap 8vo. 3s. boards.

Ellen Fitz-Arthur; a Metrical Tale, in five cantos. 8vo. 7s. 6d. hds.

Julia Alpina, the Captive of Stambol, and other Poems. By J. H. Wilson.

Le Gesta d'Enrico IV. in two cantos; Italian verse. By G. Guazzaroni. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

The Round Table. 8vo. 4s.

*The Stable Boy.* 12mo. 5s.

*America, an Epistle in Verse; with other Poems.* 12mo. 3s.

*The Battle of Tewkesbury, a Poem; with Historical Notes and Observations.* By Cecilia Cooper. 3s.

*Poems for Youth.* By a Family Circle. Foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d.

*Poems.* By one of the authors of *Poems for Youth.* Foolscap 8vo. 3s. 6d.

*The Brothers, a Monody, and other Poems.* By Charles Abraham Elton, Esq.

*Sonnets, Amatory, Incidental, and Descriptive, with other Poems.* By C. Webb. 1s.

*Marcian Colonna, an Italian Tale, with three Dramatic Scenes, and other Poems.* By Barry Cornwall. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

*Fitz-Florian's Alphabet; or, Lyrical Fables for Children grown up.* 5s. 6d.

*Hedin; or, the Spectre of the Tomb.* By the Hon. W. Herbert. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

*The Poetical Works of Robert Anderson, author of "Cumberland Ballads," &c.* 2 vols. foolscap 8vo. 12s.

*The Influence of the Holy Bible, a Poem.* By T. Hogg. 4s.

*Ismael, an Oriental Tale, with other Poems.* By E. G. L. Bulmer: written between the age of 13 and 15. 12mo. 7s.

*Occasional and Miscellaneous Poems.* By Lucy Joynes. 12mo. 3s.

*Lorenzo; or, the Tale of Redemption.* By J. Roby. 8vo. 3s.

*The Legend of St Loy, a poem, in four cantos.* By John Abraham Heraud, author of "*Tottenham*," a poem. 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

#### POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

*A Fragment of the History of John Bull, with the Birth, Parentage, &c. of Jack Radical, with incidental Remarks.* 8vo. 5s.

*The Trial of Henry Hunt and nine others, for an alleged Conspiracy.* 5s. 6d.

*The Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, as proclaimed by the Cortes, at Cadiz, 19th March, 1812.* 12mo. 3s. 6d.

*A Speech intended to have been delivered at the Meeting of the Pitt Club of Scotland, 27th May 1820.* 1s.

*Further Observations on the Practicability and Expediency of Liquidating the Public Debt of the United Kingdom.* By R. G. Heathfield. 8vo. 5s. sewed.

*A Narrative of the late Political and Military Events in British India, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings.* By Henry T. Princep, Esq. 4to. 2l. 10s.

*The Speech of the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, on the means of extending and securing the Foreign Trade of the Country.* 2s.

*An Inquiry into the Duty of Christians with respect to War.* 8vo. 6s. boards.

*Reflections on the present Difficulties of the Country, and on relieving them by opening new Markets to our Commerce, and removing all injurious restrictions.* 3s.

A Charge delivered to the Grand Jury of the County of Stirling, on 23d June 1820; by the Right Hon. Charles Hope, Lord President of the College of Justice, published by request of the Jury. 2s. 6d.

Memoir of the Ionian Islands, considered in a Commercial, Political, and Military point of view; including the Life and Character of Ali Pacha, the present Ruler of Greece, &c. 8vo. 15s. boards.

A few Plain Facts and Observations relative to the Situation of the Country at the commencement of the year 1820.

Reflections on the Nature and Tendency of the present Spirit of the Times. By the Rev. G. Burges. 6s.

A Series of Letters addressed to a Friend upon the Catholic Question. By Britannicus. 2s. 6d.

A Letter to Lord John Russell on the French Affairs. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

England's Remedy; or, Remarks upon Trade, Commerce, and Agriculture. 8vo.

A Letter to Earl Bathurst on the Condition of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land. By the Hon. Grey Bennet, M. P. 5s.

A Report made to the Workington Agricultural Society. By J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P. 8vo. 5s.

#### THEOLOGY.

A Letter to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St David's, in reply to his Letter entitled "Popery incapable of union with a Protestant Church." By S. Wix. 2s. 6d.

Horæ Homileticæ; or 1200 Discourses on the whole Scriptures. 11 vols. 8vo. 5l. 15s. 6d. boards.

The Domestic Minister's Assistant; or Prayers for the Use of Families. By the Rev. William Jay. 8vo. 9s. boards.

Biblical Criticism on the Books of the Old Testament, and translations of Sacred Songs. By Samuel Horsley. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

Sermons. By the Rev. D. W. Garrow. 10s. 6d.

Sermons. By the Hon. W. Herbert. 4s.

A Course of 13 Sermons on Regeneration; comprising a general View of the Work of Grace on the Heart. By J. Sutcliffe. 6s. boards.

An Inquiry, chiefly on Principles of Religion, into the Nature and Discipline of Human Motives. By the Rev. John Penrose. 10s. 6d. boards.

Discourses and Dissertations. By the Rev. L. Booker. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

A plain Statement and Scriptural Defence of the leading Doctrines of Unitarianism. By R. Wallace. 3s.

The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists considered. By Bishop Lavington: With Notes, Introduction, and Appendix, by the Rev. R. Polwhele. 21s.

The Christian's Cyclopædia. By Mrs Baxter. 12mo. 7s.

The Best of Kings; or, George III. A Sermon, preached Feb.

27, 1820, in the French Protestant Church, called Le Quarre, Little Dean Street, Soho. By J. L. Chirol, A. M. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

*Vindiciæ Geologicæ*; or, the Connexion of Geology with Religion explained. By the Rev. W. Buckland. 4to. 4s. sewed.

*Village Sermons*. By a Country Clergyman. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

A Course of Lectures, containing a Description and Systematic Arrangement of the several Branches of Divinity. Part V. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Hints to the Public and the Legislature on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical Preaching. 8vo. 1l. 9s. boards.

A Second Volume of Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of High Wycombe. By the Rev. C. Bradley. 10s. 6d. boards.

Sermons, Illustrative and Practical. By the Rev. W. Gilpin, M. A. 12s. boards.

Supplement to an Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures; with Remarks on Mr Bellamy's New Translation. By the Rev. J. W. Whitaker, M. A.

The Nature and Obligations of Personal and Family Religion. By Dan. Dewar, LL. D. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards.

Sermons, comprising various matters of Doctrine and Practice. By the Rev. D. W. Garrow, D. D. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

A Key to the Chronology of the Hindus; in a series of Letters, in which an attempt is made to facilitate the Progress of Christianity in Hindostan, by proving that the protracted numbers of all Oriental Nations, when reduced, agree with the dates given in the Hebrew Text of the Bible. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

The Works of the Rev. Thomas Zouch, with a Memoir of his Life. By Francis Wrangham. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

Tributes to Truth. By N. Lyttleton. Vol. I. Part I. 4to. 7s.

An Abbreviated Synopsis of the Four Gospels; wherein all the Passages are collated, and every Event or Saying, recorded by any one or more of the Evangelists, is briefly noted.

The Spirit of the Gospel of Jesus unfolded, in a systematic arrangement of the Evangelical Records. By the Rev. W. B. Smith and John Fairbairn. 12mo. 5s. boards.

The First Part, containing the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses, of a New Edition of the Gaelic Bible in quarto. By the Society of Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. 4to. 5s. boards.

The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Minister of St John's Church, Glasgow. No. 4. 1s. sewed.

An Address from a Clergyman to his Parishioners, to which are added Morning and Evening Prayers. By Dr Valpy. 4s. 6d.

A Series of Connected Lectures on the Holy Bible, illustrative and confirmatory of its character as an Economy of Religion instituted and revealed by God for Man. By the Rev. Thomas Gilbert, of Dublin. 8s.



**Friendly Visits**; being an attempt to promote the Knowledge of Religious Truth, in Twelve Lectures, compiled from the Discourses of the late Dr Paley. By Lombe Atthill, A. B. 2s. 6d. boards.

**The Scandals of Impiety and Unbelief**, in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London. By Archdeacon Pott. 4to. 2s. 6d.

**Sermons, Plain and Practical**, explanatory of the Gospels for every Sunday in the Year. By the Rev. George Hughes, Curate of Walthamstow. 8vo. 2 vols. 21s.

**The Evidence of the Divine Origin of Christianity**; as derived from a view of the reception which it has met with from the World. 8vo. 4s.

**Chillingworth's Works**, containing the Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation, Sermons, &c. &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

**The Remonstrance of a Unitarian**; addressed to the Bishop of St David's. By Captain James Gifford, R. N. 8vo. 5s.

**A Discourse**; by the Rev. William Gillespie, Minister of Kells, Chaplain to the Kirkcudbright Gentlemen Yeomanry Cavalry, delivered before them at Kirkcudbright, on the 30th July 1820; *with some remarks explanatory of the circumstances which have compelled the author to obtrude himself on the notice of the public.* 1s. 6d.

#### TOPOGRAPHY.

**A View of the Agriculture, Manufactures, Statistics, and State of Society of Germany and parts of Holland and France.** By W. Jacob. 4to. 1l. 15s.

**An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa, territories in the interior of Africa.** By El Hage Abd Salum Shabeenie. With notes, critical and explanatory. 8vo. 12s. boards.

**A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada**, by James Strachan, in 1819. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

**A New Picture of Naples and its Environs.** By Marien Vasi. Illustrated with maps and views. 18mo. 10s. 6d. bound.

**An Itinerary of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia**, being a complete Guide to Travellers through those Countries. By M. Reichard. Illustrated with a map. 7s. boards.

**An Itinerary of Spain and Portugal**, containing a minute Description of the Roads, Cities, Towns, Inns, and modes of Travelling. By M. Reichard. With a map. 7s. boards.

**Tour of the Grand Junction**, illustrated with a series of engravings; with an Historical and Topographical Description. By J. Hassel.

**The History and Antiquities of Eynesbury, and St Neot's, in Huntingdonshire, and of St Neot's in the County of Cornwall**, with 50 engravings. By G. C. Gorham. 18s. Fine, 21s.

**A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and the adjacent Country.** By Walter Hamilton, Esq. With Maps. 2 vols. 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d.

**Italy and its Inhabitants in the years 1816 and 1817**, with a view of the Manners, Customs, &c. By James A. Galiffe. 2 vols. 8vo.

Geographical Descriptive Delications of the Island of Van Dieman's Land. By Lieutenant C. Jefferys, R. N. 8vo. 5s.

A Survey of Staffordshire, containing the Antiquities of that County, with Portraits. By the Rev. Thomas Harwood, B. D., &c. 8vo. 14. 1s. boards.

The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, in a series of one hundred Etchings. By John Sell Cotman. With Historical and Descriptive Notices. Part II. royal folio. 3l. 3s.

A Topographical and Historical Account of Boston, and the Hundred of Skirbeck, in the county of Lincoln. By Pishey Thompson. With 26 engravings. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

The History and Antiquities of Kensington, interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes of Royal and distinguished Personages, and a descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures in the Palace.

Remains of a Roman Villa at Bognor, in Sussex. By Samuel Lysons, Esq. 34 Plates. Atlas folio. 12l. 12s.

A Brief History of Christ's Hospital. 12mo. 3s.

Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Town and Soke of Horncastle, county of Lincoln, and of places adjacent. By George Weir. Plates. Royal 8vo, 12s.;—4to, 21s.

The present State of Chili, from the Report laid before Congress, by Judge Bland, the Commissioner sent to that country by the Government of the United States, 1818. 3s. 6d.

#### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels on the Continent; for the use of Travellers. By M. Starke. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

A Voyage to India. By the Rev. James Cordiner. 8vo. 7s.

Prince Maximilian's Travels in Brazil. 4to. 2l. 2s. boards.

Narrative of a Residence in Ireland. By Anne Plumptre. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Journal of two Expeditions beyond the Blue Mountains, and into the Interior of New South Wales. By John Oxley, Esq, R. N. 4to. 2l. 10s.

Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Illustrated with Engravings of Maps, Scenery, Plans, &c. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s.

Journal of a Tour in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land; with Excursions to the River Jordan, and along the Banks of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai. By William Turner. Many Plates. 3 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

Sketches, Descriptive of Italy, 1817 and 1818; with a brief Account of Travels in various parts of France and Switzerland. 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 12s.

Travels in various Countries of the East; being a continuation of Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, &c. By Robert Walpole, M. A. 4to. 3l. 3s.

Journal of a Tour in the Levant. By Wm. Turner. 3 vols. 8vo. With 54 coloured Plates, Maps, &c. 3l. 3s.

A Narrative of a Journey into Persia, and Residence at Teheran; containing a Descriptive Itinerary from Constantinople to the Persian Capital. From the French of M. Tancoigne. 18s. boards.

A Voyage to Africa: with some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Dahomian People. By John M'Leod, M.D. 5s. 6d.

Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, from the earliest ages to the present time. By Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E. Author of Historical Account of Discoveries in Africa. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

All the Voyages round the World, from Magellan in 1520, to Krusenstern in 1820, prepared from the original Journals. By Captain Samuel Prior. Illustrated with 72 engravings. 12mo. 10s. 6d. bound in red.

Popular Travels and Voyages throughout the Continent and Islands of Europe. By Mrs Jamieson, (late Miss Thistle), 12mo. 9s. boards.

A Tour through a part of the Netherlands, France, and Switzerland, in 1817. By Thomas Higger. 8s.

Journal of a Tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himala Mountains, and to the sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges. By J. B. Frazer, Esq. With a map. Royal 4to. 8l. 5s.

Twenty Views in the Himala Mountains, illustrative of the foregoing Travels. Engraved from the original drawings made on the spot. By J. B. Frazer, Esq. To subscribers, 21l.;—non-subscribers, 26l. 5s.

*No. LXVIII. will be published in November.*

# CONTENTS OF NO. LXVIII.

---

<b>ART. I.</b>	The Comedies of Aristophanes. By T. Mitchell, A. M. late Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cam- bridge. Vol. I. - - - -	p. 271
<b>II.</b>	1. Whitelaw's History of the City of Dublin. 2. Observations on the State of Ireland, principally directed to its Agriculture and Rural Population; in a Series of Letters, written on a Tour through that Country. In 2 Vols. By J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P. 3. Gamble's Views of Society in Ireland -	320
<b>III.</b>	An Account of Experiments for Determining the Va- riation in the Length of the Pendulum vibrating Seconds at the principal Stations of the Trigonome- trical Survey of Great Britain. By Captain H. Kater, F. R. S. - - - -	338
<b>IV.</b>	Poems. By Bernard Barton - -	348
<b>V.</b>	The Transactions of the Horticultural Society of Lon- don. Vols. I. II. & III. - - -	357
<b>VI.</b>	Mademoiselle de Tournon, par l'Auteur d'Adèle de Sénange - - - -	372
<b>VII.</b>	Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Mo- dernes jusqu'à la Fondation de la Bibliothèque Ma- zarine, et sur les Causes qui ont favorisé l'Accroisse- ment successif du Nombre des Livres. Par L. C. F. Petit Radet, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. &c. - - - -	383
<b>VIII.</b>	Journals of two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales, undertaken by Order of the British Government in the Years 1817-18. By John Ox- ley, Surveyor-General of the Territory -	422

## CONTENTS.

<b>ART. IX. The Bakerian Lecture. On the Composition and Analysis of the Inflammable Gaseous Compounds resulting from the Destructive Distillation of Coal and Oil ; with some Remarks on their relative Heating and Illuminating Powers. By W. T. Brande, Esq., Sec. R. S. Prof. Chem. R. I.</b>		p. 431
<b>X. Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth. Delivered at the Surrey Institution. By William Hazlitt</b>	- - - -	438
<b>XI. Marcian Colonna, an Italian Tale, with Three Dramatic Scenes, and other Poems. By Barry Cornwall</b>	- - - -	449
<b>XII. Speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, on the 14th December 1819, for transferring the Elective Franchise from Corrupt Boroughs to Unrepresented Great Towns</b>	- - -	461
<b>Quarterly List of New Publications</b>	- -	502
<b>Index</b>	- - - -	514

THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

NOVEMBER, 1820.

---

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVIII.

---

ART. I. *The Comedies of Aristophanes.* By T. MITCHELL,  
A. M. late Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge.  
Vol. I. London. John Murray, Albemarle-street, 1820.  
pp. 454.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great success of the Greek writers in tragic composition, there were circumstances affecting the state of ancient Greece, very adverse to their efforts in that department of poetry. There was a clumsy, cumbrous, intricate Mythology,—within the mazes of which, when once involved, the poet could do little but fatigue himself, and weary his audience. There was a Religion, addressed so much to the senses, and so little to the heart or understanding, that at best it was but a gorgeous plaything to amuse, or a bugbear to terrify full-grown nurseries, and denied him all powerful topics of consolation or of terror. There was a restriction upon Female intercourse,—a confinement of the high-born dames of antiquity to little better than menial offices,—that obstructed or obscured all the more delicate workings of the female breast, and thus deprived him of one great charm of the modern drama. Women, it is true, are sometimes made the leading characters in Grecian tragedies; but they want the discriminating stamp of womanhood; and, for the most part, their feelings and expressions might with equal propriety be ascribed to persons of the other sex,—or, at any rate, thrown into a joint and common stock for almost indifferent use amongst themselves. There is hardly a shade of variation to break the sameness of this uniformity, or to distinguish the heroines from each other. The sacrificed daughter of one play, is the devoted wife of a second, and the pious sister of a third. Difference of circumstances makes little difference of language or of feeling. Polyxene

might sit for the picture of Iphigenia, or Alcestis stand as the reflection of Antigone. Love, \* so fruitful a source of interest with modern writers, is left uncultivated by the ancient dramatists. They have no Juliets, no Belvideras, no Ophelias. They till a sterner soil, and are more successful in the delineation of jealousy or revenge. Medea is indeed the picture of a consummate artist—true to nature, and essentially female. She is in revenge what Lady Macbeth is in ambition,—as bold, as resolute, as bloody,—yet with one touch of tenderness to redeem her from abhorrence. The last smile of her children—the *πενυπτον γλασμα*—is to her what the resemblance in the sleeping Duncan to her father is to the other. But with this exception, the remark holds good. The poet could not perceive the defect, and of consequence could not remedy it. To supply the want of a poetical theology, he had two resources, of which unsparing use is made:—he could resort to the Furies or the Fates. The first, in the hands of † Æschylus, were enough to frighten women into miscarriages, and children into fits; and even modern breasts may thrill at the invocations of ‡ Œdipus, or the agonies of || Orestes. The mysterious power of Destiny is made yet more potent and appalling. Leading its unconscious, helpless victim, through the dreary vicissitudes of madness, crime, and misery, to a catastrophe of undeserved but unavoidable horror, it makes the gradual development of the Œdipus Tyrannus the most heart-rending series of action that imagination can conceive. We drink the cup of agony by drops, and find it regularly increase in bitterness to the close. This masterpiece of Grecian tragedy stands single. It is as if the Muse had concentrated her whole strength to make one im-

---

\* Sophocles and Æschylus have portrayed, one the jealous anxieties of a Dejanira, and the other the jealous revenge of a Clytemnestra; but they have nothing like love in any of their plays. Euripides introduced something like it, but it was in his hands a *καρῆνις ἔρως*, (Aristot. Rhetor. II. c. 6.)—the passion, not the sentiment; not, in short, the kind of love which we evidently mean to signify in the text. See the Frogs of Aristophanes, v. 1044, and the Clouds, v. 1372.

† Aristophanes does not forget this circumstance. See the *Plutus*, v. 423, and the Scholiast upon it.

‡ Œdipus Coloneus, v. 84.

|| There is nothing in poetry more truly overwhelming than the picture of the sufferings of Orestes under the persecution of these tremendous beings, as it is given in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides.

mortal effort. But in general her productions fall very short of perfection. There are the marks of what might have been done. It is the outline, not filled up—the elements, but not in combination—the low, imperfect murmurs of Dodona, before her oaks were masters of their inspired articulation.

The Comic poet, on the contrary, had not to combat with any such obstacles as we have described; or rather, the very circumstances most inimical to the Tragic writer, were propitious to him. If he could not catch the finer lineaments of female character, which the nature of society in ancient times prevented from being fully developed—if, like *Tilburina* in the *Critic*, he could not see *what was not yet in sight*,—still there were certain gross, discriminating features, too marked and striking in the females of every age to be mistaken, that he could easily delineate for the amusement of his audience.\* The heterogeneous attributes, perplexed relationships, and still more ambiguous characters of the Heathen deities, that clogged and dulled the spirit of the tragic chorusses, supplied *him* with an exhaustless source of ridicule and merriment. A cowardly *Bacchus*, disguised, beaten, and derided; † a greedy, gormandizing *Hercules*, baffled in his projected gluttony; ‡ or a diplomatic *Neptune*, and a gibbering *Triballus*; §—were treats too exquisite to be withheld. The same profaneness, which in a grave tragedian or philosopher—an *Æschylus* or a *Socrates*—was visited with forfeiture or death, the fine or the hemlock,—from *Aristophanes* or *Eupolis*, was welcomed with thunders of applause. Even from the Eleusinian mysteries of *Ceres*,—the most solemn rites of the Grecian religion, the violation of which is esteemed by *Horace* as sufficient to excommunicate from all civil relations,—even from these the audacious hand of the Comic poet tore the veil, and gave more than a glimpse to the uninitiated. The gods, the priests, the ceremonies,—the whole paraphernalia of Paganism,—were for *him* but a magazine on which to draw for blasphemous jests and impious buffooneries.

\* Witness the *Lysistrata*, the *Ecclesiazusæ*, the *Thesmophoriazusa*.

† See the humours of *Bacchus* and *Xanthias* in the *Frogs*.

‡ See again the *Frogs*, and the last act of the *Birds*.

§ See the last act of the *Aves*, a play in which, throughout, the most cutting sarcasms upon the Athenians are blended with the most daring mockery of the Gods.

¶ *Æschylus* was condemned to death for some expressions of impious tendency in one of his plays. His brother *Amynias* saved him, by uncovering an arm, of which the hand had been cut off at *Salamis*.  
Of *Socrates* we shall presently have to speak.



Nor is it merely by ambushed attacks—side blows or sly inuendos—that this incessant warfare is maintained. The batteries are opened in due form, and with appropriate solemnity; and complete scenes, and acts,—nay almost entire plays, are levelled against the sacred institutions, of which these very representations formed a part. Aristophanes is a great master of this weapon. He can, indeed, where it suits his purposes, as in the latter scenes of the *Clouds*, where the atheism of the Sophists is to be brought into contempt and detestation, assume a far different tone, and vindicate, in glowing terms, the honours of Olympus. But, generally speaking, the powers of his keen satire, brilliant wit, and humorous imagination, are never so anxiously or so successfully exerted as when he has to expose the crafts of the priesthood, † ridicule the authority of the oracles, ‡ or lash the vices of the celestial personages. || This, perhaps, as much as his elegance of style or purity of phrase, might recommend his works to the pillow of St Chrysostom; but we cannot but be struck with surprise at the inconsistency of a people, who could tolerate so unbounded a licentiousness in one class of writers, while they punished so severely the least freedom of the same sort in another.

We would not be supposed to assert, that the circumstances we have described were the sole or the chief causes which tended to favour the Comic writers, and to raise the Grecian Comedy, as we think it was raised, to a much higher pitch of perfection than Grecian Tragedy ever attained. The marked peculiarities of female character, and the wild absurdities which the most orthodox Pagan must have perceived in the heathen theology, were indeed, as we have remarked, of great weight to incline the balance to the side of the Comedian. But Greece, under every aspect in which it can be viewed, was the very land for Comedy,—a soil, selected and prepared, on which it might fasten and luxuriate. With Greece for the country,—Athens for the city,—and Athenians for the audience, we cannot imagine a more happy combination for the Comic bard. We must consider the country,—portioned out into a number of petty communities, all differing more or less in their habits, interests, dialects, § and customs, each state conceiving itself the first in the world, and looking down upon its neighbours with unutterable loathing and disdain. We must add to this a city, split into innumerable factions,—with its war party and its peace

† Plutus.

‡ Plutus, Equites, &amp;c.

|| Aves, &amp;c.

§ The harsh pronunciation and strange idioms of a Megarensian or Boeotian,—the coarse fare or the pantofles of the Spartan,—as

party,—its aristocratic and its popular,—its students of philosophy and its lovers of fun,—containing within the circuit of its walls characters the most eccentric, and modes of life the most extraordinary,—and offering, as the greatest naval power in Greece, a mart for the regular importation of all the follies, fashions, and vices that foreign countries could supply. \* We must recollect the constitution of the audience:—the quick susceptibility of ridicule, the lively sensibility to humour, the eager appetite for novelty, that distinguished the Athenians,—and which, as they were a *hearing* and a *seeing*, not a *reading* public (according to the just observation of Mr Mitchell), were best and most easily gratified by the poet from the stage at the several festivals when the comedies were acted before them. Nor can we at all agree with Mr M. in considering this audience as usually made up of a mere ‘rabble,’ ripe for nothing but ‘the nonsense of holiday revelry,’ and totally unfit to appreciate merit of an higher order. Indeed, Mr M. plainly contradicts himself on this head,—in one place characterizing the composition of the *Clouds*, as the ‘*legitimate* ridicule of a Dionysian Festival,’ †—while in another he asks, what possible connexion could exist between it and ‘the Dionysian Festival, where every one came to be amused; where he who laughed loudest was the merriest; and he that laughed longest was the wisest?’ ‡

well as the barbarous language of a Persian envoy or Triballian deity, —were reckoned as good subjects of ridicule, and excited full as hearty laughter in an Athenian theatre, as the odd figure and broken English of a *Canton* or a *Foigard* may do upon our own stage. See the *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, &c.

\* Thucyd. Lib. II. c. 38.

† Prelim. Disc. p. cl.

‡ Ibid. p. cxv. We cannot see why the authority of Ælian should be alternately allowed and rejected as suits the purpose of the writer, (Prelim. Discourse, pp. cxvii. cxiii.); or why it should be laid down so decidedly, that the failure of the *Clouds* was owing to its matter being too *grave* for the taste of the audience. The *Parabasis* of the *second Clouds* (preserved in the first as it now stands), and the conclusion of that in the *Wasps*, the play of the succeeding year, are chiefly urged in support of this opinion. But though we should not insist that the *ἀνδρες Φογρίζου* (*Nubes*, v. 524.), on whom Aristophanes charges the crime of his discomfiture, might possibly be the *κρίται* or subsequent judges §—(the *Monkir* and *Nekir* of Athenian theatricals,

§ This interpretation is the one given by Beck—“ὅτι ἀνδρ. φογρίζ. “judicibus imperitis pronunciantibus. Sic Latini *sub iudice*: omnino “que ὅτι *sub* sic dicitur, ut in genere *causam* alicujus rei indicet.” Beckii Comment. in *Nubes*. The Scholiast gives the same meaning to the words.

The character of the Old Comedy (to which our observations are confined), as it is drawn by the invidious hand of Plutarch, might perhaps warrant the conclusion, that none but the *οἱ πολλοί*

who passed final sentence on a piece after it had lived its one day upon the stage, and assigned the prize of competition according to their pleasure),—still there is no ground for supposing that the majority of the spectators were of that stamp, since the poet seems to specify them as an exception from the *δύοι θάλας*,—*σοφοὶ θιάται*,—*σοφίσταις θάλας*,—the usual terms in which he addresses or describes the body of his hearers. There is a singular degree of confusion in Mr Mitchell's reasoning on this point. He admits that the 'gentlemen' of Athens, —the *καλοκἀγαθοί*,—probably attended at the representation of the *Clouds*, and assisted in its demolition; and yet he would ascribe that demolition to the Athenian rabble's being 'cheated of their Bacchanalian festivity,' and 'passed off with a lecture which, though 'conveyed through the medium of two fighting-cocks, had yet something in it too serious to be sufficiently piquant' for their palate. (Prelim. Discourse, p. cxv.) He goes on,—'What was it to them 'how the education of the higher classes was conducted;—'(quite forgetting the admitted presence of the *καλοκἀγαθοί*);—'or what did 'they care for the opinions of Protagoras or Potus, of Prodicus or 'Gorgias? *The persons and the sentiments of these fashionable sophists would be equally unknown, it is most probable, to the greater 'part of such an audience as generally filled the comic theatres at Athens.*' (Ibid. p. cxvi.); and yet in another place he talks of such 'personal 'knowledge' of a philosopher, as must have 'necessarily happened 'in a town not of very considerable population, and whose customs 'and manners brought *all* persons more into contact, than the habits 'of modern society do.' (Ibid. p. cxxxvii.)—Leaving these inconsistencies to shift for themselves, we will not lengthen this Note further than to observe, that though we should not credit Ælian's account, that the audience received the *Clouds* with rapture, crying out that the victory belonged to Aristophanes, and ordering the judges to inscribe his name accordingly, (Var. Hist. b. ii. cap. 13.)—yet it is to no want of wit, or even of farcical humour, in which it abounds almost as much as any of that author's compositions, that we are to ascribe its *damnation*. (Anglicæ.) The fact seems to be, that the party of the Sophists, who were of course adverse to the play, was at that time extremely strong; and that Alcibiades (whose early intimacy with Socrates, Xenophon is very far from denying, as Mr M. would make him do), exerted his intriguing abilities to the utmost against an attack aimed at a philosopher whose *political* sentiments and prejudices so entirely coincided with his own. Whether the spectators, or the *κρίται* (as we rather incline to suppose), were the tools this crafty politician would use, we can easily imagine his machinations quite powerful enough to inflame the one or to corrupt the other.

—the lowest and meanest of the people, —would endure to witness its exhibitions. The abuse which this most pleasing of biographers, but most blind and bigotted of moralists, and most unfair of critics, pours with such pitiless profusion, in his *Symposiacs*, \* upon the Ancient Comedy, must however be considered as little better than a trick of composition. It is the foil and contrast to the high-flown praises of his adored Menander, —that Menander whom he esteems as indispensable as wine itself to the enjoyments of a drinking-bout; whose diction he declares as sweet and unambitious as his sentiments are precious and profound; whose erotic lucubrations (a commendation we should have rather expected from Timoxena than Plutarch) he extols as so peculiarly seasonable for revellers who are shortly to retire from the banquet to their spouses; † and whose panygyric he sums up in the enthusiastic sentence—that as the painter, when his eyes are wearied out, turns for recreation to florid hues and verdant colours, so must the philosopher or laborious student find refreshment for his unremitted and intense exertions in the pages of a bard who ‘laps the soul in an elysium’ of his own, —a meadow rich in shade, prodigal of flowers, and haunted by the breeze. ‡ In fact he proves too much for his own hypothesis. In spite of his declamation, and against his wish, he forces us to a conclusion that the Old Comedy, differing little from the New, § except in coarser personalities and more grotesque buffoonery, could not be altogether without attractions for the philosophic mind, that explores the principles of human nature, or the cultivated taste, that delights in the triumphs of genius.—The Haliarnassensian Dionysius, whose sound sense and exquisite acumen rank him high among the critics of antiquity, displays at once more judgment and more candour, where he talks of those beauties of style which characterized the Comedians in general. ‘They are,’

---

\* Plutarch. *Sympos.* L. vii.

† ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά παρ’ αὐτῷ καιρὸν πεποικισὶν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοις, μῆλα μικρὸν ἀπιστὶ παρα τὰς ἐαυτῶν γυναῖκας.—*Ibid.*

‡ Φιλοσοφοῖς δὲ καὶ φιλοπονοῖς, ὥστερ’ ὅταν οἱ γραφεὶς ἐκπονηθῶσι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρᾶ καὶ ποικῆ χροματὰ τρεπῶντιν, ἀναπαύλα τῶν ἀκράτων (*Reiske*) καὶ συλῶν ἐκείνων, Μενάνδρος, ὅντιν, ὅσον ἐνανδρεῖ λειμῶνι καὶ σκίερῳ καὶ πνευμαλίῳ μετ’ ἀδεύοντες τὴν διαίταν.—Plutarch. *Arist. et Menan. Comp.*

§ We mean, of course, in the points in which they can be compared. A much greater variety of incidents was admitted into the plot of the New Comedy,—but we speak merely of the style and the exposition of character.

he says, 'in their thoughts both clear and perspicuous,—terse and yet magnificent,—powerful and ethical.'\* Qualities these, somewhat above the coarse apprehension of a mere mob, and fit to gain applause more precious than the unintellectual roar of plebeian acclamation.

We must be allowed a few words further on this subject, as our veneration for the Old Comedy, as far as its remains are embalmed in the writings of Aristophanes, will not suffer us to let it be imagined, that the Comic poet was no better than a holiday jester, or his audience on a level with the modern deities of the one-shilling gallery. We would ask Mr Mitchell, who seems to regard Aristophanes with the half-parental fondness of a translator,—whether he will be really content to let his author rank with the puppet-showman of a Venetian Carnival, looking for his guerdon to the obstreperous laughter of a rabble, and elevated but one degree above the wire-moved figures on his stage? Would the numerous and potent body of Athenian sophists have been so anxious to crush an opponent, whose blows indeed were heavy, but who could hope for no better witnesses and applauders of his gymnastic energies than a set of Bacchanalian rioters, sworn foes to everything but nonsense and buffoonery? Would they have been so solicitous to close the theatres and banish the comedians, had they not known that the rich and the noble, the gifted as well as the gay, to whom they looked for pupils and admirers, would be found upon the benches, and crowded round the very statue of Bacchus?† When Socrates himself was there, where were his disciples? Have we not the testimony of Aristophanes, as well as the voice of his contemporaries, to prove that he of all the Comic writers was incredibly honoured

\* Τῶν δὲ κωμῶδων μιμνέται τὰς λεκτικὰς ἀρετὰς ἀπάσας· ὥςτις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς νοήμασι καθαροί, καὶ σαφεῖς, καὶ βραχεῖς, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, καὶ † δυνόει, καὶ ἠθικοί.—Dion. Hal. de Vett. Script. Censura. We need scarcely add to this the testimony of another great Critic, Quintilian,—'Antiqua comœdia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimæ libertatis, etsi in insectandis vitiis præcipua, plurimum tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet. Nam et grandis, et elegans, et venusta, et nescio an ulla, post Homerum tamen, quem, ut Achillem, semper excipi par est, aut si milior sit oratoribus, aut ad oratores faciendos aptior.'—Quintil. Institut. p. 897. Burman. Vide etiam Cic. de Offic. Lib. I. c. xxix. ed. Fac.

† The best place in the Athenian comic theatre.

‡ Dionysius, who wrote an express treatise *περὶ τῆς δεινότητος Δαμόφρονος*, well understood the value of this epithet.

and run after,—ἀγῶνις δὲ μέγας, καὶ τιμῆς, ὡς οὐδὲς ποτὶ' ἐν ἡμῖν †—and was it not this very Aristophanes who scourged from the stage with an unrelenting hand the low provocatives of vulgar approbation? ‡ who lopped off so many off-shoots of luxuriant absurdity? who reformed the indecent Cordax, § and tempered the obscenities in which his predecessors had indulged? who breathed into the shape of Comedy,—the body he had chosen,—a new soul of sense, and feeling, and morality,—poetic rapture, and declamatory grandeur? Was not his very first production (the *Dartaleis*) received, to use Mr M.'s own words, with the 'most flattering attention?' And was not 'a comparison between the temperate virtues of the good old times, and the unrestrained and unexampled dissoluteness of his own age,'—the very portion of the *Clouds* which Mr M. unfortunately selects as having caused, by its unseasonable gravity, the rejection of that play,—the whole jet and object that this performance had in view? Were the two fighting-cocks of the *Nubes* less welcome to a laughter-loving rabble than the ordinary characters of *Sophron* and *Catapygon*? or had the whole enlightened population of Athens been scared away by the sober horrors of the *Dartaleis*, abandoning sense and poetry to the mercy of the mob?

We have said enough to vindicate the audience of the Athenian theatre from the aspersions of Mr Mitchell; and to show that its applause, instead of being a mere 'ebullition' of 'noisy jollity,' unworthy the ambition of a liberal mind, might well rank with the prize,—the procession,—the banquet,—and all the other honours that stimulated the exertions, or rewarded the successes of the comic writer. Nor was it only an assembly, whose anticipated presence would enhance the vigour of his efforts,—but one on whom he might be sure, beforehand, that no effort would be wasted. Keen to observe, and quick to apprehend,—no stroke of humour, no slyness of allusion, no fine ethereal touch of subtlety, could be lost upon it. It was an atmosphere impregnated with the electricity of wit, that needed but a spark from the poet to inflame it. In every mixture, however, there must be dregs,—and undoubtedly together with the better judges of poetical merit, there was blended a proportion of the lower orders, who, like our own imperious vulgar, were to be amused with pantomimic tricks and boorish jocularity. The smiles of the polite few were not enough for the comedian,—he must join to them the shouts of the million; and the variety of functions he had to discharge—the diversified at-

† *Vespæ*. v. 1059.‡ *Nubes*. v. 538.§ *Ibid*. v. 540.

tractions of the ancient comedy—gave him charms for both. For all tastes he had to cater; and all—provided he spared not for high seasoning, but made the most of his *matériel*—he was sure to please. As Public Satirist, an office with which he found himself virtually invested, he had to exercise a Censorship far more formidable than that of the Archon: there was no shift to elude his *δοκιμασία*: nor could any bribe persuade him to arrest the lash, when once his arm was raised for flagellation. \* As State Journalist,—for no daily reams then issued from the press to pour a deluge of intelligence, and pall the appetite of curiosity itself,—he had to chronicle the events of the passing year, to comment on the conduct of the ruling powers, to animate the patriotism, instruct the zeal, or direct the aversions of his countrymen. As Periodical Critic, he had to watch with a jealous eye the productions of contemporary writers,—as Prize-Competitor, he had so to regulate, or so to humour the public taste, as to secure indulgence for his own.

In the last-mentioned capacity, Aristophanes boldly chose the nobler part; and made the caprices of even Athenians bend before his juster notions of the *χρησιμὸν* and *ἥδυν*,—what should be at once beneficial and agreeable,—in the line of composition he had pitched upon. ‘The strain they heard was of an higher mood’ than they had been wont to listen to; but it came upon them recommended by such a richness of melody, and such a force of inspiration, that they could not turn a deaf ear to its enchantments. The chord he struck was new, but every bosom vibrated in answer to its tones. Not that in his hands Comedy forgot her broadest grins, though she acquired graces of a more majestic cast. Never was calumny so ungrounded as that monstrous position maintained by Plutarch,—‘that Aristophanes ‘can neither please the multitude, nor be endured by the refined,—but that his Muse, resembling a decayed courtesan ‘that imitates the dignity of a matron, is at once disgusting to ‘the many from her insolent assumptions, and abominated by ‘the graver few for her lewdness and malignity.’ † The literal reverse of this judgment might be stated as the true one. Compounding and concocting the *utile* and *dulce*,—with many a laughable jest, and many a serious appeal; § for the lively rub-

\* See the Wasps, v. 1062, &c.

† *Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ἔν ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄριστος, ἔτι τοῖς Φρονιμοῖς ἀνέκτος, ἀλλ’ ὡς περὶ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τοιότητος παρηγμακυσίας, εἰς αἰμιμαμένης γαμψῆς, ἔτι οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐθάδ. αὐ. ὑπομένουσιν, (Reiske.) οἱ τε σίμμοι βδελυττοῦνται τὸ ἀκόλως, καὶ κτηνὸς.—Plutarch. Aristoph. et Menandri Comp.*

§ Πολλὰ μὲν γέλοια εἰ-

πὺν, πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαία.—Ranæ. v. 389.

ble he has practical jokes, good-humoured merriment, interminable slang,—‘the puns of the Peiræus,’ ‘the proverbs of the Agora,’ the ribaldry of the popular assembly, and the professional pleasantries of the courts of justice;—while for souls of brighter mould he unveils the awful face of genuine Poesy, and bids the mighty mother smile upon her votaries.\* The patriot learned from him to glow at the recollections of Marathon; † the poetical aspirant to invoke the shade of Homer; ‡ the youth to shudder at the hideousness of vice; § and the aged to repose in the security of virtue. § Though diffidence (for modesty was no stranger to the breast of Aristophanes) induced him to have his first play acted under the shelter of another’s name, ¶ the sentiments, we may safely conjecture, as well as the tendency of that composition, were conceived in a spirit all his own. We know that the subject was serious, and it would neither be weakened nor degraded by his treatment of it. The applause which crowned this effort taught him, that, even among such an audience as Democratic Athens afforded,—however future Mitchells or Mitfords were to *blacken* at the notion,—there were *some* hearts that beat in perfect unison with his own, and *many* that, while they had chosen the wrong path, could yet discern the right, and had neither lost the sense to understand, nor the feeling to admire him.

We feel as if treading upon holy ground, in venturing to treat of a subject that has so lately been discussed and adorned by the labours of the Messrs Schlegels. We promise that our steps shall be as light and rapid as we can make them,—but mixed with the gratitude we entertain towards those distinguished critics, for rescuing Aristophanes from the obloquies of ignorant contempt, and asserting with so much spirit his proper place among the poets of antiquity,—there is a wish, for which our readers must hold us excused, to add our own homage, however insignificant, to theirs. In every light in which we can view the works of this extraordinary genius, there is an union of different qualities perceptible,—singular and striking when contemplated separately, but utterly amazing when considered in the aggregate. ‘As a patriot,’ says Mons. Schlegel, ‘his principal merit consists in the fidelity with which he paints

\* His own words are—

Σμικρον δ' υποδισθαι τοις κριταισι βυλομαι·

Τοις σοφοις μιν των σοφων μεμνημενοις κρινειν εμε·

Τοις γελοις δ' ηδως, δια το γελων κρινειν εμε.—Ecclesiast. v. 1154.

† Vespæ. v. 1109.

‡ Ranæ. v. 1061.

§ § Passim.

¶ Vespæ. v. 1054.



'all the corruptions of the state, and in the chastisement which he inflicts on the pestilent demagogues who caused that corruption, or profited by its effects.' But to the tone of proud defiance and indignant eloquence in which, at all personal hazards to himself, he so discharged this patriotic duty, as to deserve the crown of sacred Olive from the hands of his countrymen,—there is to be added that spirit of impartial scrutiny, preserved amid the rage of declamation, and that minuteness of historical detail, that caused even his adversary Plato to send his comedies to Dionysius in Sicily, as the most faithful record of Grecian affairs and politics for the period during which he wrote. In satire, though, when justice demands it, he can be severe, caustic, terrible,—yet the vein of brisk and sprightly railery,—of lively and not ill-natured *quizzing*, if we may use such an expression, in which he so often indulges, seems more congenial to his temper and dispositions. If he might have said with Junius, in his haughtier moments,—'What public question have I declined? What villain have I spared?'—we suspect that in general he would have been more pleased to claim that '*facetious and civil way of jesting*,' that Heinsius commends in Horace, and Scaliger means to describe where he talks of a poet's grinning merely to *show* his white teeth, without a thought of using them. There is sometimes, to be sure, a little butchering,—as when he falls foul of a Cleon or a Cleisthenes; but, for the most part, we have to admire that decisive criterion of a superior genius, the insinuated sarcasm, the delicate invective,—in Dryden's language 'the fineness of the stroke that separates the head from the body, and leaves it standing in its place.' 'Any man,' said the wife of a very useful though ignoble member of the commonwealth,—'any man is capable of a plain piece of work—a *bare hanging*; but to make a malefactor die *sweetly*,—'tis only *my Mr Ketch* can do that!' Aristophanes has all this merit. He certainly executes with grace; and the very victim must have found it difficult to refrain from joining in the laughter raised at his expense.

But the prominent feature—the *differential* quality that distinguishes his satire from that of other poets, is neither its occasional vigour, nor its general facetiousness. Among the Latins, we have Juvenal his equal in the first respect, and Horace in the last. It is that unfailling fluency and copiousness—that sort of active magnetism, by which one conception rising in his mind draws after it in full exuberance an endless train of corresponding thoughts and connected allusions—that magic power that conjures and compels into its service the most re-

note, refractory ideas, and surprises us at every turn, like unexpected light, with something that at once startles and delights the mind.—As the fabled touch of the Phrygian monarch transmuted the meanest materials into gold,—or as the chemist extracts a spirit from a thousand seemingly unpromising substances,—the unwearied and prolific fancy of Aristophanes can find matter for his drollery or sarcasm, where a less fertile or less energetic genius would slumber or despair. A beard, \*—a puff of smoke, †—a termination, ‡—the blunder of a clown, §—the lisp of Alcibiades, ¶—every thing and any thing is made subservient to his purposes of personal attack. Once let him be started, and it is vain to conjecture whither he will lead, or where please to stop. His restless wit flows on—sometimes sparkling in antithesis—sometimes pungent in a gibe—sometimes insipid in a pun, ¶—but never for an instant failing him, or threatening his readers with a drought. Persius, ††—a satirist to whom Dry-

\* Ecclesiast, v. 101.

† Vespæ, v. 342.

‡ Nubes, v. 642.

§ Ib. v. 213.

¶ Vespæ, v. 45.

¶ His passion for puns might have made him, in later times, the pride and envy of a Cambridge common-room. Attic ears may have relished them well enough,—but we should pity the translator who could think it worth while to imitate them in his vernacular idiom.

†† A word in behalf of a favourite author, who is not near so much read or admired as he ought to be, must be allowed us. We forget whose observation it is—‘that the difficulty in Juvenal is to choose a meaning—in Persius to find one;’ in which there is much more quaintness than truth. His difficulties are much magnified through the self-created mists with which laziness surrounds him, and may generally be easily dispelled if we will but recollect the dramatic air he has studiously given to his compositions, and the extreme compression of thought at which he aims. His metre may be called ‘scabrous and hobbling;’ but it is at least as harmonious as that of Horace, and, for more important particulars, even Dryden acknowledges that ‘he is never wanting to us in some profitable doctrine, and in exposing the opposite vices to it;’ nor can he stigmatize him for great indecency, except in one passage of his 4th Satire.—In

Some bursts of serious poetry he is wonderfully striking and sublime. There can be nothing finer than that apostrophe in the 3d Satire, ‘Magne pater Divum!’ &c., whence Milton has taken,

saw  
Virtue in her shape how loyely; saw, and pin’d  
His loss;

and the magnificent close of the 2d, eulogized by Lord Chatham, which we trace in Milton’s lines—

O Spirit, that dost prefer  
Before all temples th’ upright heart and pure!

den by no means does justice, and whom no commentator except Casaubon seems to have thoroughly understood,—is the only writer we can mention who comes at all near to Aristophanes in this quality of inexhaustible fertility. Perhaps the consciousness of such resemblance might heighten the enthusiasm with which that Roman hails him as the PRÆGRANDIS SENEX \* of the Grecian comedy; but it is an epithet to which the ‘audacious’ Cratinus, or the ‘angry’ Eupolis himself, could hardly have objected.—The boast Aristophanes has put into the mouth of his Chorus in the *Acharnians*,—

οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τολμῆς ἡδὴ πορρω κλισίος ἦκει,  
ὅτε καὶ Βασίλειος, Λακιδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβειάν βυπτηζῶν,  
ἠρωτήσιν πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, ποτέρου ταις ναυσὶ κρατούσιν·  
εἴτα δὲ τούτων τοὶ ποιητὴν, ποτέρους εἰποι κακὰ πολλὰ.  
τούτους γὰρ εἶφη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολὺ βελτίους γενέσθαι,  
καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ πολὺ νικῆσιν, τούτων ζυμβουλοὶ ἔχοντας †

—may appear plausible enough to have been more than a ‘mere jeu de théâtre,’ if our readers shall think that we are borne out by the reality in the praises we have bestowed upon the boldness of his patriotism, and the richness of his satire.

Language and versification are points of scarcely less importance, when we are considering the merits of a Poet; and in these, says Mons. Schlegel, ‘his excellence is not barely acknowledged’—it is such as to entitle him to take his place among the first ‘poets to whom Greece has given birth.’ He might have said still more:—Aristophanes is wholly without a competitor in these respects. The *tripping* lightness and airy grace of his trochaic metres, and the majestic swell of the anapaestic tetrameter that has taken its name from him, are fraught with mu-

\* Pers. Sat. I. v. 121.

† Thus rendered by Mr Mitchell.—

‘And so far, sirs, hath Fame tongued his boldness and name,  
that when Sparta to Persia sent mission,  
Her ambassadors tell, how the king sifting well,  
question’d deep and with learned precision.  
And foremost ask’d he, of the twain who at sea  
shew’d most prowess, commanding the ocean;—  
“In which nation next teach does the bard by his speech  
and his taunts stir offence and commotion.  
Who,” says he, “most incline to that poet divine,  
to his counsels of wisdom low bending;  
In war shall that state most her fortunes make great  
and her morals at home best be mending.”

*Achar. v. 653. Trans. p. 88.*

sic the most 'eloquent,' even under all the disadvantages of neglected accents and modern pronunciation: while a single glance at Suidas or Hesychius is sufficient to convince us how much of his native tongue owes its preservation to his writings,—and how vast those treasures must be, from whose repositories the Grecian Lexicographers have drawn such overflowing stores. Had the flames of Omar reached the whole of his productions, posterity could never have rightly estimated the exhaustless power, the endless flexibility, the prodigal exuberance of the magnificent language in which they are embodied:—could never have tasted the true relish of that Attic Salt, which though sometimes harsh and acrid—the '*sales venenati*' of Seneca—might oftener seem to have been collected from that very wave which gave birth to Aphrodite \* herself:—nor have traced to one maternal womb so many of what appear, on a superficial inspection, the *idiomatic* graces of other tongues.—If we allow the name of Plutarch once more to cross our pages, it is not for the purpose of confuting his ridiculous charges under this head, which even the zealous Frischlinus dismisses with a smile, † but merely to show how far the ardour of a thorough Platonist—for Plutarch, as the devoted admirer of Socrates and Plato, had his own motives for endeavouring to depreciate Aristophanes—could hurry him, in spite of the conviction of his very ears. The following is his *atrocious* ‡ criticism, as Frischlin justly terms it: 'There is, sooth to say, in the structure of his phraseology something tragi-comic, bombastic as well as pedestrian,—there is obscurity,—there is vulgarity,—there are turgidity and pompous ostentation,—together with a garrulity and trifling that are enough to turn the stomach!' †—*Bona verba Plutarche*!—we well may cry with honest Nicodemus. It is amusing enough to find such blasphemies as these in a writer, who reckons it one of the worst symptoms of malignity to use rough or violent expressions where milder phrases are at hand—(ἐπιεικείων παρόντων), ¶—and who would soften down the *ferocious insanity* of Cleon into the gentle reprobation of a *jutile levity*! ||

\* The compliment of Plutarch to Menander.

†† Nicod. Frischlini defensio Aristophanis contra Plutarchi criminationes.

‡ ἐνέτι μὲν ἂν ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικόν, τὸ κωμικόν, τὸ σοβαρὸν, τὸ πεζόν, ἀσαφεία, κοινοτης, ἔγκος καὶ διαρκές, σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία καυτιώδης.—Plut. Aristoph. et Menandri Comp.

• ¶ De Herodoti Malignitate Comment.

|| ἡ θρασύτητα καὶ μανίαν ἑλεῖνος καλλόν, ἡ κρυβόλογίαν.—De Herodot. Malign. Comment. p. 395. edit. Nylan.

It is an observation of Mons. Schlegel, that 'in many passages of serious and earnest poetry, which (thanks to the boundless variety and lawless formation of the popular comedy of Athens) he has here and there introduced, Aristophanes shows himself to be a true poet, and capable, had he so chosen, of reaching the highest eminence even in the more dignified departments of his art.'—This is in fact a very strong point in his poetical character,—and our applause is due, not only to the great intrinsic merit of the passages themselves, but to the extreme taste with which they are uniformly introduced. There is no false glare, that would be misplaced and unnatural if diffused over the surface of comic composition:—they are but the streaks of sunshine, that give variety and beauty to a landscape. We are never disagreeably reminded of the 'purpureus pannus,'—the purple rag botched in to shame the circumjacent meanness of a beggar's apparel. It is the '*illusæ auro vestes*,'—the garment *tricked* with gold, but not overloaded.—It always seems suited to the texture it adorns,—and truly the ground is rich enough to bear a little embroidery.—Aristophanes is no ostentatious coxcomb to drag down Poetry from her car of fire, and parade her in the common eye, merely for the vanity of displaying his acquaintance,—yet he will sometimes fling the reins into her hands, and is not the man to balk her if she invite him to her side. There are a thousand places we could refer to, that bear the stamp of this 'communion high.'—We question whether the united genius of Pindar and Euripides,—fond as the latter is of the nightingale,—could have produced any thing superior to that burst of lyric ecstacy\* in which he calls on Philomela from her 'leafy yew' to challenge the minstrelsy of Heaven.—Nor will the descriptions of Ovid or of Milton, stand a competition with that tone of melancholy grandeur in which he opens the Parabasis of the 'Birds,' and penetrates the mysteries of Chaos and 'Old Night.' †—Indeed we might safely stake the justice of our panegyric upon the whole conception and execution of that fascinating drama,—the most fantastic production of his fantastic genius,—that seems meant for fays alone to act in fairy-land;—that *Midsummer's-Night-Dream* of the Grecian stage, of which it is not too much to say, that it is what Shakespeare, had he been an Athenian, would have written, or, had he read Greek, would have admired.

We have much too slender data to proceed upon, did we wish to institute a comparison, in this respect, between Aristo-

\* Aves. v. 209.

† Ibid. v. 685.

phanes and his precursors or contemporaries in the same line, of whose works nothing but the most meagre fragments have escaped the ravages of time. But with regard to his immediate rivals;—the remains of Cratinus are by no means of a nature to justify the praises of Quintilian;—and the precocious talent of Eupolis †† fails in competition, when we find it employed upon the same subject with the muse of Aristophanes. That celebrated verse of the *Acharnians*, in which we seem yet to hear the eloquence of Pericles convulsing Greece,—that verse which Cicero † and Pliny, ‡ Diodorus § and Lucian, § have alike appealed to as the best monument of the orator's fame,—if contrasted with the cold and laboured eulogy of Eupolis, will leave little doubt upon the mind, \* that his superior vigour in the passages of serious poetry was one of the grounds upon which the title of Aristophanes to the acknowledged sovereignty of the ancient comedy was founded.

So many brilliant qualities almost required a foil; or at least may cover one transgression. It is the severity of impartial criticism that forces us to admit, that although Aristophanes undoubtedly moderated the spirit of unrestrained and profligate obscenity that wantoned in the old hags and drunkards of preceding bards, ¶ enough of it remains in his writings to form a foul blot upon a mind which, in the language of a well-known epigram, the Graces had selected for their peculiar portion. †† Those Powers of the Ce-

†† Eupolis is said to have written 17 comedies by the time that he had lived as many years.

† Cic. in *Oratore* ad Brutum. Num. 29. Ed. Gronov.

‡ Plin. *Sec. Ll.* ep. 20.

§ Diod. *Sic.* LXII. p. 307.

§ Lucian. in *Demosth. encom.* p. 693. Ed. Amst.

\* The lines of Eupolis referred to are as follows:

Κρατίστος οὗτος ἔγενετ' ἀνθρώπων λεγέειν\*

Ὅποτε παρ' ἄλλοις ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δρᾶμῆς,

Ἐκκαδέκα πόδων ἤρει λεγὼν τὴν ῥητοράν\*

Ταχὺς λεγέει μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτῷ τῷ ταχυί

Πᾶσι τις ἱπποκρίσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν.

Οὕτως ἐκφύει καὶ μοῖος τῶν ῥητορῶν,

Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατελίπε τοῖς ἀπρόσμενοις. Eupolis ἐν *Δημοίῃς*

¶ Vid. *Nubes.* v. 555.

†† This epigram is ascribed to Plato,—it runs thus,

Αἱ χαρίτις τιμῆος τι λαβέειν, ὅπερ οὐχὶ πιστῶνται,

Ζητοῦνται, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφανοῦς.

phisian wave, ††—who plant their thrones at the right hand of Phœbus, and dispense to mortals the three best of heavenly gifts,—wisdom, beauty, and fame, ††—should have shrunk away from such contamination, or have expelled it from the chosen temple, that was never to fall. It is an unnatural coalition of ugliness with elegance,—a Caliban basking on the lap of an Ariel. Yet, without allowing the spirit of the Advocate to interfere with the calmer duties of the Judge, we may urge for Aristophanes, that his greatest grossness is always playful, and his longest indulgence in it comparatively short. It is a sop—and nothing more—for the Cerberus of the prevailing taste of the age. This at least is the case in eight out of the eleven of his plays that remain with posterity. It was certainly not the bent of his mind to be immoral,—though, like Swift, he might not care to wade through a little nastiness for the sake of a joke. There is no *reallowing* in the mud: no indecency that clings to its ground, or reluctantly gives way ‘with many a longing, lingering look behind.’ His most indelicate writing is generally introductory to some passage of exceeding spirit or poetical beauty, \* to which his mind returns with an elastic impulse from having been forced out of its native inclination. Like Antæus he may grovel on the earth for a moment,—but it is only to rise into the fresh air again with increased alacrity and renovated vigour. Springing from such sources as the Pſallic Hymn and the *Mergeites* of Homer, the Ancient Comedy could not be expected, under any management, to become a perfect model of uninterrupted purity. We cannot be surprised to find some pollutions in the stream, when its fountain-heads were these,—nor offended at detecting those pollutions in the earlier part of its course, when we know that it had not left them all behind, even when filtered-through into the pages of Menander. ‘*Omnis Læturice Interpres*’—the character which Pliny bestows upon that poet,—is pretty intelligible testimony against him, although we had not Terence for a stronger and more substantial evidence.

We are persuaded that what we have advanced concerning the nature of the Old Comedy, and the merits of him who was its prince, however extravagant it may appear to superficial students or to timid reasoners, will be fully admitted by all that are thoroughly acquainted with the Aristophanic writings:—and we have the rather avoided any attempt at overstrained ingenuity,

†† Pindar. Olymp. XIV. v. 1.—9.—15.

\* Vide Ran. v. 236. Nubes. v. 975. Aves. v. 669, &c. &c.

and aimed at a perfect simplicity in our observations, that the complete sincerity of our own conviction might be made as manifest as possible. Aristophanes will of course continue to be underrated by all who choose to submit ancient subjects to the test of modern opinions: who cannot perceive any excellence in dramas that are composed upon rules entirely different from the only principles they can understand: or who are generously satisfied to draw decided inferences from what floats upon the surface, without the pains or perhaps without the power of diving into those depths which so often hide the gems of 'purest ray.' Justice to Mr Mitchell makes it now high time for us to hasten to the consideration of his work.

Shenstone—or some one who was as fond, as that very inconsiderable author, of turning commonplaces—has remarked, 'that every original writer wonders no one ever thought of the best possible subject before,—every translator—of the best possible original.'—Though Aristophanes has undeniably been thought of before,—and by sundry aspirants,—we still think that, in one respect at least, Mr Mitchell has hit upon the 'best possible original,'—inasmuch as no translation has hitherto appeared by any means satisfactory. It has seemed as if his spirit could not be transfused, without losing all its raciness and flavour, into any other language than his native tongue: that we might almost write Dante's terrible inscription for the gates of hell upon his title-page,—and warn the most resolute interpreter to expect nothing for his portion but despair.—In Latin we have Bergler's translation of the *Frogs*, which is much too timorously literal, to afford any satisfaction to the reader of taste, or any illustration of obscure and doubtful passages to the scholar;—*Plutus*, the *Clouds*, the *Frogs*, the *Knights*, and the *Acharnians*, by Nicodemus Frischlin, are so intolerably full of the grossest blunders that we cannot conceive why Kuster should have printed this traduction in his otherwise excellent edition, except as a continual excuse for his own comments;—and the *Wasps*, *Peace*, and *Lysistrata*, are rendered by Septimius Florus into such a strain of crabbed phraseology and obsolete diction, as makes his explanation far more difficult to comprehend than the original.—France has given us the 'Theatre of Aristophanes,' by Poinssinet de Sivry, written partly in prose and partly in verse,—a work of no conspicuous merit; the *Birds* by Boivin the younger; and *Plutus* and the *Clouds* from the pen of Madame Dacier,—whose 200 perusals of the latter play have not saved her from falling into many strange mistakes. Wieland, the German translator of the *Clouds*, has the advantage of writing in a language, that alone of modern tongues may compete with the



rich melody and tuneful inflections of the Greek;—but notwithstanding his extensive erudition and great impartiality, which Mr Mitchell gratefully acknowledges,—we cannot quote either that translation,—nor his *Demagogues*,—as more than useful aids to a person engaged in a similar task.—The literature of England has not been enriched by any complete version of this Poet,—and the attempts that have been made, from time to time, to effect one, are not such as to make us regret that the labour has been reserved for the hands into which it has fallen at last. White's translation of the *Clouds* and *Plutus* we have never seen; but that of Theobald is taken, not from Aristophanes, whom he could not understand, but from the French of Madame Dacier, which he has servilely imitated. The *Clouds* of Cumberland is a well-written, high-sounding poem,—but it is not the *Νεφέλαι*. He has not caught the tone, nor expressed the manner of the Athenian bard. He has made it too stiff, too pompous. It is Aristophanes imprisoned in brocade, and mounted upon stilts into the bargain. The *Frogs* by Dunster has not only this fault, but is exceedingly dull and vapid besides; which cannot be affirmed with any truth of Cumberland's production. We believe we have enumerated all the versions that have been essayed in our own language, except it be the very stupid translation in prose of *Plutus* that disgraces the memories of Fielding and William Young; and a most impudent version of the *Birds*,—every second word an error,—published by an anonymous 'Member of one of the Universities,' in what he calls a *comico-prosaic* style, with this modest motto from Juvenal,

*Haud facili emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res angusta domi:—*

which, as it has no conceivable reference to Aristophanes, must be presumed to apply to the translator himself. Knowledge of Greek, or an ability for translation, are not to be reckoned among his *virtues*, whatever they may be.—It is no great compliment to Mr Mitchell, after this, to say that his version, as far as the present volume carries it, is incomparably the best that has been given to the public. But when we add that we consider him, judging from his publication, to be a writer fully and admirably qualified to accomplish the difficult task he has undertaken,—and to present the literary world in this country with a translation of Aristophanes completely adequate to the merits of the great Original,—we esteem this as praise so exceedingly high, that it shall make us the less tender of expressing our dissatisfaction wherever he has fallen short—we will not say of our *expectations*—but of *our wishes* and *his own*

powers. The English translators hitherto have never proceeded beyond one play, or two at the utmost:—like the ‘*chat-ter-boxes*’\* of the *Ranæ*, they have done no more than approach the Muse, or have retired exhausted by a single embrace. Mr Mitchell seems made of stouter stuff;—and we doubt not will maintain his promise of greater perseverance. We have yet only the foot of *Hercules*,—but if he will correct some parts of his design, and—under favour—attend to a few hints we shall feel it our office to administer, we believe that the remainder of his work will even improve upon the sample.—The volume now put forth is made up of two distinct parts:—versions of the *Acharnians* and the *Knights*,—which have never yet been rendered into English,—and a most interesting Preliminary Discourse, to which we shall beg leave first, to call the attention of our readers.

With a few inaccuracies and inconsistencies of reasoning,—of which we have already pointed out some specimeus;—without any attempt to support his arguments by the aid of verbal criticism,—for indeed Mr Mitchell is too good a soldier in the cause of literature to make himself a mere pioneer, and has too just a notion of his own peculiar powers to devote himself to what—except in the hands of a Porson or an Elmsley—is worse than trifling;—and with here and there a little needless episodic deviation from the straight path of his design, for the sake of displaying stores of information that are extremely copious;—we consider this Preliminary Discourse to be one of the most amusing, and at the same time valuable treatises, we ever remember to have perused. It is amusing—as the work of a man who has thought much, and read perhaps still more; and whose command of a style at once so rich, so lively, and so dramatic, would of itself give interest to a much duller subject than he has chosen to discuss. It is valuable—not only as it is always an important matter that Truth should be clearly ascertained and placed in as conspicuous a light as possible,—but as it draws the curtain from a department of knowledge that has heretofore lain as a sort of *terra incognita*,—opens a new world upon the eyes of curious speculation,—and guides the student to a greater familiarity than has usually been attained with topics very interesting in themselves, and essential towards a thorough comprehension of the Grecian classics. Seizing with particular felicity upon ground that has been strangely left unoccupied by preceding writers, he makes it a vehicle for conveying to his readers a great variety of collateral information on almost every point

\* τα συμυλματα.—Vide *Ranas*. v. 92.

connected with the ancient comic drama,—and though we cannot always coincide with his sentiments *incidentally* expressed, we cordially assent to the *main* object of his reasoning, and owe him all gratitude for the pains he seems to have bestowed upon his task, and the learning he has adduced in support of opinions with the general tenor of which we so heartily agree.

Cumberland—while he defended Aristophanes from the absurd charge of collusion with Anytus and Melitus in their prosecution of Socrates—a charge directly confuted by the stubborn argument of dates, if indeed the contemptuous language of the *Apologia* \* did not evince it to be one that it is ridiculous to advance with any appearance of seriousness,—did not venture to justify the poet's motives for his celebrated attack upon that philosopher, but, barely claiming for them the character of being *natural*, gave up the point of their liberality and fairness.—The Messrs Schlegels—while they place the prince of Ancient Comedy on the lofty eminence he deserves to occupy as a poet and a patriot—can find no excuse for his ‘representing in so odious colours the most wise and the most virtuous of all his fellow-citizens,’ the title they choose to apply to Socrates, but an almost inconceivable perplexity of intellect, by which they say ‘he mingled and confounded in his own mind, even without wishing it, this inestimable sage with his enemies the Sophists, whose schools he frequented in his maturer years, solely with the view of making himself master of that which he intended to refute and overthrow.’

Mr Mitchell makes a bolder stand for Aristophanes; and while he grapples so closely with his subject, and follows it up so minutely through all its bearings and windings, that no one can call his defence a piece of simple declamation or of partial sophistry, he contrives, partly by his ingenuity, partly by his forcible statements, but still more by his candour, and even tenderness towards the great Philosopher, so to turn the whole current of our *schoolboy* predilections, that the most prejudiced person, we think, must rise from the examination of his treatise convinced that the comic bard—so far from deserving blame for the course he pursued in consequence of what he saw and felt—is ‘entitled to the gratitude of posterity for the assumption and execution of the task.’ In order to make out this position, it is evident that the writer has only to identify the Aristophanic Socrates with what must be supposed the faithful, or rather the favourable character of that remarkable man, as it is detailed in the works of his affectionate disciples, Xenophon and Plato,—to,

connect this character with that of the Sophists,\*—and by pointing out the evils and mischiefs inflicted on society by the misdirected ingenuity of that pestilential race, to set in its true light the spirit and the patriotism of him who was *really* their great antagonist, and who has left us in the *Clouds* so abhorrent a picture of the noxious reptiles he was endeavouring to crush. The *first* and the *last* of these propositions have been fully laboured by Mr Mitchell—and with a great deal of honesty as well as of eloquence:—on the *second* head,—the actual similitude between the Socrates of Plato and the Sophists with whom that Socrates waged so incessant a warfare—he has not so much insisted, although it be a point necessary to be made out for the complete justification of Aristophanes. Without doing this, no one can be said to have done full ‘justice to a man, whose motives have been much mistaken, and whose character, in consequence, has been unduly depreciated.’ But while Mr Mitchell contends that proofs have been displayed by him, ‘that the character of Socrates is a little more open to remark, than some admirers in their ignorance are aware of, and more than some in their knowledge are willing to bring into notice,’—he seems, like the executioner of Marius, so struck with the dignity of his victim, so awed by the splendid powers of Socrates, and the sublimity of some of the doctrines he unfolds, that he has no heart to deal the final blow, or to press his assault so closely as he might have done. We confess that our own nerves are much more hardy. We have not that respect for the whole fabric of ancient philosophy—a fabric, within whose dark cells the poetic genius of VIRGIL\* had so nearly been immured, to waste its radiance like the lamp in a sepulchre,—a philosophy, in Physics so wildly visionary, so indolently satisfied with unexperimental error,—in Ethics so perplexed, so fluctuating, so unsatisfactory,—which can make us tremble to approach its shrine with any thing short of the incense of adulation, or regret to see the hollowness and contradictions of the principles upon which it proceeded, exposed even in the speculations of him who went so much further in his advances towards truth than any other of his countrymen. We care not what reproaches we may incur in the exposition of truth,—and shall, therefore, in following Mr M. through his examination of this question, at least avoid the inconsistencies into which he has betrayed himself by his too great timidity.

Mr Mitchell begins his task with a slight and rapid sketch of

\* *Vide* Georgic. Lib. ii. v. 495. See also Dryden's *Life of Virgil* p. 33.

Grecian education, which is thus introduced: 'The first of the dramatic pieces of Aristophanes seems to have been directed against the state of private manners in Athens; in his *Acharnians* he endeavoured to moderate the insolence of national success, and to infuse juster notions respecting a great public measure, which was putting the existence of the Athenians as a people at stake; while in the *Knights*, or, as it may more properly be termed, the *Demagogues*, a mirror was held up to his fellow-citizens, where the ruler and the ruled saw themselves reflected with equal fidelity, and by which posterity has gained a complete knowledge of the greatest historical phenomenon that ever appeared, the Athenian *Demus*. It remained for the author to strike at the root of all these evils, private and public, domestic and political,—a mischievous and most pernicious system of Education. This was undoubtedly the origin and object of the *Clouds*, and a brief outline of the progress of knowledge among the Greeks, and more particularly of that branch of it, which was comprehended under the name of "Philosophy," will at once tend to explain the aim of the author, and throw some light upon the comedy itself.'—He accordingly traces the Athenian Pupil through the hands of the Grammarian (*γραμματικός*) who taught him Homer, with all his own criticisms, commentaries, explanations, and interpolations, upon that great Text-book of his instructions,—into those of the teacher of Music (*μουσικός*), who continued to cultivate the imagination at the expense of the understanding,—of the master of the Gymnasium, where he was exposed to learn something worse than the mere exercises of the *Palæstra*,\*—and lastly of the Sophist, whose sole object—besides the acquisition of fame and of money—seems to have been to fit his disciple for the ruin of his country, and the utter destruction of his own character. Mr Mitchell's strong and masterly delineation of these insidious pseudo-philosophers is well worthy of a little attention.

Protagoras of Abdera, the great 'Belial' of the Sophists, and the first person who acquired distinction in this profession, culled by the hand of Democritus from the obscurity of his original trade, and planted on a fatal elevation by the instructions of that philosopher, and the aid of his own talents, became the UPAS of society, which was to spread far and wide its deadly branches, and drop a mortal poison upon all that came beneath its shade. He was the first to announce, that 'with him might be acquired, for a proper compensation, that species of knowledge, which was able to confound right and wrong, and make the worse appear the better cause.' He and his followers in the same School openly inculcated, 'that not only what is whole-

\* *Vide Aristophanem in Pace. v. 762. in Vespiis. v. 1025.*

' some and useful had no actual substance in themselves; but  
 ' that honour and virtue, being the beginning and aim of what  
 ' is useful, existed only in the opinions and habits of men: that  
 ' the first and best of all acquisitions was Eloquence, such as in  
 ' the senate, the ecclesia, the courts of law, and the common in-  
 ' tercourse of society, could steal, like the songs by which ser-  
 ' pents were charmed, upon the ears of their auditors, and sway  
 ' their minds at the will of the speaker: that, on all occasions,  
 ' might makes right: that the property of the weak belongs to  
 ' the strong, and that, whatever the law might say to the con-  
 ' trary, the voice of nature taught and justified the doctrine:  
 ' that luxury, intemperance, licentiousness, were alone virtue  
 ' and happiness: that the greatest of blessings was the power of  
 ' committing wrong with impunity, and the greatest of evils the  
 ' inability to revenge an injury received.'—Such were some  
 ' of the doctrines,' says Mr Mitchell, ' which, advanced with  
 ' all the powers of dialectic skill, and dropping upon a soil too  
 ' well fitted by an imperfect education for their reception, con-  
 ' fused the intellects, and perverted the notions of the young  
 ' Athenians.' Their passion for disputation upon all subjects  
 is described by Plato as something beyond the reach of decay  
 or mortality. ' No sooner,' he says, ' does one of our young  
 ' men get a taste of it, than he feels delighted, as if he had dis-  
 ' covered a treasure of wisdom. Carried away by a pleasure  
 ' that amounts to madness, he finds a subject of dispute in every  
 ' thing that occurs. At one time both sides of the subject are  
 ' considered and reduced to one.\* At another, the subject is  
 ' analyzed and split into parts: himself becomes the first and  
 ' principal victim of his own doubts and difficulties: his neigh-  
 ' bour, whether junior, senior, or equal, no matter, is the next  
 ' sufferer; he spares not father nor mother, nor any one who  
 ' will give him the loan of his ears; scarcely animals escape  
 ' him, and much less his fellow-creatures; even the foreigner  
 ' has no security but the want of an interpreter at hand to go  
 ' between them.† We may imagine how rejoiced youths of

---

\* We remember the opening of a lawyer's speech upon the Cir-  
 cuit, which may give an idea of the sophistical phraseology and mode  
 of reasoning:—' My Lord, if there ever was a case,—in which one  
 ' case ought to be conjoined with another case,—*this case is that*  
 ' case!'—' Which case, Mr \* \* \*?'—was his Lordship's gruff but  
 humorous reply.

† Philebus, p. 74.—Gil Blas, describing his own disputations pro-  
 pendencies, while a student at Oviedo, draws a similar picture: ' I was  
 ' so much in love with dispute, that I stopped passengers, known, or

this disposition would be to fall in the way of instructors who, as Plato describes them in the *Phædon*, ‘when they were discussing any question, cared not how the subject they were treating really stood,—but only considered how the positions they themselves laid down might be made appear true to the bystanders.’ ‡ And again, in the *Theætetus*—‘It is as easy to talk with madmen as it is with them. Their writings have nothing steady in them: all are in a state of perpetual motion. As for a pause in disputation and interrogation, or a quiet question or answer, it is a chance infinitely less than nothing that you get such a thing from them. For their minds are in a perpetual state of restlessness: and woe to him that puts an interrogative! instantly comes a flight of enigmatical little words, like arrows from a quiver; and if you ask a reason of this assault, the result is another discharge, with merely a change of names.’ ||

Accordingly Protagoras found his new trade more profitable than binding faggots. Incited by his success, a numerous train of adventurers still more flagitious flocked to Athens, and taught the same maxims in terms yet more open.—Knowledge is *Power*,—says Lord Bacon: Knowledge is *Gold*,—said the Sophists,—and they brought their wits to a good market for substantiating the boast. Like the admirable Crichton, and other *charlatans* of the middle ages, who were accustomed to set up challenges, offering to dispute *de omni scribili*,—they professed themselves ready to answer every question, and to teach every branch of knowledge. The effect of such tuition upon the manners and the morals of Athenian

‘unknown. and proposed arguments to them; and sometimes meeting with Hibernian geniuses, who were very glad of the occasion, it was a good jest to see us dispute: by our extravagant gestures, grimace, contortions, our eyes full of fury, and our mouths full of foam, one would have taken us for bedlamites rather than philosophers.’—Vol. I. p. 3.

‡ In *Phædon*, § 40. Ed. Oxon.

|| In *Theæteto*, p. 130. The process of ratiocination taught by Raymond Lully, as it is described by his follower Cornelius Agrippa, strongly reminds us of the Grecian Sophists. By this art, says he, ‘every man might plentifully dispute of what matter he wolde, and with a certain artificial and huge heap of nouns and verbes invente and dispute with ostentation, full of trifling deceites upon both sides.’ (Corn. Agrip. of the Vanity of Sciences, Englished by Ja. San. Gent. Lond. 1575.) It is this mechanical process which Swift ridicules by his machine in the academy of Lagado.—Scott’s *Life of Swift*, p. 331.

society we may easily conjecture. Plato and Aristophanes bear ample testimony to the perversion of manners in both the upper and the lower classes: and the impartial pen of Thucydides has left upon record a deterioration of morals not only in Athens, but throughout Greece, adequate, and yet not more than adequate, to the causes which were thus set at work to produce it.\* A baneful and malignant vapour was spreading abroad beneath the surface; and drooping flowers and withered verdure upon every side gave tokens of its desolating course.

‘To dispel by the powerful weapon of ridicule these mists of error,—to give a finished picture of a plain unlettered man as he was likely to come from the hands of the Sophists,—to rescue the young men of family from the hands of such flagitious preceptors, and restore them to that noble simplicity of manners, which had prevailed in Greece in the time of Homer, and which had not entirely disappeared even in the days of Herodotus, was unquestionably the object of the *Clouds*.’ The object was laudable—was noble—and the manner in which it was attempted does as much credit to the heart and understanding, as it does to the inventive genius and poetic powers of Aristophanes. *How* the attempt was made—the plot and plan of the memorable drama, on which the Poet bestowed the whole force of his consummate skill—must, from the writings of Cumberland, be well known to the generality of readers. It is not our purpose to linger upon this part of the subject: we have a proposition to make out, from which Mr Mitchell’s courage has shrunk, though he has collected such ample matter for supporting it: and, despite that halo of glory, which virtues and intellect that ‘form an epoch in the history of man’ have thrown around the son of Sophroniscus, we can see enough to believe that Aristophanes was as happy in selecting the central figure for his piece, as he was in the other constituent parts of this his greatest production. We certainly should not be content to rest the defence of the comic bard upon either of the lame and impotent conclusions to which all Mr M.’s reasoning conducts him; namely—either ‘that the parties were very little known to each other,’ and that Aristophanes wrote rather in ignorance than with any intention of exposing these faults in Socrates, which his personal virtues and magnanimity made only the more dangerous,—or that he described Socrates only as he was *at the time*, or such as he *conceived* him to be,—a conjecture that Mr M. has the flagrant inconsisten-

---

\* See the Account of the Corcyraean Sedition: Thucyd. Book 3. c. 188.



cy to urge in the face of his own argument that 'every single trait of the *Aristophanic* Socrates may be traced in the *Platonic*'—a picture drawn from the most intimate knowledge more than twenty years after the *Clouds* had been acted, and limned in such favourable colours as the very safety of the artist made it necessary should be employed. ||

We know from the various authorities upon the Life and Conversation of Socrates, that have come down to us, that he was the immediate disciple of Archelaus, one of the Ionian school, and thus derived his philosophical descent regularly from Thales, of whose disciples it is with truth affirmed—'Their facts were few, but their disputes were long; if they could not convince, they could at least reason: one absurdity led them to another; but every absurdity furnished a disputation of words,—and words, even without ideas, were as the breath of life to the loquacious Athenians.' We have himself, or Plato for him, laying down as a fundamental principle, 'that the wicked man sins only through ignorance, and that the end of his actions, like that of all other men, is good, but that he mistakes the nature of it, and uses wrong means to attain it,'—and in the same way, defining a virtue like bravery to be nothing but knowledge.† We have him described as one who, 'if not a Sophist himself, was always in the company of Sophists,'—'who like them had given himself up deeply and unremittedly to physical researches,'—and who 'in vanity and self-conceit surpassed them all.' We find him spending his time not only with such ambitious and unprincipled young men as Alcibiades and Critias, who left him as soon as they had gained their objects—a power of speaking and an aptitude for action,‡ upon principles which, it is very plain, notwithstanding the example of Socrates himself, might lead to any thing but patriotism and moral excellence,—but with an Enclid, an Antisthenes, an Aristippus, men who, as Mr Mitchell expresses it, went from him 'to form schools, whose names have since been synonymous with sophistry, the coarsest effrontery, and the most disguised voluptuousness.' The noble stand he made for the laws of his country, in the famous case of the ten generals,\*—

|| Preliminary Discourse, p. cxxxii.

† Vid. Aristot. Ethic. Lib. III. c. viii. et Platonem in Lachete et Protagora.

‡ γινισθαι ἂν ἰκανοτάτω λόγῳ τε καὶ πράττειν. Xen. Memor. Lib. II. c. ii. § 15.

\* Xen. Hist. Græc. Lib. I. c. 7.

a stand so perfectly in unison with the *personal* virtue and magnanimity of mind conspicuous in his character, and which may safely be allowed and admired without at all touching the question of the danger that lurked in his philosophical principles,—must save him from the reproach ‘that neither practice nor reflexion had made him acquainted with the *duties* of his office as a senator:’ ¶ but we have his own words to assure us ‘that to ask questions || or to answer them—to convict or to be convicted’—were in his opinion ‘the great purposes for which men should meet together;’—‘and a person,’ says Mr M. ‘who had decreed that his life should be a complete logomachy, could not have come to the contest better prepared; nor, where § words were to be the weapons of warfare, could any man draw them from a better provided armory.’ Let us add to this the terrible catalogue of ‘*false*,’ ‘*absurd*,’ ‘*unfeeling*,’ and ‘*guilty*’ opinions put into the mouth of Socrates by Plato, in the fifth book of the Republic, and visited with such just and spirited reprobation by Mr Mitchell, and—for lighter matters—the actual conversations of Socrates in the *Lysis*, the *Cratylus*, the *Philebus*, or the *Parmenides* of Plato, which give so fair occasion for the scenes in the *Clouds*, representing the bolting-tub—the cock and hen pullet—&c.,—the constant appeals to the *Dæmon* who was the *Zequiel* of this *Torralba*—the slovenly appearance and want of cleanliness objected to him by *Diogenes*—and we shall not only admit with Mr Mitchell that ‘the mysticism, the garrulity, the hair-splitting niceties of language, the contempt for exterior appearance, the melancholy temperament, the strong addiction to physical pursuits, the belief in a supernatural agency, to an extent not precisely recognised by the religion of his country, every single trait of the *Aristophanic Socrates* may be traced in the *Platonic*,’ but we shall feel compelled to go at least so much beyond him as to believe that *Aristophanes* wrote from a most intimate acquaintance with the object of his attack, and selected him as one whose principles he conscientiously believed would prove preeminently dangerous. Nor, when we find Mr Mitchell asserting that in this *Platonic Socrates*, a picture, as we must remind our readers, drawn more than twenty years after the date of the *Clouds*, there are even *worse* and *aggravating* \* circumstances, suppressed by the comic bard, than those he has introduced, can we conceive by what confusion of judgment he supposes

¶ Prelim. Discourse, p. xcvi.

|| In Prot.

§ See the whole of the dialogue called *Cratylus*.

: \* Prelim. Discourse, p. cxxxvii.

that an alteration took place in the interval,—that the Socrates of Aristophanes was not the Socrates of later days, or that the reproof of the poet had changed the pursuits or affected the principles of the philosopher. § Such a notion, notwithstanding the extravagant compliment to ourselves with which it is linked, || we must pronounce most palpably absurd. The soul of Socrates, of that Socrates

—who scorn'd to fear or fly,

Who liv'd and died, as none can live or die—

was not moulded of such a malleable temper: nor is it to be imagined that any castigation from the hand of a Comedian, a class of writers held in utter contempt by all the philosophers, could have worked so powerful an effect.

We are convinced that whoever will take the pains to compare these two slight sketches of the Sophists and of Socrates which we have abstracted, chiefly from the pregnant pages of Mr Mitchell, will be struck with points of similarity that, properly urged home, might have staggered even Plato, or Xenophon himself, and that might be exhibited in a still stronger light, had we time or space for a more minute detail. Even from the 'golden' *Memorabilia*, in which Mr M. will allow but a few blots to be discoverable, and from that 'immortal' Trilogv 'which has been embalmed by the tears of all ages,'—we should not despair, however invidious the task, of extracting quite enough to support our view of the subject. In the very first book of the former we find the charge of receiving pay for philosophical instructions, to which Mr M. excepts as a false feature in the portrait of the Clouds, \* not indeed directly fastened upon Socrates himself, but strongly countenanced by the mode of remuneration to which he would recommend the philosopher to trust. † It is no impolitic disinterestedness that leaves recompence to gratitude: and even Protagoras would sometimes rather appeal for his reward to the feelings of his scholars, than to previous stipulation. ‡ A far darker imputation upon the Socratic code of morals,—for we shut our ears as we must our hearts against any impeachment of the sage's individual purity,—is only too well warranted by the disgusting coolness with which, in the same book, he is made to argue on the subject of a crime, that all ages and all religions have concurred in branding as the most horrible of treasons.

§ Prelim. Discourse, p. cxxxviii.

|| Ibid. p. cxxxix.

\* Ibid. p. cxxxiv.

† Xen. Mem. Lib. I. c. ii. § 7.

‡ Plato in Protagora.

gainst nature. § We shudder at the bare idea of pressing a point like this: but the *Trilogy* of Plato, in some respects, is not more impregnable. The *Apologia*, which stands first in that collection, notwithstanding its powerful and touching rhetoric, is debased by a vein of quibbling that blends but ill with the simple and manly eloquence with which it closes. Socrates must have known that the charges expressed by his accusers were mere pretexts; that his political sentiments were the real cause for which he was prosecuted; and why did he not boldly force his assailants to drop the mask? why strain his ingenuity to repel allegations which, after all, he could not wholly or implicitly deny?—Why does he fight so shy of the charge concerning religion, as it is worded in the indictment, if he thought it worth while to answer it at all? Why shift his ground by aid of his sophistical interrogatives, or fly for shelter to that paltzy play upon the definition of his *Dæmon*, which might do well enough for Aristotle to quote among his speci-

§ Xen. Mem. Lib. I. c. iii.—Mr Mitchell has with good taste avoided this topic. If any thing could provoke us to dilate upon so odious a theme, it would be to find Dryden extolling Socrates for such dangerous reasonings as the following: (see Dryden's *Life of Virgil*, ¶ p. 67.) ‘There is but one Eternal, Immutable, Uniform beauty; in contemplation of which, our sovereign happiness consists: and therefore a true lover considers beauty and proportion as so many steps and degrees, by which he may ascend from the particular to the general, from all that is lovely of feature, or regular in proportion, or charming in sound, to the general fountain of all perfection. And if you are so much transported with the sight of beautiful persons, as to wish neither to eat or drink, but pass your whole life in their conversation; to what ecstacy would it raise you to behold the original beauty, not filled up with flesh and blood, or varnished with a fading mixture of colours, and the rest of mortal trifles and fooleries, but separate, unmixed, uniform, and divine,’ &c.—The man who could choose so luscious a basis for his speculations, or to whom the presence of ‘the beautiful Agathon,’ or the ‘interesting Autorycus’ was necessary, before he could work and pamper up his reveries to the *αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸ*—the ‘original beauty’ and ‘fountain of all perfection,’ must have had too presumptuous a confidence in his own strength, or too disdainful a contempt for the opinion of the world.

---

¶ Dryden declares himself indebted to Mr Walsh for this *Life of Virgil*, but it bears strong marks of his revision, and at any rate the opinions expressed in it are set forth under his sanction.

mens of enthymematic reasoning, \* but can hardly be considered by us as any thing better than what Shakespeare would have called 'some quip, some quillet to deceive.' † In the *Criton*, which displays the magnanimity of Socrates in the most conspicuous and affecting manner, we may entertain some doubts as to the soundness of an argument, that makes the highest reverence towards the laws, consist in aiding them to accomplish an act of the most monstrous injustice. But the exquisite beauty of that suicidal dialogue, as well as its indisputable alienation of *Self*, may be allowed to shield it from a cavil. The *Phædon*, however—splendid, overpowering as it is—lies a little more open to remark. We would not deny the fanciful grace, the spell-like enchantment of its ultramundane speculations; still less would we militate against the soul-piercing pathos of its final scenes, though that pathos be much impaired by the studied suppression of all natural tenderness, and the artful ambiguity of the expiring sneer, which give too much the air of dying, as in many points the philosopher had lived, for *effect*. But amid all the tediousness of the metaphysical subtleties that Socrates brings forward in this dialogue for proving the soul's immortality, there is that vile doctrine of referring all abstract knowledge to the memory of a previous existence, more futile than the theory of innate ideas overturned by Locke, and as dangerous, when viewed in connexion with the other Socratic doctrine of ascribing all virtue to knowledge, as any of the moral heresies maintained by the Sophists,—which would confound the whole distinctions between probity and vice, destroy the real merit of every species of excellence, and make the moral world a mere realm of anarchy for chance to riot in uncontrolled. It is vain to urge against the mischief of doctrines like this, an example of innocence, however spotless, or a reach of thought, however sublime. Eudoxus himself, while he would have had all mankind devote themselves to pleasure as the highest good, was a model of temperance and self-denial. ‡ The ethics of Socrates contain maxims as pure as any that Christianity unfolds, and political reflections that might instruct even the *absolute wisdom* of

---

\* Vide *Aristot. Rhetor. Lib. II. c. xxiv.*

† Mr Mitchell has noticed the gross contradiction between one part of the *Apologia* and the language of the *Phædon* on the subject of physical pursuits. He might have added the testimony of *Dio-genés Laërtius* to prove that Socrates had been most violently addicted to those studies.

‡ *Aristot. Ethic. Lib. X. c. ii.*

some statesmen at the present day. 'They who are treated with violence, hate, as though they were bereft of a right: they who are conciliated by persuasion, love, as though they were gratified with a favour: *therefore* it is not the part of those who study prudence, to coerce by violence, but of those who have mere force without judgment to guide it,' †—is a remark, to which certain rulers we could mention might attend with advantage. But all this forms no excuse or palliation for a philosophy which weaker heads or more depraved hearts could so easily wrest to the most pernicious purposes. It was a weapon that might be wielded to destroy as well as to defend: a sort of *Lesbian rule* ‖ that might be made to accommodate itself to any shape, or be twisted into any tortuosity. We can hardly think it a sufficient compensation for such an evil, to find the folly of the *bean-election* exposed in one treatise ¶ of the Socratic school, or 'the originally happy state of man,' 'the deluge,' or 'the doctrine of free will,' darkly suggested in another. ‡ But our readers may think it full time for us to have done with this subject; and as we draw near the close of Mr Mitchell's dissertation, we feel half-infected by his softness. It is impossible to read the few last pages of his Essay, without losing every other feeling in admiration of their eloquent beauty. His *forte* certainly does not lie in syllogism: But to his purity of taste, and his liveliness of manner; the warmth of his classical devotions, and the graces of the language in which he clothes them; we are glad to bear most cordial testimony; and it makes us pass, with every kindly inclination, to examine the translations that constitute the remainder of his work.

Yet we must begin with a protest against the plan upon which these translations are executed. It is really not fair in Mr M. to garble his poetry with so much prose: to give us Aristophanes *in stripes*, like the cuts and slashes of a Spanish doublet. We can hardly pretend to fathom his reason for doing so. It cannot be laziness surely, with such an unlimited command of language and versification as he seems to possess. It cannot be a mincing delicacy, that wishes to pass *sicco pede* over all that might offend prudish ears,—for many of the passages omitted in the translation are purer than some that

---

† Xen. Mem. Lib. I. c. ii. § 19.

‖ Vid. Aristot. Ethic. Lib. V. c. x.

¶ Xen. Mem. Lib. I. c. ii. § 9.

‡ Vide Platonem de Legibus.

find a place. Besides we suppose that Mr M. does not mean to publish a Family Aristophanes, or pretend to a more squeamish stomach than Madame Dacier, who has managed to let us have her translations *served up whole*, an instance of some resolution as well as ingenuity in that remarkable lady. We shall be sincerely sorry to have our favourites the *Clouds* and the *Birds* thus mangled; nor is it just in Mr M. towards his author, to stand behind the scenes, like Master Peter in *Don Quixote*, and bring in his characters with a flourish of the rhetorical trumpet, or keep them off, merely as it suits his convenience. Mr M. must know the old Greek proverb, *χελωνε φαγειν η μη φαγειν*, 'either eat the whole snail, or let it quite alone,'—and that is the sort of treat his readers will expect of him. Of the *Acharnians*, a play of about 1200 lines altogether, his version omits nearly 500,—not very far from the half. The 1400 lines of the *Knights*, are despoiled of upwards of 400. Whether the passages left untranslated be of much consequence or not, we object to the plan *in toto*. The merely English reader may imagine himself cheated of something valuable,—and think that he does not get all he was promised for his money; while the scholar will certainly grumble to see omitted any opportunity for spirited interpretation or useful remark.

A person with a rage for classification might arrange the remaining plays of Aristophanes under the three heads of Critical, which would comprehend the *Frogs*,—Philosophical, which would contain the *Clouds*,—and Political, which might be made to embrace all the rest. But these different qualities are so interwoven in the tissue of each individual piece, that it would be silly to lay much stress upon any such arrangement. The two plays which Mr M. has given us in the present volume, may be considered as two of the most exclusively political,—each having a specific object of policy in view, that is kept sight of throughout. The *Acharnians*, which stands first, is likewise the earliest of its author's productions, that has come down to us entire. The plot may be told in a very few words.

Dicæopolis, a citizen of Athens, is irritated at the continuance of the Peloponnesian war, that calamitous event, which furnished Aristophanes with so many topics of complaint, and which ended in the ruin of his native country. Dicæopolis endeavours to persuade his countrymen to make a peace with Lacedæmon.—his efforts fail: irritated at their obstinacy, the worthy rustic resolves to make a separate peace for himself and family, and despatches one Amphitheus to Sparta for the purpose. We are not to look for probability in these Grecian farces: or, rather, it is in an utter contempt for probability, and an entire departure from all the ordinary prosaic occur-

rences of common life, that the principal \* entertainment of these wild sallies of humour consists. This journey of one or two hundred miles is accordingly accomplished in the course of a few minutes. † The rest of the play consists in a succession of panegyrics upon the blessings which this treaty brings to Dicæopolis—(among which the additions to his culinary enjoyments are not forgotten, in a country where cookery is ranked by one of its poets among the liberal arts); and a series of satires upon the young statesmen of the day, who were impatient for the continuance of the war, and who, it should seem, had as yet shown nothing but that spirit of foppery, haughtiness, and vain-glouriness, which often precedes the development of powerful and active minds: such were Alcibiades and Lamachus, upon the latter of whom the dramatist's lash falls very heavily.'

Thus far Mr Mitchell. Though the Greek argument characterizes this play as *ἡ σφοδρὰ πικροτέραιον*—'exceeding-well concocted;' and though there is no piece of Aristophanes more rich in that pregnant, unlooked-for, *round-the-corner* sort of personal satire he so much excelled in, we cannot regard it, in comparison with his other compositions, as so interesting as any of them. Spite of the chronological propriety of beginning with it, we think a translator, conscious of the force of first impressions, might have hesitated as to putting it foremost. The best scenes are the famous interview between Dicæopolis and Euripides, whom Aristophanes is delighted to bring as soon as possible into ridicule,—a scene uncommonly brisk in the original, but rather tame and vapid in Mr M.'s transfusion of it,—and those farcical and broadly-humorous scenes with the Megarensian and his daughters, the Boeotian and the little sycophant, which Mr M. has not translated at all, at least has only given hashed up with his descriptive prose.

Mr M. is not happy in the dialogue of this drama. He has not caught the Aristophanic brevity and roughness. It is altogether too much wire-drawn, and too much inflated, to please us. He says a good deal that Aristophanes does not say, and bestows a meretricious glare and glossiness upon a good deal that he does. He gives us the cold glitter of an icicle, for the hearty though less polished glow of his author's phraseology. We

---

\* Not the *principal* surely. Mr M. should have added, *as far as the plot is concerned*.

† It is much more violent in Shakespeare to whisk his characters from Italy to England and back again, as he has done in *Cymbeline*: or to slide over sixteen years between two acts, as in the *Winter's Tale*.



would not be thought unreasonable in our demands. We do not want Mr M. to rival the inimitably compressive powers of the Greek tongue. It would be as bad as the attempt of Barten Holiday, in his version of Juvenal, to make every line of his comprehend the sense of one of the original,—forgetting that he wrote under the disadvantage of four syllables less in each verse. But we need not have such a word, for instance, as *ψαμμοκοσιογαργαρι* (lin. 3.) spun out into ‘whole battalions, In numbers numberless, like Ocean’s waves;’—nor such a phrase as *ἀδυναθὴν τραγῳδικόν* (lin. 9.) rendered by ‘t’other trouble, A trouble that might give the tragic Muse Fit theme and matter,’—which, by the by, is by much the *least comic* meaning that the words can be in any way made to bear. Neither can we see why Mr Mitchell should not have imitated better the colloquial ease, half-coarse, half-dégagé, that runs through the Iambics of Aristophanes. Why should a homely phrase like *ἔστιν ὡς ῥυπτομαι* (lin. 14.), become in his dainty transformation ‘Since first I took to living cleanly, And making my ablutions,’ when the Poet meant it for nothing more than a rude expression for the infancy of life? We believe it is Fielding that recommends a play or two of Johnson’s, (who was a diligent student though no imitator of Aristophanes), to be taken as a kind of preparative before one commences the perusal of this Author, lest, as he figuratively says, the simplicity of his style, for want of being sweetened with modern quaintness, may, like old wine after sugar-plums, appear insipid, and without any flavour, to palates that have been vitiated with the common theatrical diet. ‘Read not to believe and take for granted,’ is one advice of Lord Bacon’s.\* We fear that Mr Mitchell has given more authority over himself than it deserved to this recommendation of a writer who failed in his own attempted version of a Greek comedy. For *perusal* he has understood *translation*, and has devoted too much time to working in the mines of our early dramatists, instead of undergoing the greater trouble it would have cost him to form a style of his own more suited to the exigency. Johnson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, with all their high and undisputed merit in their own line, are the worst possible models for a translation of Aristophanes. Fielding probably meant to do nothing more than round a period; but he has done considerable mischief to Mr M.’s translations of dia-

---

\* ‘Dubitare in singulis non est inutile,’ says Thomas Langschneiderius to the most scientific Ortuinus Gratius.—*Epist. Obscurorum Virorum*, p. 1. ed. Franc.

logue. His chorusses are good, almost without exception; for in them he is treading a path of his own, without any blundering finger-posts to mislead him.

At line 79 (of the original) we think Brunck, and Mr M. after him, have fallen into a mistake: *οι βαρβαροι γαρ ανδρας ηγνυται μοιους, τους παλιστα δυναμειους φαγειν τι και πινειν*.

—‘ For these barbarians,

The rogues! allow no manhood but to those

Who show a vigour at their meals, and drink

A hogshead at a draught ’—

says the ambassador. Then follows the remark of Dicæopolis, *ημεις δε, λαικαδας τε και κατατυγονας*: which Mr M. according to Brunck's Latin, and in his own amplifying manner, renders

—‘ Say you? we hold

Thoughts quite diverse, and think such fellows are

The stuff that pimps and profligates are made of. ’

Dicæopolis means to be much more sarcastic. ‘ The barbarians think those alone worth naming *Men*, that can gorge and swill the mightiest quantities,’ says the envoy,—‘ And we—your debauchees and profligates,’—observes the citizen: that is surely, those are the persons *we* think *Men*, a stroke of satire quite Aristophanic. At line 140 we have another error. *Θεογνις ηγνυιζετο* is translated ‘ our frosty bard, Theognis, Was writing for the prize.’ The meaning is, ‘ one of his plays was being acted.’ At line 174 *μυστατοι* had better have been rendered *salmagundy* than *sallad*. It was a dish precisely answering to Morgan's preparation in the cock-pit. \* At line 279, *οι δ' αιοκισ ειν το φαλακρον κρηνησται* is rendered ‘ What serve shields unless for fuel?’—Dicæopolis only intends to signify among the blessings of peace, that the shield may be now hung up to get smoked in the chimney. But we are tired, as our readers must be, of this minuteness of remark. All we want is to impress upon Mr M. that he had better take more pains, especially with the dialogue. He seems to have imagined that the features of his original could be best copied in a hurry. (Preface, p. i.) But he should recollect, that a light hand is not necessarily a careless one. It is to ‘ the patient touches of unwearied art’ that we owe the truest copies of nature. Simplicity of style is always the result of labour; and simplicity should never be forgotten in a translation of Aristophanes.

We are glad to get Mr M. to a chorus. He has imitated with great success both the trochaic and anapæstic measures of

the Greek. The first appearance of the Chorus in this play is very spirited.

Scene VII. *Full Chorus in pursuit of Dicæopolis, address each other.*

' Double, double toil and trouble, quicken step and change your plan,  
Inquisition or petition must arrest the shameless man ;—  
It concerns her pride and honour that our town his motions know ;  
Who has back'd him, or has track'd him, forward let him come and show.

*Semi-Chorus.* Toil and search are in vain,  
He is gone,—fled amain.  
Now shame to my age,  
And to life's parting stage.  
Other tale it had been,  
When my years were yet green,  
And my youth in her pride  
Follow'd fast at the side  
Of Phayllus the racer !  
A fleet-going pacer,  
Though coals a full sack  
Press'd hard at my back.  
Then had not this maker  
Of peace, and a breaker  
With his best friends, I ween,  
Long space put between  
His country's undoer  
And me his pursuer,  
Nor should we thus part  
For a leap and a start.

But now my leg with age is heavy, and in vengeance for my sins,  
\* Lacratides and all his frost sure winter in these stiffen'd shins.  
So the rogue both scapes and flouts me—

*Semi-Chorus.* Forward, forward, friend, 'twere shame,  
Should we, tho' slow, the search forego, and the varlet vict'ry claim.'

The scene between Dicæopolis and the Chorus is still better :  
we wish it had been given entire.

*Dic.* ' Explanation—supplication—

*Chor.* Both are preaching to the wind.

*Dic.* Warm petition and submission—

*Chor.* Seas are deaf and rocks are blind.

*Dic.* Bended knees and hands uplifted—

*Chor.* We have eyes and cannot see.

---

\* Lacratides was a former archon of Athens, during whose magistracy there happened a prodigious fall of snow.

*Dic.* Falling tear and prayer submissive—

*Chor.* We have cars, but not for thee.

*Dic.* Hear, O hear me!

*Chor.* I'll not hear thee—death must guerdon deeds so bold.

*Dic. (enraged.)* Blow for blow then let us bandy, damn'd be he that first cries hold.

On a wight your vengeance falls not—unprovided—unprepared—

With the nearest and the dearest of your friends must it be shared.

*Chor. (to his companions.)* Sons and wardsmen of Acharnæ, whence this threat of retribution?

Speak,—explain,—my wilder'd brain seeks in vain for a solution.

Hath he bairn of any present, hath he prisoner hous'd within?

Whence hath he such boldness gather'd?

*Dic. (exhibiting something in his hand.)* Now let Fate her work begin:

We have here that in the drama shall enact a foremost part—

Surest test to prove who best loves his craft and trade at heart.

*Chor.* All is over—darkness cover me and mine within the grave!

*(To Dic.)* O let prayer and humble tear this my toy, my darling save!

Explanation—supplication—

*Dic.* Both are preaching to the wind.

*Chor.* Warm petition and submission—

*Dic.* Seas are deaf and rocks are blind.

We have no room for further extracts from this play. We would only allude to the famous defence of Dicæopolis, beginning in the original at line 497, (which Mr M. has translated with considerable spirit), in order to notice a singular mistake of a most ingenious and lamented author, the late Member for Banbury.—Mr Douglas refers the animated picture of bustling preparation so well described in the concluding lines of the speech to the fitting-out of the Sicilian expedition.† As the *Acharnians* was written in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, and the armament against Syracuse was not sent out till the seventeenth, it is needless to point out that this is an erroneous notion. Our Edinburgh readers will perhaps forgive us too for hinting at an Athenian custom expressed in line 617; which will be very intelligible to those who remember how rife the cry of *Gardez l'eau*, || once was in the streets of our beautiful metropolis, and what it portended. Edinburgh has been called the modern Athens:—but we trust that no one will suppose *this* to be the strongest point of similitude.

† Douglas on the Modern Greeks, p. 164.

|| The warning at Athens was not so specifically worded:—

ὡς περ ἀπονιπτῶν ἐκχέοντες ἱερὰς,  
ἀπάντες ΕΞΙΣΤΩ παρηνουν εἰ φίλοι.

It must be evident by this time to our readers, that the Ancient Comedy rested none of its claims to admiration upon variety of incident or intricacy of plot. The plays of Aristophanes, with the highest finish of execution, display the utmost baldness of design. We cannot indeed agree with Lord Shaftesbury—(who seems to follow Aristotle in assigning a great preeminence to the Grecian Tragedy)—in thinking that the truth of characters, the beauty of order, and the imitation of nature, were wholly unknown to the comedians; to whom he yet assigns a perfection in style and language, and an amazing fertility in all the turns and diversities of humour.\* We think, on the contrary, the imitation of nature exact; the truth of character uniformly preserved; and the beauty of order maintained,—as far as order can be beautiful that is entirely simple, that never diverges from straight lines, nor deviates into ‘the winding lineaments of grace.’ The character of Demus in the very play we are now going to examine, which, as professing to exhibit an exact portrait of a whole people with all their peculiarities, required great powers for accurate observation and faithful copying, is, says Mr Mitchell, ‘an immortal proof of rich invention, discrimination, and acuteness.’ ‘Even as a drama,’ he elsewhere observes, ‘the Knights has always held a very high rank, and not undeservedly.’ But the Grecian Comedies, though true in the delineation of character, and of consequence in those delineations strict in their fidelity to nature, disdained the additional embellishment of interesting action. They have abundance of *jokes* *παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς*, pleasantries by surprise, but few incidents of the same description. Any simple fiction served as a vehicle for Satire, Politics, Criticism, and Poetry, the prime ingredients in the intellectual repast offered by the comic poet to his audience; and a little

---

\* Characteristicks, p. 245. We do not precisely see how a writer can be perfect in style and language, which are to be put in the mouths of different characters, without keeping to the truth of character: or fertile in all the turns and varieties of humour, without imitating nature.—Some critics will have it that the characters of Aristophanes are all *generic*, that is, that each is the embodied likeness of a tribe or *genus*, the personification of an abstract idea, not of a real individual.—In this way, every comic or tragic character may be called the representative of a genus, at least as long as there shall be points of resemblance among mankind,—as long as each individual does not stand *per se*, distinct, isolated, without model and without copy. Is not *Socrates* an individual portrait? are not *Cleon*, *Euripides* (in the *Frogs*) strong individual portraits?

garnishing of buffoonery mixed up with them, made the treat be exquisitely relished by every class of Athenians. The plan of the *Knights* is even more straight-forward and unadorned than that of the *Acharnians*; but it is a play of a much higher order in every other point. 'The professed object,' says Mr Mitchell, 'of this singular composition is the overthrow of that powerful demagogue, whom the author had professed in his *Acharnians* (Act II.) that it was his intention at some future day "to cut into shoe-leather;" and his assistants on the occasion are the very persons, for whose service the exploit was to take place,—the rich proprietors, who among the Athenians constituted the class of Horsemen or Knights. For this purpose Athens is here represented as a house: Demus (a personification of the whole Athenian people) is the master of it; Nicias and Demosthenes (the General not the Orator), names too familiar to the reader of history to need explanation, are his slaves; and Cleon is his confidential servant and slave-driver. The levelling disposition of the Athenians could not have been presented with a more agreeable picture. If the *dramatis personæ* are few, the plot of the piece is still more meagre; it consists merely of a series of humiliating pictures of Cleon, and a succession of proofs to Demus, that this favourite servant is wholly unworthy of the trust and confidence reposed in him. The manners are strictly confined to Athens, and might almost be thought to belong to a people who imagined with the Indian, that his own little valley comprehended the whole world; and that the sun rose on one side of it, only to set again on the other.'

Mr Mitchell justly ascribes great value to this comedy 'as an historical document, giving a strong, full, and faithful picture of the most singular people that ever existed.' Yet we cannot but observe that he dwells, both in his argument and notes, with too much satisfaction upon the darker shades of the portrait. He seems to lose all sight of moderation, and absolutely run riot in his unsparing abuse of republicanism and popular orators. We would just beg leave to accompany him in his triumph, like the slave of the Roman chariot, and whisper in his ear 'THOU also art a man;—with all your national partiality you must confess that Demus and your own John Bull have somewhat more than an exterior resemblance.' Demus indeed has no wife to read him lectures 'on the indispensable duty of cuckoldom,' but he has the knavish servant, the false ally, the traitorous friend, and all the wantonness of humour, wildness of caprice, and depth of gullibility, that distinguish the famous representative of the English national character. We cannot be supposed to entertain much affection for a people who could suffer Miltiades to die in prison, and Themistocles in exile; but aversion may be pushed to the limits of injustice,

How are we to expect any candour from a writer who begins his work by making the *Cato-street Conspiracy*\* a grave, and doubtless in his opinion a powerful, argument, for taking that exclusive view of politics which he at the same time acknowledges should be *carefully* avoided: † who eulogizes Dante for his very doubtful equity, to say no worse of it, in condemning Brutus and Cassius, with Judas Iscariot betwixt them, to a place which Julius Cæsar or Augustus had a much better claim to occupy: ‡ and who can express his cordial concurrence with that most violent and groundless dogma of Xenophon, ‘that any one, not immediately in the rank of the people, who prefers living in a democratical rather than in an oligarchical government, must be a villain by anticipation, and acts upon the consciousness, that it is easier to be a bad man and to escape detection in a state where the government is in the hands of the many, than it is in a state where the government is in the hands of the few?’ || What will Mr Mitchell say to Montaigne, whose honest opinion ‘that a man ought to be contented with that form of government, and those fundamental constitutions of it, which he received from his ancestors, and under which himself was born,’ gives him a right to be heard on this question,—and who nevertheless freely confesses, that if he could have chosen his place of birth, it should have been under the republic of Venice,—a government approaching much nearer to the democracy of Athens, than to the odious oligarchy, or monarchy, or whatever else we must term it, of Xenophon’s favourite Lacedæmon? Mitford appears to be the great master of political wisdom, whom Mr Mitchell has chosen to follow: and our readers must be pretty generally aware of what respect is due to the prejudices of an historian who makes heroes of the cold-blooded Darius, the cruel Xerxes, and almost of the frantic Cambyses, while he can bestow an elaborate frigidity upon his account of Marathon, and toil to deepen every stain upon the patriotic virtues of Demosthenes. We say this without meaning in the least to detract from the praises he deserves for the great care and attention he has employed in the compilation of his history; but the student will be bitterly disappointed who expects to find it rich either in impartial views or liberal opinions.

---

\* Preface, p. xii.

† Ibid.

‡ *The great Devil’s mouth*,—as Dryden calls it; see the *Inferno*, Canto XXXIV. and Mitchell’s Preface, p. xiii.

|| Mr Mitchell seems so fond of this sentiment that he quotes it twice; see his Prelim. Discourse, p. cxliii. and Translation, p. 293.

Without, however, being hurried away in our feelings by any glosses or remarks of commentator or translator, we must consider the *Knights* an everlasting monument of the power, patriotism, and skill of Aristophanes. 'Cleon appears to have been in his imagination as the centre of a circle, into which all that society exhibits of the mean and the ridiculous, all that folly contains of the weak and the imbecile, and all that vice displays of the odious and disgusting, was, as a matter of course, to be drawn.\* That good humour, which, in spite of the opposite opinion generally entertained of him, formed, I think, a conspicuous part of the character of Aristophanes, displays itself here but rarely:—he had set his all upon a cast, and the danger he was running evidently sits heavy upon his mind. His Chorus, who are generally to his plays what the female faces have been observed to be to the pieces of Hogarth, a means of keeping the acrimonious feelings within the limits of legitimately pleasureable sensation, here assume a ferocity of character—the poet has written their parts with gall, and armed their hands with a dagger. The German critics, whose feelings are as correct as their learning is profound, have observed the difference between the *Knights* of Aristophanes and his other plays. It is a struggle for life and death, says Wieland: it is a true dramatic phippic, says Schlegel.'

'In attacking Cleon so continually upon the point where he seemed least assailable, viz. the affair at Pylus, the poet has shown that deep knowledge of the people collectively, which forms the most considerable feature in his literary character.' 'It was politic to nauseate the audience with a continual recitation of the only event upon which any real notion of his capacity could be grounded. The peasant who signed the vote for the banishment of Aristides, had no other reason for it but that he was tired of hearing him continually styled the Just.'

Mr Mitchell has risen with his author. The translation of the *Knights* is much superior to that of the other play. Even the Iambic dialogue, though still generally heavy, is very brisk in one or two passages. We shall give a specimen or two. The following is from Scene I. in which Nicias and Demosthenes, habited as slaves, are debating on some means of overreaching Cleon. Demosthenes calls for a flask of wine to stimulate his ingenuity:

*Nic.* 'A flask! thy soul is ever in thy cups:  
What thoughts can habit in a toper's brain?

---

\* This is representing the character of Cleon in this play as too ideal, too generic. The fact is, that Cleon seems *actually* to have combined in himself, all the detestable qualities enumerated in the text.



**Dem.** Harkye, thou trifling, bubbling water-drinker,  
Who darest speak treason thus against good liquor!  
Resolve me—speak—What stirs the wit most nimbly?  
What makes the purse feel heaviest, or gives  
Most life to business?—wine! What masters all  
Disputes?—a merry cup! What gives the spirits  
Their brikest flow?—good liquor! What most sets  
The soul afloat in love and friendly benefits?—  
A mantling bowl!—hand me a pitcher then:—  
Quick, quick, nay quick! I'll bathe my very mind  
And soul therein, and then see who can hit  
Upon a trim device.

**Nic.** A-lack a-day!

What will that drunkenness of thine engender! (*goes in doors.*)

**Dem.** Much good, believe me: quick, and bring the wine then.  
I'll lay me down,—let but the generous fumes  
Once mount into my head, and they will gender  
Such dainty little schemes—such tit-bit thoughts—  
Such trim devices!—

The next, from the last scene of the play, gives a spirited sketch of the young political coxcombs of Athens.—Demus is recounting to Agoracritus the Sausage-seller, who has succeeded to his favour in the place of the degraded Cleon, his projected reformatations in the state:

**Dem.** 'I'll have no speeches in the Agora  
From those whose chins have not yet budded.

**Agor.** Clisthenes  
And Straton then must use despatch, and straight  
Look out another school of oratory.

**Dem.** My meaning rather points to those same sparks,  
For ever haunting the perfumer's shops,  
Who sit and chatter to this tune—'Commend me (*mimicking*)  
To Phæax—swinge me!—'tis a man of parts—  
Vers'd in all school-points most divinely—none  
Takes firmer hold upon his hearer—split me!—  
And then such art in hammering his sentiments,  
So clear, so powerful to sway the passions!—  
He'll take them in their highest storm and buffetings,  
And—stap my vitals—lay them in a moment.

**Agor.** (*mimicking*) A rape! a rape! thou'rt gone, thou'rt lost—this  
phrase-maker  
Hath ta'en thy very senses—split my wind-pipe!

We must return to the first Act to give the scene between the Knights or Chorus, the Sausage-seller, who is to contend against Cleon for the mastery in impudence, and Cleon himself. Mr Mitchell has translated it with amazing fire and vi-

gour. Nothing can be better than the burst of double trochaics, in which the Knights commence their attack : \*

CHORUS.

Stripes and torment, whips and scourges, for the toll-collecting knave !

Knighthood wounded, troops confounded, chastisement and vengeance crave.

Taxes sinking, tributes shrinking, mark his appetite for plunder ;  
At his crawl and rav'ning-maw dykes and whirlpools fail for wonder !  
Explanation and evasion—covert art and close deceit—  
Fraudful funning, force and cunning, who with him in these compete ?

He can cheat and eke repeat twenty times his felon feat,  
All before you blessed sun has quench'd his lamp of glowing heat.  
Then to him—pursue him—strike, shiver, and hew him ;  
Confound him and pound him, and storm all around him'—&c.

Cleon trembles at so furious an assault, and calls for aid upon his favourites and abettors, the dicasts of the courts, under a curious combination of characters. It is a combination which we had not expected to see imitated by any assembly of the present day : but as Claudio says, ' Oh ! what men dare do ! what men may do ! what men daily do ! not knowing what they do ! ' †

Cl. ' Judges, jurymen, and pleaders, you whose soul is in your fee ;  
You that in a three-pie'd obol, father, mother, brother see ;  
You, whose food I'm still providing, straining voice through right and wrong—

Mark-and see—Conspiracy drives and buffets me along !

Chor. 'Tis with reason—'tis in season—'tis as you yourself have done :  
Thou fang, thou claw—thou gulph, thou maw ! yielding partage fair to none.

Where's the officer at audit but has felt your cursed gripe ?  
Squeez'd and tried with nice discernment, whether yet the wretch be ripe,  
Like the men our figs who gather, you are skilful to discern,  
Which is green and which is ripe, and which is just upon the turn.  
Is there one well-purs'd among us, lamb-like in heart and life,  
Link'd and wedded to retirement, hating bus'ness, hating strife ?  
Soon your greedy eye's upon him—when his mind is least at home,—  
Room and place—from farthest Thrace, at your bidding he must come.  
Foot and hand are straight upon him—neck and shoulder in your grip,  
To the ground anon he's thrown, and you smite him on the hip.

Cl. (*fawning*.) Ill from you comes this irruption, you for whom  
my cares provide,  
To reward old deeds of valour, stone and monumental pride.

\* The want of some English metre similar to the trochaic and anapaestic metres in Greek, formed one great deficiency in all former translations of this poet. Mr M. has entirely supplied this defect.

† Much Ado about Nothing, Act iv. sc. 1.

'Twas my purpose to deliver words and speech to that intent—  
And for such my good intentions must I thus be tempest-rent?

*Chor.* Fawning braggart, proud deceiver, yielding like a pliant thong!  
We are not old men to cozen and to gull with lying tongue.

Fraud or force—assault or parry—at all points will we pursue thee?  
And the course which first exalted, knave, that same shall now undo thee.

*Cl.* (to the audience.) Town and weal—I make appeal—back and  
breast these monsters feel.

*Chor.* Have we wrung a clamour from thee, pest and ruin of our town?

*Saus.* Clamour as he will, I'll raise a voice that shall his clamour drown.

*Chor.* To outreach this knave in speech were a great and glorious  
feat—

But to pass in face and brass—that were triumph all complete.

Then might fly to earth and sky notes of vict'ry pean'd high!

*Cl.* (to the audience.) Allegation—affirmation—I am here prepar'd  
to make

That this man, (pointing to the Sausage-vender) shipp'd spars and tim-  
ber and—sausages for Sparta's sake.

*Saus.* Head and oath, I stake them both, and free before this pre-  
sence say,

That the Hail a guest most hungry sees in this man (pointing to Cleon)  
ev'ry day;

He walks in with belly empty and with full one goes away, ' &c.

The next interruption of the Chorus is very powerful:

*Chor.* ' Wretch! without a parallel—

Son of thunder—child of hell,—

Creature of one mighty sense,

Concentrated impudence!—

From earth's centre to the sea,

Nature stinks of that and thee, ' &c.

' But thou, (turning to the Sausage-vender) whose breeding and  
whose feeding were in those schools and masters,

From whence proceed all those who breed our present state-dis-  
asters,—

Unfold thy speech—direct and teach in eloquent oration

That they are naught who'd have us taught a virtuous education.

*Saus.* Then at a word must first be heard my rival's estimation.

*Cl.* (eagerly.) I claim precedence in my speech—nor you my right  
deny, Sir.

*Saus.* Your reason,—plea?—mere knavery! (proudly) marry and  
what am I, Sir?

I stake my fame and this way claim a right to prior speaking.

*Chor.* (gravely.) The reason's good, well understood;—if more the  
foe be seeking,

Be it replied—that you're a knave, and not of new creation,

But known and tried—on either side—through all your generation.

*Cl.* (to *Saus.*) Dost still oppose?

*Saus.* 'Fore friends and foes.

*Cl.* My soul is in commotion :—

: By Earth!—

• *Saus.* By Air!—

*Cl.* I vow!

*Saus.* I swear!

*Cl.* By Jupiter!—

*Saus.* By Ocean!—

*Cl.* O I shall choke—

*Saus.* You shall not choke—myself am your prevention.

*Chor.* (to *Saus.*) Forbear, forbear, my friend, nor mar so useful an intention!

*Cl.* (to *Saus.*) Discuss—propound your cause—your ground for these your words nefarious.

*Saus.* My pow'rs of speech—my art to reach phrase season'd high and various—

*Cl.* (contemptuously.) Your pow'rs of speech!—ill fare the cause beneath your hands e'er falling—

Batter'd and rent, 'twill soon present a sample of your calling.

'The same disease will fortune you—that meets our eyes not rarely :—

Hear—mark—reply, and own that I discuss the matter fairly.

Some petty suit 'gainst strangers gain'd—anon you're set a-crowing ;

'The mighty feat becomes forthwith a birth that's ever growing.

By day, by night, on foot, on horse, when riding or when walking,—

*Your life a mere soliloquy*—still of this feat you're talking.

You fall to drinking water next—on generous wine you trample,

While friends are sore—worn o'er and o'er with specimen and sample.

And this attain'd, you think you've gain'd the palm of oratory—

Heav'n help thee, silly one, you've yet to learn another story.'

It may be fair to give an example of Mr M.'s powers in rendering these touches of poetry which so often illuminate the pages of Aristophanes. The following lines are very pretty :

#### CHORAL HYMN.

' Oh then, whom Patroness we call

Of this the holiest land of all,

That circling seas admire ;

The land where Power delights to dwell,

And War his mightiest feats can tell,

And Poesy to sweetest swell

Attunes her voice and lyre ;

Come, blue-ey'd Maid, and with thee bring

The goddess of the eagle wing ;

To help our bold endeavour :

Long have our armies own'd thy aid,

O Victory, immortal maid ;

Now other deeds befits thee tell

A bolder foe remains to quell ;

Give aid then now or never.'

A much deeper spirit breathes in the following extract, which is the last we can afford room for, from the Parabasis. The poet, through the lips of his Chorus, is alluding to the fortunes of his precursors in the art:

' Could it 'scape observing sight what was Magnes' wretched plight,  
when his hairs and his temples were hoary;  
Yet who battled with more zeal or more trophies left to tell  
of his former achievements and glory? [clapping,—  
He came piping, § dancing, tapping,—fig-gnatting and wing-  
frog-besmeared and with Lydian grimaces:  
Yet he too had his date, nor could wit nor merit great  
preserve him, unchang'd, in your graces.  
Youth pass'd brilliantly and bright;—when his head was old and white,  
strange reverse and hard fortune confronted;  
What boots taste and tact forsooth, if they've lost their nicest truth,  
or a wit where the edge has grown blunted!  
Who Cratinus may forget, or the storm of whim and wit  
which shook theatres under his guiding?  
When Panegyric's song pour'd her flood of praise along,  
who but he on the top wave was riding?  
Foe nor rival might him meet; plane and oak ta'en by the feet  
did him instant and humble prostration;  
For his step was as the tread of a flood that leaves its bed,  
and his march it was rude desolation.  
Who but he the foremost guest then on gala-day and feast?  
what strain fell from harp or musicians,  
But "Doro, Doro sweet, nymph with fig-beslipper'd feet"—  
or—"Ye verse-smiths and bard-mechanicians."  
Thus in glory was he seen, while his years as yet were green;  
but now that his dotage is on him,  
God help him! for no eye, of all those who pass him by,  
throws a look of compassion upon him.  
'Tis a couch, but with the loss of its garnish and its gloss;—  
'tis a harp that hath lost all its cunning;—  
'Tis a pipe where deftest hand may the stops no more command,  
nor on its divisions be running.  
Connas-like, he's chaplet-crown'd, and he paces round and round  
in a circle which never is ended;—  
On his head a chaplet hangs, but the curses and the pangs  
of a drought on his lips are suspended.'

We would not willingly interrupt the current of strong feeling, so simply and yet so beautifully expressed as in these latter lines especially,—but we must remark, that in the verses printed in

---

§ The poet alludes in his peculiar manner to the titles of some of the dramatic works of Magnes.

italics, Mr M. has deserted his author to introduce ornament of his own. Aristophanes takes his metaphor simply from a couch. 'But now,' he says, 'ye take no pity on him, be-  
' holding him in his dotage like an aged couch,

ἐκπιπτουσιν τῶν ἡλεκτρῶν, καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦ δου ἐτ' ἐνότος,

τῶν δ' ἕρμουκων διαγκουσιν'—

' with its bosses tumbling off—its straining-cords no longer fixed  
' —its joints wide-gaping.' The turn which Mr M. has given to the words may be more beautiful and more poetical, but it is not the sense of the original.

We must now bid Mr Mitchell farewell, with every assurance of the pleasure it will give us to meet with him again in the course of his entertaining and instructive labours. He professes himself no friend to indiscriminate praise, and will not therefore be offended by any portion of our animadversions. Let him drop a few prejudices, and the general tone of his work will be more pleasing: let him bestow a little more pains, and its general execution will be more correct. For what we have said in commendation, we think the extracts we have given will fully justify us to our classical readers. We hail with much satisfaction the prospect now afforded us of seeing ably and agreeably translated into our native language, an author who has hitherto had so much fewer readers and admirers than his merits deserve. It will be no slight honour to Mr Mitchell, if he succeed in making Aristophanes a more familiar and more popular study than he has been; and in spite of the despairing motto he has adopted, we have good hopes of his doing so. We rejoice to have laboured in a small portion of the same vineyard; and shall be glad if our assistance can in any way contribute to so desirable a result. We would recommend a more cheerful inscription for the next volume:—Aristophanes has long been under a sort of cloud,

" But shall anon repair his drooping head,

" And trick his beams, and with new-spangled ore

" Flame in the forehead of the Morning sky!"

- ART. II. 1. *Whitelaw's History of the City of Dublin.* 4to. Cadell & Davies.
2. *Observations on the State of Ireland, principally directed to its Agriculture and Rural Population; in a Series of Letters, written on a Tour through that Country.* In 2 Vols. By J. C. CURWEN, Esq. M. P. London, 1818.
3. *Gamble's Views of Society in Ireland.*

THESE are all the late publications that treat of Irish interests in general,—and none of them are of first-rate importance. Mr Gamble's *Travels in Ireland* are of a very ordinary description—low scenes and low humour making up the principal part of the narrative. There are readers, however, whom it will amuse; and the reading market becomes more and more extensive, and embraces a greater variety of persons every day. Mr Whitelaw's *History of Dublin* is a book of great accuracy and research, highly creditable to the industry, good sense, and benevolence of its author. Of the *Travels of Mr Christian Curwen*, we hardly know what to say. He is bold and honest in his politics—a great enemy to abuses—vapid in his levity and pleasantry, and infinitely too much inclined to declaim upon commonplace topics of morality and benevolence. But with these drawbacks, the book is not ill written: and may be advantageously read by those who are desirous of information upon the present State of Ireland.

So great, and so long has been the misgovernment of that country, that we verily believe the empire would be much strengthened if every thing was open sea between Ireland and the Atlantic, and if *skates and colfish* were the only produce of Ulster. Such jobbing, such profligacy—so much direct tyranny and oppression—such an abuse of civil liberties—such a violation of God's name for the sake of a few paltry and perispermous gains—can not be exceeded in the history of any other Kingdom; and a lasting remnant of this deluge and storm will be left behind. But it will be more useful to supply the indignation which the very name of Ireland inspires, and to remember impartially those *scoundrels* which have marred this fair portion of the creation, and kept it wild and savage in the midst of a civilized Europe.

The great misfortune of Ireland is, that the mass of the people have been given up for a century to the hands of Protestants, by whom they have been treated as *heathens*, and subjected to every species of persecution and distress. The sufferings of the Catholics have been so loudly exhibited, in the very streets,

that it is almost needless to remind our readers, that during the reigns of George I. and George II., the Irish Roman Catholics were disabled from holding any civil or military office, from voting at elections, from admission into corporations, from practising law or physic. A younger brother, by turning Protestant, might deprive his elder brother of his birthright: by the same process, he might force his father, under the name of a liberal provision, to yield up to him a part of his landed property; and if an eldest son, he might, in the same way, reduce his father's fee-simple to a life estate. A Papist was disabled from purchasing freehold lands—and even from holding long leases—and any person might take his Catholic neighbour's house by paying five pounds for it. If the child of a Catholic father turned Protestant, he was taken away from his father and put into the hands of a Protestant relation. No Papist could purchase a freehold, or lease for more than thirty years—or inherit from an intestate Protestant—nor from an intestate Catholic—nor dwell in Limerick or Galway;—nor hold an advowson, nor buy an annuity for life. 50*l.* was given for discovering a popish Archbishop—30*l.* for a popish Clergyman—and 10*s.* for a Schoolmaster. No one was allowed to be trustee for Catholics; no Catholic was allowed to take more than two apprentices; no Papist to be scilicet, sheriff, or to serve on grand juries. Houses of Papists might be seized for the militia; for which militia Papists were to pay double, and to find Protestant substitutes. Papists were prohibited from being present at vestries, or from being high or petty constables; and, when resident in towns, they were compelled to find Protestant watchmen. Barristers and solicitors, marrying Catholics, were exposed to the penalties of Catholics. Persons plundered by privateers during a war with any Papish prince, were reimbursed by a levy on the Catholic inhabitants where they lived. All Papish priests celebrating marriages contrary to 12 George II., cap. 3, were to be hanged.

The greater part of these incapacities are removed, though many of a very serious and oppressive nature and nature. But the grand misfortune is, that the spirit which these oppressive Laws engendered remains. The Protestant still looks up on the Catholic as a degraded being: The Catholic does not yet consider himself upon an equality with his former tyrant and taskmaster. That religious hatred which required all the prohibiting vigilance of the law for its restraint, has found in the law its strongest support; and the spirit which the law first exasperated and enkindled, continues to act long after the original stimulus is withdrawn. The law which prevented



Catholics from serving on Grand Juries is repealed; but Catholics are not called upon Grand Juries in the proportion in which they are entitled, by their rank and fortune. The Duke of Bedford did all he could to give them the benefit of those laws which are already passed in their favour. But power is seldom entrusted in this country to one of the Duke of Bedford's liberality; and every thing has fallen back in the hands of his successors into the antient division of the privileged and degraded castes. We do not mean to cast any reflexion upon the present Secretary for Ireland, whom we believe to be upon this subject a very liberal politician, and on all subjects an honourable and excellent man. The Government under which he serves allows him to indulge in a little harmless liberality; but it is perfectly understood that nothing is intended to be done for the Catholics; that no loaves and fishes will be lost by indulgence in Protestant insolence and tyranny; and, therefore, among the generality of Irish Protestants, insolence, tyranny, and exclusion continue to operate. However eligible the Catholic may be, he is not elected;—whatever barriers may be thrown down, he does not advance a step. He was first kept out by law; he is now kept out by opinion and habit. They have been so long in chains, that nobody believes they are capable of using their hands and feet.

It is not however the only or the worst misfortune of the Catholics, that the relaxations of the law are hitherto of little benefit to them: the law is not yet sufficiently relaxed. A Catholic, as every body knows, cannot be made sheriff; cannot be in Parliament; cannot be a director of the Irish Bank; cannot fill the great departments of the law, the army and the navy; is cut off from all the high objects of human ambition, and treated as a marked and degraded person.

The common admission now is, that the Catholics are to the Protestants in Ireland as about 4 to 1—of which Protestants, not more than *one half* belong to the Church of Ireland. This, then, is one of the most striking features in the state of Ireland. That the great mass of the population is completely subjugated and overawed by an handful of comparatively recent settlers,—in whom all the power and patronage of the country is vested,—who have been reluctantly compelled to desist from still greater abuses of authority,—and who look with trembling apprehension to the increasing liberality of the Parliament and the country towards these unfortunate persons, whom they have always looked upon as their property and their prey.

Whatever evils may result from these proportions between the oppressor and the oppressed—to whatever dangers a coun-

try so situated may be considered to be exposed—these evils and dangers are rapidly increasing in Ireland. The proportion of Catholics to Protestants is infinitely greater now than it was thirty years ago, and is becoming more and more favourable to the former. By a return made to the Irish House of Lords in 1792, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was not 2 to 1. It is now (as we have already observed) 4 to 1; and the causes which have thus altered the proportion in favour of the Catholics, are sufficiently obvious to any one acquainted with the state of Ireland. The Roman Catholic priest resides; his income entirely depends upon the number of his flock; and he must exert himself, or he starves. There is some chance of success, therefore, in *his* efforts to convert; but the Protestant clergyman, if he were equally eager, has little or no probability of persuading so much larger a proportion of the population to come over to his church. The Catholic clergyman belongs to a religion that has always been more desirous of gaining proselytes than the Protestant church; and he is animated by a sense of injury and a desire of revenge. Another reason for the disproportionate increase of Catholics is, that the Catholic will marry upon means which the Protestant considers as insufficient for marriage. A few potatoes and a shed of turf, are all that Luther has left for the Romanist; and, when the latter gets these, he instantly begins upon the great Irish manufacture of children. But a Protestant belongs to the sect that eats the fine flour, and leaves the bran to others:—he must have comforts, and he does not marry till he gets them. He would be ashamed if he were seen living as a Catholic lives. This is the principal reason why the Protestants who remain attached to their church do not increase so fast as the Catholics. But in common minds, daily scenes, the example of the majority, the power of imitation, decide their habits religious as well as civil. A Protestant labourer who works among Catholics, soon learns to think and act and talk as they do—he is not proof against the eternal panegyric which he hears of Father O'Leary. His Protestantism is rubbed away; and he goes at last, after some little resistance, to the chapel, where he sees every body else going.

These eight Catholics not only hate the ninth man, the Protestant of the Establishment, for the unjust privileges he enjoys—not only remember that the lands of their father were given to his father—but they find themselves forced to pay for the support of his religion. In the wretched state of poverty in which the lower orders of Irish are plunged, it is not without considerable effort that they can pay the

few shillings necessary for the support of their Catholic priest; and when this is effected, a tenth of the potatoes in the garden are to be set out for the support of a persuasion, the introduction of which into Ireland they consider as the great cause of their political inferiority, and all their manifold wretchedness. In England, a labourer can procure constant employment—or he can, at the worst, obtain relief from his parish. Whether tithe operates as a tax upon him, is known only to the political economist: if he does pay it, he does not know that he pays it; and the burthen of supporting the Clergy is at least kept out of his view. But, in Ireland, the only method in which a poor man lives, is by taking a small portion of land, in which he can grow potatoes: seven or eight months out of twelve, in many parts of Ireland, there is no constant employment of the poor: and the potatoe farm is all that shelters them from absolute famine. If the Pope were to come in person, and seize upon every tenth potatoe, the poor peasant would scarcely endure it: With what patience, then, can he see it tossed into the cart of the heretic Rector, who has a church without a congregation, and a revenue without duties?

We do not say whether these things are right or wrong—whether they want a remedy at all—or what remedy they want; but we paint them in those colours in which they appear to the eye of poverty and ignorance, without saying whether those colours are false or true: Nor is the case at all comparable to that of Dissenters paying tithe in England; which case is precisely the reverse of what happens in Ireland; for it is the contribution of a very small minority to the religion of a very large majority; and the numbers on either side make all the difference in the argument. To exasperate the poor Catholic still more, the rich graziers of the parish—or the Squire in his parish—pay no tithe at all for their grass land. Agistment tithe is abolished in Ireland; and the burthen of supporting two Churches seems to devolve upon the poorer Catholics, struggling with plough and spade in small scraps of dearly-rented land. Tithes seem to be collected in a more harsh manner than they are collected in England. The minute subdivisions of land in Ireland—the little connexion which the Protestant clergyman commonly has with the Catholic population of his parish, have made the introduction of tithe-precursors very general—sometimes as the agent of the clergyman—sometimes as the lessee or middle-man between the clergyman and the cultivator of the land: but, in either case,—practised, dexterous estimators of tithe. The English clergymen, in general, are far from exacting the whole of what is due to them, but sacrifice a little to the love of popula-

city, or to the dread of odium. A system of tithe-proctors established all over England (as it is in Ireland), would produce general disgust and alienation from the Established Church.

‘ During the administration of Lord Halifax,’ says Mr Hardy, in quoting the opinion of Lord Charlemont upon tithes paid by Catholics, ‘ Ireland was dangerously disturbed in its southern and northern regions. In the south principally, in the counties of Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, the White Boys now made their first appearance; those White Boys, who have ever since occasionally disturbed the public tranquillity, without any rational method having been as yet pursued to eradicate this disgraceful evil. When we consider, that the very same district has been for the long space of seven and twenty years liable to frequent returns of the same disorder into which it has continually relapsed, in spite of all the violent remedies from time to time administered by our political quacks, we cannot doubt but that some real, peculiar, and topical cause must exist; and yet, neither the removal, nor even the investigation of this cause, has ever once been seriously attempted. Laws of the most sanguinary and unconstitutional nature have been enacted: the country has been disgraced, and exasperated by frequent and bloody executions; and the subject, the perpetual resource of weak and cruel legislators, has groined under the magic de of extreme criminals: yet, while the cause is suffered to exist, the effects will ever follow. The amputation of limbs will never constitute a prudent measure, which must be sought in its source, and here remedied.’

‘ I wish,’ continues Mr Hardy, ‘ for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of the British character, that the gentlemen of that country would take this matter into their serious consideration. Let them only for a moment place themselves in the situation of the half-famished cater, surrounded by a wretched family, clamorous for food; and judge what his feelings must be, when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden exposed at harvest time to public sale; or, if he have given a promissory note for the payment of a certain sum of money, to compensate for such tithe when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring crouching round him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived, by the cows being driven to the pound, to be sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creations of fancy: the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland. Were one of them transferred to canvas by the hand of genius, and exhibited to English humanity, that heart must be callous indeed that could refuse its sympathy. I have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor, at the pound gate. I have heard with emotions which I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village as the cavalcade proceeded. I have witnessed the group pass the domain walls of the opulent grazier, whose numerous herds were cropping the

most luxuriant pastures, while he was secure from any demand for the tithe of their food, looking on with the most unfeeling indifference.'—*Ibid.* p. 486.

In Munster, where tithe of potatoes is exacted, risings against the system have constantly occurred during the last forty years. In Ulster, where no such tithe is required, these insurrections are unknown. The double church which Ireland supports, and that painful visible contribution towards it which the poor Irishman is compelled to make from his miserable pittance, is one great cause of those never-ending insurrections, burnings, murders and robberies, which have laid waste that ill-fated country for so many years. The unfortunate consequence of the civil disabilities, and the church payments under which the Catholics labour, is a rooted antipathy to this country. They hate the English Government from historical recollection, actual suffering, and disappointed hope; and till they are better treated, they will continue to hate it. At this moment, in a period of the most profound peace, there are twenty-five thousand of the best disciplined and best appointed troops in the world in Ireland, with bayonets fixed, presented arms, and in the attitude of present war: nor is there a man too much—nor would Ireland be tenable without them. When it was necessary last year (or thought necessary) to put down the children of Reform, we were forced to make a new levy of troops in this country—not a man could be spared from Ireland. The moment they had embarked, Peep-of-day Boys, Heart-of-Oak Boys, Twelve-o'Clock Boys, Heart-of-Flint Boys, and all the bloody boyhood of the Bog of Allen, would have proceeded to the antient work of riot, rapine, and disaffection. Ireland, in short, till her wrongs are redressed, and a more liberal policy is adopted towards her, will always be a cause of anxiety and suspicion to this country; and, in some moment of our weakness and depression, will forcibly extort what she would now receive with gratitude and exultation.

Ireland is situated close to another island of greater size, speaking the same language, very superior in civilization, and the seat of government. The consequence of this is the emigration of the richest and most powerful part of the community—a vast drain of wealth—and the absence of all that wholesome influence which the representatives of ancient families residing upon their estates, produce upon their tenantry and dependants. Can any man imagine that the scenes which have been acted in Ireland within these last twenty years, would have taken place, if such vast proprietors as the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Lansdown, Earl Fitzwilliam, and many other men of equal wealth, had been in the

constant habit of residing upon their Irish, as they are upon their English estates? Is it of no consequence to the order, and the civilization of a large district, whether the great mansion is inhabited by an insignificant, perhaps a mischievous, attorney, in the shape of agent, or whether the first and greatest men of the United Kingdoms, after the business of Parliament is over, come with their friends and families, to exercise hospitality, to spend large revenues, to diffuse information, and to improve manners? This evil is a very serious one to Ireland; and, as far as we see, incurable. For if the present large estates were, by the dilapidation of families, to be broken to pieces, and sold,—others equally great would, in the free circulation of property, speedily accumulate; and the moment any possessor arrived at a certain pitch of fortune, he would probably chuse to reside in the better country,—near the Parliament, or the Court.

This absence of great proprietors in Ireland, necessarily brings with it, or, if not necessarily, has actually brought with it, the employment of middlemen, which forms one other standing and regular Irish grievance. We are well aware of all that can be said in defence of middlemen; that they stand between the little farmer and the great proprietor, as the shop-keeper does between the manufacturer and consumer;—and, in fact, by their intervention, save time, and therefore expense. This may be true enough in the abstract; but the particular nature of land must be attended to. The object of the man who makes cloth, is to sell his cloth at the present market for as high a price as he can obtain. If that price is too high, it soon falls; but no injury is done to his machinery by the superior price he has enjoyed for a season—he is just as able to produce cloth with it, as if the profits he enjoyed had always been equally moderate: he has no fear, therefore, of the middleman, or of any species of moral machinery which may help to obtain for him the greatest present prices. The same would be the feeling of any one who let out a steam engine, or any other machine, for the purposes of manufacture; he would naturally take the highest price he could get; for he might either let his machine for a price proportionate to the work it did, or the repairs, estimable with the greatest precision, might be thrown upon the tenant;—in short, he could hardly ask any rent too high for his machine which a responsible person would give;—dilapidation would be so visible, and so calculable in such instances, that any secondary lease, or subletting, would be rather an increase of security than a source of alarm. Any evil from such a practice would be improbable, measureable, and reme-

diable. In land, on the contrary, the object is not to get the highest prices absolutely, but to get the highest prices which will not injure the machine. One tenant may offer and pay double the rent of another, and in a few years leave the land in a state which will effectually bar all future offers of tenancy. It is of no use to fill a lease full of clauses and covenants; a tenant who pays more than he ought to pay, or who pays even to the last farthing which he ought to pay, will rob the land, and injure the machine, in spite of all the attornies in England. He will rob it even if he means to remain upon it—driven on by present distress, and anxious to put off the day of defalcation and arrears. The damage is often difficult of detection; not easily calculated, not easily to be proved;—such for which juries (themselves perhaps farmers) will not willingly give sufficient compensation. And if this is true in England, it is much more strikingly true in Ireland, where it is extremely difficult to obtain verdicts for breaches of covenant in leases.

The only method then of guarding the machine from real injury, is by giving to the actual occupier such advantage in his contract, that he is unwilling to give it up;—that he has a real interest in retaining it, and is not driven by the distresses of the present moment to destroy the future productiveness of the soil. Any rent which the landlord accepts more than this, or any system by which more rent than this is obtained, is to borrow money upon the most usurious and profitable interest—to increase the revenue of the present day by the absolute ruin of the property. Such is the effect produced by a middleman:—he gives high prices that he may obtain higher from the occupier; more is paid by the actual occupier than is consistent with the safety and preservation of the machine; the land is run out, and, in the end, that maximum of rent we have described is not obtained; and not only is the property injured by such a system, but in Ireland the most shocking consequences ensue from it. There is little manufacture in Ireland; the price of labour is low, the demand for labour irregular. If a poor man is driven, by distress of rent, from his potato garden, he has no other resource—all is lost: he will do the impossible (as the French say) to retain it; subscribe any bond, and promise any rent. The middleman has no character to lose; and he knew, when he took up the occupation, that it was one with which pity had nothing to do. On he drives; and backward the poor peasant recedes, losing something at every step, till he comes to the very brink of despair; and then he recoils and murders his oppressor, and is a *White Boy* or a *Right Boy*:—the soldier shoots him, and the Judge hangs him.

In the debate which took place in the Irish House of Commons, upon the bill for preventing tumultuous meetings and assemblies, on the 31st of January 1787, the Attorney-General submitted to the House the following narrative of facts.

'The commencement,' said he, 'was in one or two parishes in the county of Kerry; and they proceeded thus. The people assembled in a Catholic Chapel, and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to starve the Clergy. They then proceeded to the next parishes, on the following Sunday, and there swore the people in the same manner; with this addition, that they (the people last sworn) should on the ensuing Sunday proceed to the Chapels of their next neighbouring parishes, and swear the inhabitants of those parishes in like manner. Proceeding in this manner, they very soon went through the province of Munster. The first object was, the *reformation of tithes*. They swore not to give more than a certain price per acre; not to assist, or allow them to be assisted, in drawing the tithe, and to permit *no proctor*. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of parish cesses; next to nominate parish clerks, and in some cases curates; to say what Church should or should not be repaired; and in one case to threaten that they would burn a new Church, if the old one were not given for a Mass house. At last, they proceeded to regulate the price of lands; to raise the price of labour; and to oppose the collection of the hearth money, and other taxes. Bodies of 5000 of them have been seen to march through the country unarmed, and if met by any Magistrate, they never offered the smallest rudeness or offence; on the contrary, they had allowed persons charged with crimes to be taken from amongst them by the Magistrate alone, unaided by any force.'

'The Attorney-General said, he was well acquainted with the province of Munster, and that it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the peasantry of that province. The unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords; that, far from being able to give the Clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves,—the landlord grasped the whole; and sorry was he to add, that, not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the Clergy of their tithes; not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the Clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents they already paid. The poor people of Munster lived in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed equal to bear.'—*Grattan's Speeches, Vol. I. 292.*

We are not, of course, in such a discussion, to be governed by names. A middleman might be tied up by the strongest legal restriction, as to the price he was to exact from the undertenants, and then he would be no more pernicious to the estate than a steward. A steward might be protected in exactions as severe as the most rapacious middleman; and then, of course,



it would be the same thing under another name. The practice to which we object, is, the too common method in Ireland of extorting the last farthing which the tenant is willing to give for land, rather than quit it; and the machinery by which such practice is carried into effect, is that of the middleman. It is not only that it ruins the land; it ruins the people also. They are made so poor—brought so near the ground—that they can sink no lower; and burst out at last into all the acts of desperation and revenge, for which Ireland is so notorious. Men who have money in their pockets, and find that they are improving in their circumstances, don't do these things. Opulence, or the hope of opulence or comfort, is the parent of decency, order, and submission to the laws. A landlord in Ireland understands the luxury of carriages and horses; but has no relish for the greater luxury of surrounding himself with a moral and grateful tenantry. The absent proprietor looks only to revenue, and cares nothing for the disorder and degradation of a country which he never means to visit. There are very honourable exceptions to this charge; but there are too many living instances that it is just. The rapacity of the Irish landlord induces him to allow of the extreme division of his lands. When the daughter marries, a little portion of the little farm is broken off—another corner for Patrick, and another for Dermot—till the land is broken into sections, upon one of which an English cow could not stand. Twenty mansions of misery are thus reared instead of one. A louder cry of oppression is lifted up to Heaven; and fresh enemies to the English name, and power, are multiplied on the earth. The Irish gentlemen, too, are extremely desirous of political influence, by multiplying freeholds and splitting votes; and this propensity tends of course to increase the miserable redundance of living beings, under which Ireland is groaning. Among the manifold wretchedness to which the poor Irish tenant is liable, we must not pass over the practice of driving for rent. A lets land to B, who lets it to C, who lets it again to D. D pays C his rent, and C pays B. But if B fails to pay A, the cattle of B, C, D are all driven to the pound, and, after the interval of a few days, sold by auction. A general driving of this kind very frequently leads to a bloody insurrection. It may be ranked among the classical grievances of Ireland.

Potatoes enter for a great deal into the present condition of Ireland. They are much cheaper than wheat; and it is so easy to rear a family upon them, that there is no check to population from the difficulty of procuring food. The population therefore goes on with a rapidity approaching almost to that of new countries, and in a much greater ratio than the improving

agriculture and manufactures of the country can find employment for it. All degrees of all nations begin with living in pigstyes. The king or the priest first gets out of them; then the noble, then the pauper, in proportion as each class becomes more and more opulent: Better tastes arise from better circumstances; and the luxury of one period is the wretchedness and poverty of another. English peasants, in the time of Henry the Seventh, were lodged as badly as Irish peasants now are; but the population was limited by the difficulty of procuring a corn subsistence. The improvements of this kingdom were more rapid; the price of labour rose; and, with it, the luxury and comfort of the peasant, who is now decently lodged and clothed, and who would think himself in the last stage of wretchedness, if he had nothing but an iron pot in a turf house, and plenty of potatoes in it. The use of the potatoe was introduced into Ireland when the wretched accommodation of her own peasantry bore some proportion to the state of those accommodations all over Europe. But they have increased their population so fast, and, in conjunction with the oppressive government of Ireland retarding improvement, have kept the price of labour so low, that the Irish poor have never been able to emerge from their mud cabins, or to acquire any taste for cleanliness and decency of appearance. Mr Curwen has the following description of Irish cottages.

‘ These mansions of miserable existence, for so they may truly be described, conformably to our general estimation of those indispensable comforts requisite to constitute the happiness of rational beings, are most commonly composed of two rooms on the ground floor, a most appropriate term, for they are literally on the earth; the surface of which is not unfrequently reduced a foot or more, to save the expense of so much outward walling. The one is a refectory, the other the dormitory. The furniture of the former, if the owner ranks in the upper part of the scale of scantiness, will consist of a kitchen dresser, well provided and highly decorated with crockery—not less apparently the pride of the husband, than the result of female vanity in the wife: which, with a table—a chest—a few stools—and an iron pot, complete the catalogue of conveniences generally found, as belonging to the cabin; while a spinning-wheel, furnished by the Linnen Board, and a loom, ornament vacant spaces, that otherwise would remain unfurnished. In fitting up the latter, which cannot, on any occasion, or by any display, add a feather to the weight or importance expected to be excited by the appearance of the former, the inventory is limited to one, and sometimes two beds, serving for the repose of the whole family! However downy these may be to limbs impatient for rest, their coverings appeared to be very slight; and the whole of the apartment created reflections of a very pain-

ful nature. Under such privations, with a wet mud floor, and a roof in tatters, how idle the search for comforts!—*Curwen*, I. 112, 113.

To this extract we shall add one more on the same subject.

‘The gigantic figure, bare-headed before me, had a beard that would not have disgraced an ancient Israelite—he was without shoes or stockings—and almost a *sans-culotte*—with a coat, or rather a jacket, that appeared as if the first blast of wind would tear it to tatters. Though his garb was thus tattered, he had a manly commanding countenance. I asked permission to see the inside of his cabin, to which I received his most courteous assent. On stooping to enter at the door I was stopped, and found that permission from another was necessary before I could be admitted. A pig, which was fastened to a stake driven into the floor, with length of rope sufficient to permit him the enjoyment of sun and air, demanded some courtesy, which I showed him, and was suffered to enter. The wife was engaged in boiling thread; and by her side, near the fire, a lovely infant was sleeping, without any covering, on a bare board. Whether the fire gave additional glow to the countenance of the babe, or that Nature impressed on its unconscious cheek a blush that the lot of man should be exposed to such privations, I will not decide; but if the cause be referrible to the latter, it was in perfect unison with my own feelings. Two or three other children crowded round the mother: on their rosy countenances health seemed established in spite of filth and ragged garments. The dress of the poor woman was barely sufficient to satisfy decency. Her countenance bore the impression of a set melancholy, tinged with an appearance of ill health. The hovel, which did not exceed twelve or fifteen feet in length, and ten in breadth, was half obscured by smoke—chimney or window I saw none; the door served the various purposes of an inlet to light, and the outlet to smoke. The furniture consisted of two stools, an iron pot, and a spinning-wheel—while a sack stuffed with straw, and a single blanket laid on planks, served as a bed for the repose of the whole family. Need I attempt to describe my sensations? The statement alone cannot fail of conveying, to a mind like yours, an adequate idea of them—I could not long remain a witness to this acmé of human misery. As I left the deplorable habitation, the mistress followed me to repeat her thanks for the trifle I had bestowed: ‘This gave me an opportunity of observing her person more particularly. She was a tall figure, her countenance composed of interesting features, and with every appearance of having once been handsome.

‘Unwilling to quit the village without first satisfying myself whether what I had seen was a solitary instance, or a sample of its general state; or whether the extremity of poverty I had just beheld had arisen from peculiar improvidence and want of management in one wretched family; I went into an adjoining habitation, where I found a poor old woman of eighty, whose miserable existence was

painfully continued by the maintenance of her granddaughter. Their condition, if possible, was more deplorable.'—*Curwen*, l. 181—183.

This wretchedness, of which all strangers who visit Ireland are so sensible, proceeds certainly, in great measure, from their accidental use of a food, so cheap, that it encourages population to an extraordinary degree, lowers the price of labour, and leaves the multitudes which it calls into existence almost destitute of every thing but food. Many more live, in consequence of the introduction of potatoes: but all live in greater wretchedness. In the progress of population, the potatoe must of course become at last as difficult to be procured as any other food; and then let the political economist calculate what the immensity and wretchedness of a people must be, where the farther progress of population is checked by the difficulty of procuring potatoes.

The consequence of the long mismanagement and oppression of Ireland, and of the singular circumstances in which it is placed, is, that it is a verubarbarous country:—more shame to those who have thus ill treated a fine country, and a fine people; but it is part of the present case of Ireland. The barbarism of Ireland is evinced by the frequency and ferocity of duels,—the hereditary clanish feuds of the common people,—and the fights to which they give birth,—the atrocious cruelties practised in the insurrections of the common people—and their proneness to insurrection. The lower Irish live in a state of greater wretchedness than any other people in Europe, notwithstanding so fine a soil and climate. It is difficult, often impossible, to execute the processes of law. In cases where gentlemen are concerned, it is often not even attempted. The conduct of under-sheriffs is often very corrupt. We are afraid the magistracy of Ireland is very inferior to that of this country; the spirit of jobbing and bribery is very widely diffused, and even occasions where the utmost purity prevails in the sister kingdom. Military force is necessary all over the country, and even for the most common and just operations of Government. The behaviour of the higher to the lower orders, is much less gentle and decent than in England. Blows from superiors to inferiors are more frequent, and the punishment for such a violation more doubtful. The word *gentleman* seems, in Ireland, to put an end to most processes of law. Arrests, attachments, and writs out a warrant against a gentleman—are modes of operation not very common in the administration of Irish justice. If a man strikes the meanest peasant in England, he is either knocked down in his turn, or soon hastily taken before a magistrate. It is impossible to live in Ireland, without perceiving the various

points in which it is inferior in civilization. Want of unity in feeling and interest among the people,—irritability, violence, and revenge,—want of comfort and cleanliness in the lower orders,—habitual disobedience to the law,—want of confidence in magistrates,—corruption, venality, the perpetual necessity of recurring to military force,—all carry back the observer to that remote and early condition of mankind, which an Englishman can learn only in the pages of the antiquary or the historian. We do not draw this picture for censure, but for truth. We admire the Irish,—feel the most sincere pity for the state of Ireland,—and think the conduct of the English to that country to have been a system of atrocious cruelty and contemptible meanness. With such a climate, such a soil, and such a people, the inferiority of Ireland to the rest of Europe is directly chargeable to the long wickedness of the English Government.

A direct consequence of the present uncivilized state of Ireland is, that very little English capital travels there. The man who deals in steam-engines, and warps and woods, is naturally alarmed by Peep-of-Day Boys, and nocturnal Carders; his object is to buy and sell as quickly and quietly as he can; and he will naturally bear high taxes and rivalry in England, or emigrate to any part of the Continent, or to America, rather than plunge into the tumult of Irish politics and passions. There is nothing which Ireland wants more than large manufacturing towns, to take off its superfluous population. But internal peace must come first, and then the arts of peace will follow. The foreign manufacturer will hardly think of embarking his capital, where he cannot be sure that his existence is safe. Another check to the manufacturing greatness of Ireland, is the scarcity—not of coal—but of good coal, cheaply raised; an article in which (in spite of papers in the Irish Transactions) they are lamentably inferior to the English.

Another consequence from some of the causes we have stated, is the extreme idleness of the Irish labourer. There is nothing of the value of which the Irish seem to have so little notion as that of time. They scratch, pick, dauble, stare, gape, and do any thing but strive and wrestle with the task before them. The most ludicrous of all human objects, is an Irishman ploughing. —A gigantic figure—a seven foot machine for turning potatoes into human nature, wrapt up in an immense great coat, and urging on two starved ponies, with dreadful imprecations, and uplifted shillala. The Irish crow discerns a coming perquisite, and is not inattentive to the proceedings of the steeds. The furrow which is to be the depository of the future crop, is not unlike, either in depth or regularity, to those domestic furrows.

which the nails of the meek and much-injured wife plough, in some family quarrel, upon the cheeks of the deservedly-punished husband. The weeds seem to fall contentedly, knowing that they have fulfilled their destiny, and left behind them, for the resurrection of the ensuing spring, an abundant and healthy progeny. The whole is a scene of idleness, laziness, and poverty, of which it is impossible, in this active and enterprising country, to form the most distant conception; but strongly indicative of habits, whether secondary or original, which will long present a powerful impediment to the improvement of Ireland.

The Irish character contributes something to retard the improvements of that country. The Irishman has many good qualities! He is brave, witty, generous, eloquent, hospitable, and open-hearted; but he is vain, ostentatious, extravagant, and fond of display—light in counsel—deficient in perseverance—without skill in private or public economy—an enjoyer, not an acquirer—one who despises the slow and patient virtues—who wants the superstructure without the foundation—the result without the previous operation—the oak without the acorn and the three hundred years of expectation. The Irish are irascible, prone to debt, and to fight, and very impatient of the restraints of law. Such a people are not likely to keep their eyes steadily upon the main chance, like the Scotch or the Dutch. England strove very hard, at one period, to compel the Scotch to pay a double Church;—but Sawney took his pen and ink; and finding what a sum it amounted to, became furious, and drew his sword. God forbid the Irishman should do the same; the remedy, now, would be worse than the disease: But if the oppressions of England had been more steadily resisted a century ago, Ireland would not have been the scene of poverty, misery, and distress which it now is.

The Catholic religion, among other causes, contributes to the backwardness and barbarism of Ireland. Its debasing superstition, childish ceremonies, and the profound submission to the priesthood which it teaches, all tend to darken men's minds, to impede the progress of knowledge and inquiry, and to prevent Ireland from becoming as free, as powerful, and as rich as the sister kingdom. Though sincere friends to Catholic emancipation, we are no advocates for the Catholic religion. We should be very glad to see a general conversion to Protestantism among the Irish; but we do not think that violence, privations, and incapacities, are the proper methods of making proselytes.

Such then is Ireland at this period,—a land more barbarous than the rest of Europe, because it has been worse treated and

more cruelly oppressed. Many of the incapacities and privations to which the Catholics were exposed, have been removed by law; but, in such instances, they are still incapacitated and deprived by custom. Many cruel and oppressive laws are still enforced against them. A ninth part of the population engrosses all the honours of the country; the other nine pay a tenth of the product of the earth for the support of a religion in which they do not believe. There is little capital in the country. The great and rich men are called by business, or allured by pleasure, into England; their estates are given up to factors, and the utmost farthing of rent extorted from the poor, who, if they give up the land, cannot get employment in manufactures, or regular employment in husbandry. The common people use a sort of food so very cheap, that they can rear families, who cannot procure employment, and who have little more of the comforts of life than food. The Irish are light-minded—want of employment has made them idle—they are irritable and brave—have a keen remembrance of the past wrongs they have suffered, and the present wrongs they are suffering from England. The consequence of all this is, eternal riot and insurrection, a whole army of soldiers in time of profound peace, and general rebellion whenever England is busy with other enemies, or off her guard! And thus it will be while the same causes continue to operate, for ages to come,—and worse and worse as the rapidly increasing population of the Catholics becomes more and more numerous.

The remedies are, time and justice; and that justice consists in repealing all laws which make any distinction between the two religions; in placing over the government of Ireland, not the stupid, amiable and insignificant Noblemen who have too often been sent there, but men who feel deeply the wrongs of Ireland, and who have an ardent wish to heal them; who will take care that Catholics, when eligible, shall be elected; who will share the patronage of Ireland proportionally among the two parties, and give to just and liberal laws the same vigour of execution which has hitherto been reserved only for decrees of tyranny, and the enactments of oppression. The injustice and hardship of supporting two churches must be put out of sight, if it cannot or ought not to be cured. The political economist, the moralist and the satirist, must combine to teach moderation and superintendence to the great Irish proprietors. Public talk and clamour may do something for the poor Irish, as it did for the slaves in the West Indies. Ireland will become more quiet under such treatment, and then more rich, more comfortable, and more civilized; and the hor-

rid spectacle of folly and tyranny, which it at present exhibits, may in time be removed from the eyes of Europe.

There are two eminent Irishmen now in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, who will subscribe to the justness of every syllable we have said upon this subject; and who have it in their power, by making it the condition of their remaining in office, to liberate their native country, and raise it to its just rank among the nations of the earth. Yet the Court buys them over, year after year, by the pomp and perquisites of office; and year after year, they come into the House of Commons, feeling deeply, and describing powerfully, the injuries of five millions of their countrymen,—and continue members of a Government that inflicts those evils, under the pitiful delusion that it is not a Cabinet Question,—as if the scratchings and quarrellings of Kings and Queens could alone cement politicians together in indissoluble unity, while the fate and fortune of one-third of the empire might be complimented away from one minister to another, without the smallest breach in their Cabinet alliance. Politicians, at least honest politicians, should be very flexible and accommodating in little things, very rigid and inflexible in great things. And is this not a great thing? Who has painted it in finer and more commanding eloquence than Mr Canning? Who has taken a more sensible and statesman-like view of our miserable and cruel policy, than Lord Castlereagh? You would think, to hear them, that the same planet could not contain them and the oppressors of their country,—perhaps not the same solar system. Yet for money, claret and patronage, they lend their countenance, assistance and friendship, to the Ministers who are the stern and inflexible enemies to the emancipation of Ireland!

Thank God that all is not profligacy and corruption in the history of that devoted people—and that the name of Irishman does not always carry with it the idea of the oppressor or the oppressed—the plunderer or the plundered—the tyrant or the slave. Great men hallow a whole people, and lift up all who live in their time. What Irishman does not feel proud that he has lived in the days of GRATTAN? who has not turned to him for comfort, from the false friends and open enemies of Ireland? who did not remember him in the days of its burnings and wastings and murders? No Government ever dismayed him—the world could not bribe him—he thought only of Ireland—lived for no other object—dedicated to her his beautiful fancy, his elegant wit, his manly courage, and all the splendour of his astonishing eloquence. He was so born, and



so gifted, that poetry, forensic skill, elegant literature, and all the highest attainments of human genius, were within his reach; but he thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free; and in that straight line he went on for fifty years, without one side-look, without one yielding thought, without one motive in his heart which he might not have laid open to the view of God and man. He is gone!—but there is not a single day of his honest life of which every good Irishman would not be more proud, than of the whole political existence of his countrymen,—the annual deserters and betrayers of their native land.

ART. III. *An Account of Experiments for determining the Variation in the Length of the Pendulum vibrating Seconds at the principal Stations of the Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain.* By Captain H. KATER, F.R.S. From Phil. Transactions. London, 1819. Part III.

IT is not long since we laid before our readers a detailed account of the experiments made by Captain Kater, with a view to determine the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds in the latitude of London. We have now to direct their attention to a more extended investigation of the same careful observer, by which he has ascertained the length of a Seconds Pendulum, at the principal stations of the great survey of this Island.

It may be recollected, that this inquiry originated in a bill submitted to Parliament, for the general regulation of Weights and Measures, and fortunately thrown out in the House of Lords. We say fortunately,—because those who most readily admit the expediency of adopting some uniform system, will naturally be the first to reject a plan so crude and so ill calculated to attain that desirable object. One good, however, resulted from the discussion; an address was presented to the Crown, praying that instructions might be given for determining the length of a Seconds Pendulum in the latitude of London, as compared with the standard made for the House of Commons in 1758, known by the name of Bird's Parliamentary Standard—for ascertaining the variations in the length of the Pendulum at the different stations, and for comparing the standard measures with the ten-millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian, the basis of linear measure in France. In order to carry this purpose into effect, a Committee was appointed by the Royal

Society; and Captain Kater, a Member of it, was desired to conduct the inquiry. The choice was amply justified by the success which attended his labours in the first branch of the operations; and still more decisive testimony is borne to the same point, by the satisfactory manner in which he has now brought the task to its close, attended as it was with great difficulty, and demanding the utmost patience which a mind, ardent in the pursuit of its object, could bestow upon the endless details essential to the attainment of perfect accuracy.

If in Captain Kater the inquiry found a most able conductor, in the Government it met with no less efficient supporters. Every aid was given him which the enterprise could possibly require. He had sloops of war at his orders, to convey his attendants and instruments; the use of barracks wherever they were to be found; and all the minor accommodations of waggons, non-commissioned officers, gunners, artillery horses and tents. With an establishment thus liberally provided, he left London on the 24th of June 1818, accompanied by Lieutenant Frank of the Royal Navy, and arrived at Unst, one of the Shetland islands, on the 9th of July. This was the most northern station of the Meridional Arc of the Trigonometrical Survey; and Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, the southernmost. The intermediate stations were Portsoy, lat.  $57^{\circ} 40'$ ; Leith Fort, lat.  $55^{\circ} 58'$ ; Clifton, lat.  $53^{\circ} 27'$ ; Arbury-hill, lat.  $52^{\circ} 12'$ ; and London, lat.  $51^{\circ} 31'$ . The latitudes of the extreme points, Unst and Dunnose, were  $60^{\circ} 45'$ , and  $50^{\circ} 37'$  respectively.

As the operations for determining the length of the pendulum were the same at each station, it will only be necessary to enter into the detail of the experiments made at any one of them; and we shall take for example the experiment made at Unst. But before proceeding to this abstract, we must express our regret that Captain Kater should have departed from the old received method of describing the various parts of his apparatus, by references with letters to the parts of the plates representing it. This is peculiarly requisite towards forming, speedily, a distinct idea of instruments which we are not in the habit of seeing; and it enables us to avoid erroneous notions, which a verbal description is apt to create. This defect is no doubt remedied in some degree by the plates annexed to Captain Kater's former paper in the Phil. Trans. for 1818: but they are useful only as a general reference; they present a handsome perspective of the apparatus, while the reader would prefer a more ordinary drawing, with specifick references to the several parts described in the text.

It may be remembered that the former experiments for the

latitude of London, were founded upon a very ingenious application of the well known property of oscillating bodies, namely, that the centres of oscillation and suspension are reciprocal. From hence it follows, that the time of oscillation is the same, whether the centre of suspension or of oscillation be taken; and, conversely, if any two points of suspension can be found in a pendulum, such, that the time of vibration is the same in both cases,—then one is the centre of oscillation, when the other is the centre of suspension; and thus, from the distance between the two, we ascertain the true length of the pendulum. In Captain K.'s convertible pendulum, one point of suspension being fixed, the other is placed as near as possible to the calculated centre of oscillation: any inequality in the vibration when it is suspended from different points, is regulated by shifting a moveable weight made to slide between the two centres; and as soon as the oscillations in the two opposite positions are accurately adjusted to one another, the weight is fixed in its place, and the pendulum is complete.

In extending the observations made in London to the other stations, very little alteration was made upon the apparatus described in the former paper, and in our thirtieth volume. The pendulum was of the same construction, and the other parts of the machinery were similar, excepting the frame to which the pendulum, with its support, was attached. This, in all the latter cases, was made of cast-iron, and furnished with a back pierced to receive very large screws, by which it might be firmly fixed to the wall of a building. For further security against any lateral motion, there were brackets below, so formed as to spread at the bottom to a distance of three feet. Every precaution was thus taken to render the point of suspension perfectly immoveable. The clock with which the pendulum was compared, was made by Arnold, and had a gridiron pendulum for the compensation of temperature. The other instruments with which Captain Kater was provided, were a box chronometer by Arnold, a transit by Dolland three feet and a half in length, and a repeating circle, of one foot diameter, by Troughton.

On his arrival at Unst, Captain Kater was received by Mr Edmonstone with an hospitality which supplied every thing that might be wanting in so remote a spot. The place which he chose for his experiments was the shell of a cottage adjoining to Mr Edmonstone's house: one wall of it being ancient, and upwards of three feet in thickness, seemed to have all the stability requisite for his purpose. It was the same, too, in which M. Biot had, the summer before, made his observations on the pendulum. Into this thick wall, strong oak wedges, a-

bove a foot in length, were driven; to these the projecting frame of cast-iron was fixed by the long screws mentioned above. Underneath this frame were fastened to the wall by long nails, two deal planks, two inches and a half in thickness, to which the clock-case was screwed, at such a distance below the frame, as to allow the end of the brass pendulum to reach a little below the clock pendulum. The bell-metal support was next put in its place on the frame; and, being properly levelled, the pendulum was carefully lowered until the knife edges rested on the agate planes. The stand for the telescope was then fixed to the floor at about eight feet and a half from the front of the clock, and the telescope so adjusted, that the centre of the object glass might be in the line joining the white disk and the extremity of the pendulum. The diaphragm was finally brought to correspond with the edges of the pendulum; and the divided arc for indicating the extent of the vibrations, was placed so, that its zero coincided with the extremity of the pendulum.

The Transit instrument was placed on a large stone laid in a box nearly filled with sand, and adjusted so as to be *nearly* in the meridian, this being sufficient in finding the *intervals* of time between the transits of the same star. The weather was unfavourable for observations during the first part of Captain Kater's stay in Unst; and it was not till the 22d of July that he began to observe the transits of a few stars. In observing the time of the transits, the chronometer was used, and found to be very convenient from beating half seconds. A comparison of this with the clock (applying a correction for the gain or loss of the clock during the interval between the observation and the comparison) gave the time shown by the clock at the instant of the transit. From observations of the transits of the sun and of six fixed stars, the rates of the clock for several intervals were obtained, by dividing the difference between the times of the transits of each star by the interval in days; and subtracting this from  $3^{\circ} 55''.91$  (the acceleration of the fixed stars in 24 hours.) This gives the rate of the clock for a sidereal day; while to obtain the rate for a solar day, the gain of the clock in four minutes, namely,  $0''.14$  must be added.

On the 23d of July, Captain Kater began to observe the coincidences of the two pendulums; and he found, between the 22d and 28th, from two series of experiments, each of ten intervals, taken on each day, that the mean number of vibrations in 24 hours amounted to 86090.74, the temperature being corrected for  $62^{\circ}$ , while the clock made in the same time 86450.63 vibrations. The number of vibrations for each day of the intervals, was deduced from the rate of the clock, gaining  $50''.63$

during the observed interval; consequently, for any other lesser interval and rate, the mean of the vibrations during such interval is taken, and to this is added the difference between the corresponding rate and  $50''.63$ , which corrected is positive or negative, according as the rate of the clock has diminished or increased. Proceeding in this way, results were obtained for seven different intervals, the greatest of which was from the 22d to the 28th of July—the least from the 26th to the 28th. In four of these intervals, the rate of the clock was deduced from observations upon stars; and in the other three, from observations upon the sun. But before employing those seven results to obtain a mean, it is necessary to attend to the errors which are likely to accompany each. In observations on the stars, the chief source of error will arise from the position of the transit instrument with respect to the meridian mark, a flat board fixed in the ground at a distance from the transit, and so adjusted, that when the middle wire of the transit bisected it, the instrument was nearly in the meridian. This board was erected for the convenience of more readily placing the transit in the same position previously to every observation; and so much depended on the accuracy of the position, and on the levelling of the instrument's axis, that a deviation only equal to the diameter of the silk-worm's thread in the focus of the eye-glass, was found to occasion an error, in the time of transit, amounting to three-tenths of a second. The greater the number of days between the two transits, the less will this error affect the daily rate of the clock; because the whole amount of the error is divided by the number of days which compose the interval between the two transits. The accuracy also in a great measure depends on the number of stars observed. It thus appears, that a correct mean will be obtained by multiplying the result for each interval by the product of the number of stars into the interval, and then dividing the sum of the final products by the sum of the factors. In this way the ultimate mean obtained was 86090.77 vibrations in 24 hours, by observations of the stars; and in like manner, by observations of the sun, considering the transits of both limbs as equal to the transits of two stars, we find the vibrations amount to 86090.79. Now in the case of the stars, the sum of the multipliers is 50; in that of the sun, 16; and as the accuracy of the results is in the ratio of those sums, that is, as 8 to 1 nearly, we are entitled to take the final mean equal to 86090.77 vibrations in a mean solar day.

The next correction to be applied, is the allowance for the height of the station above the level of the sea. This is readily

obtained from the consideration that the force of gravity varies inversely as the squares of the distance from the Earth's centre; and this force is represented by the square of the number of vibrations of the pendulum. Therefore, if we divide the height of the station by the radius of the Earth, and multiply the number of vibrations in 24 hours by the quotient, the correction will be obtained. Now, in a valuable paper published by Dr Young in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1819, Part I., upon the density of the Earth as affecting the reduction of experiments on the pendulum, some conjectures are hazarded as to the effect which may be produced by the attraction of the elevated part that lies between the general surface and the place of observation; and as to the allowance to be made for this, in reducing an elevated place of observation to the level of the sea, the meaning of which appears to be merely this, that if we make an observation upon the motion of a pendulum at the height of 100 feet, for example, above the level of the sea, then, in order to bring our observation to the level of the sea, not only is a correction necessary for the elevation of 100 feet, at which the observation was actually made, but a further correction is required, to compensate the attraction produced by the matter accumulated between the level of the sea and the higher position. Putting for the present out of view the accuracy of Dr Young's estimate of the probable amount of this equation, we may observe that Captain Kater seems to have mistaken the import of Dr Y.'s statement, when he uses this correction for the attraction of matter *surrounding* the elevated situation. That statement applies only to the attraction of the 'elevated part interposed between the general surface and the place of observation,' (*Phil. Trans.* 1819, *Pt. I.* p. 93), nothing being said of lateral attraction caused by surrounding matter. But Captain Kater applies the correction for the error produced by hills lying round the point of observation; and says, 'the height of the station at Unst was found to be 28 feet above low water; whence we have 0.12 for the correction, as deduced from the squares of the distances from the Earth's centre; and as the station at Unst was surrounded by hills composed of serpentine, I shall take  $0.12 \times \frac{1}{2} = 0.06$  for the correction to be applied in order to obtain the number of vibrations which would be made at the level of the sea.' (*Phil. Trans.* 1819. *Pt. III.* p. 354.) It may be said, that the smallness of the quantity makes it immaterial; but in this investigation, extreme accuracy is the only object, and no quantity, however minute, can be disregarded. But suppose Captain Kater's application of the correction was according to Dr Young's true meaning, which we conceive

a reference to his own words has disproved, still we think the amount of the correction, as given by that author, should have been adopted with caution in an inquiry like the present, both because the method of arriving at it is somewhat too conjectural, and also because, admitting its general accuracy, we can hardly allow it to be the precise equation for Captain Kater's case. 'It is obvious,' says Dr Young, 'that if we were raised on a sphere of earth a mile in diameter, its attraction would be about  $\frac{1}{8000}$  of that of the whole globe, and instead of a reduction of  $\frac{1}{8000}$  in the force of gravity, we should obtain only  $\frac{1}{8000}$ , or three-fourths as much; nor is it at all probable, that the attraction of any hill a mile in height would be so little as this, even supposing its density to be only two-thirds of the medium density of the Earth; that of a hemispherical hill would be more than half as much more, and in the proportion of 1.586 to 1; and it may easily be shown, that the attraction of a large tract of table land, considered as an extensive flat surface a mile in thickness, would be three times as great as that of a sphere a mile in diameter, or about twice as great as that of such a sphere of the mean density of the Earth; so that, for a plane so situated, the allowance for elevation would be reduced to one-half; and in almost any country chosen for the experiment, it must remain less than three-fourths of the whole correction, deduced immediately from the duplicate proportion of the distance from the Earth's centre. Supposing the mean density of the Earth 5.5, and that of the surface 2.5 only, the correction for a tract of table land of a mile in thickness, will of course be reduced to  $1 - \frac{3}{4} \cdot \frac{2.5}{5.5} = \frac{66}{100}$  of the whole.'

(*Phil. Trans.* 1819, p. 93.) If then  $\frac{66}{100}$  be the correction for an elevation of one mile, on the supposition of its being filled by a solid ring of earth, we cannot perceive the grounds on which Captain Kater takes  $\frac{1}{2}$ , only a little less than  $\frac{66}{100}$ , for the correction applicable to an elevation of 28 feet in the actual state of the superficial inequalities. We may have overlooked some step in his reasoning, or in Dr Young's, but we feel bound to state our difficulty as it occurs.

One other equation of error remains, and that is for the buoyancy of the Atmosphere. The specific gravity of the pendulum was taken at 8.610: and it was found to be, at the time of making the experiments, to the specific gravity of the Air, as 7.099 to 1. This ratio expresses the diminution of the force of gravity arising from the buoyancy of the atmosphere; but the force of gravity varies directly as the length of the pendulum, or inversely as the square of the number of vibrations. Hence, if the square of the number of vibrations in 24 hours be increased in the ratio of 7.099 to 1, that is, if 6.07 be added to the number of vibrations, the number *in vacuo* in the same time will

be obtained. We have already stated the mean number of vibrations to be 86090.77, as determined by observations of the coincidences of the clock and pendulum: We have, therefore, 86096.84 for the number made by the pendulum in a mean solar day *in vacuo*; to which must be added the correction for elevation above the level of the sea, or 0.12. Captain Kater deducts from this 0.06, to allow for attraction. We have given our reasons for holding this to be too large an allowance, and we should think 0.12 sufficiently near the truth, without any allowance, for so small a height as 28 feet. According to Captain Kater, however, the corrected number of vibrations *in vacuo*, and at the level of the sea, is 86096.90.

On the 29th July, having finished his experiments at Unst, Captain K. proceeded to Portsoy, the next station of the Survey, where he arrived on the 1st of August. By a process of precisely the same kind with the former, he ascertained the number of vibrations there to be 86086.01 *in vacuo* and at the  $\bar{\ell}$  of the sea. The following Table exhibits the results of his observations at all the stations, the experiments being the same at each. They were concluded at the Isle of Wight on the 16th of May 1819.

Place of Observation.	Latitude.	Vibrations in a mean solar day.	Length of the Pendulum vibrating Seconds, in parts of Sir G. Shuckburgh's scale.
Unst - -	60° 45' 28".01	86096.90	39.17146 inches.
Portsoy - -	57 40 58 .65	86086.05	39.16159
Leith Fort - -	55 58 40 .80	86079.40	39.15554
Clifton - -	53 27 43 .12	86068.90	39 14600
Arbury Hill - -	52 12 55 .32	86065.05	39.14250
London - -	51 31 8 .40	86061.52	39.13929
Shanklin Farm -	50 37 23 .94	86058.07	39.13614

The instrument used in determining the latitudes of these stations, was the repeating circle of one foot diameter, made by Troughton; and we cannot omit recording the close agreement which appears between those observations and the latitudes as determined by Colonel Mudge with the zenith sector in the Trigonometrical Survey. This is, in justice, due to the accuracy of that skilful observer; because in a paper of Don Joseph Rodriguez, in Phil. Trans. for 1812, some doubts were expressed upon the subject. In the measurement of an arc of the meridian extending nearly three degrees, from Clifton in



Yorkshire to Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, a remarkable anomaly appeared, for which it was very difficult to account;—the degrees, instead of *increasing* with the latitude, seemed, if the measurement could be trusted, to *decrease*. Thus, for latitude  $51^{\circ} 2' 54''$ , a degree in fathoms, as given by Colonel Mudge (*Phil. Trans.* 1803), was 60884; for lat.  $52^{\circ} 2' 20''$  it was 60820; and for lat.  $52^{\circ} 50' 30''$  it was 60766. Hence we should be led to suppose that the Earth, instead of being flattened at the Poles, is more elevated there than at the Equator, contrary to the received notions of its figure. The apparent variance between these results and the results obtained by the National Institute, led Don J. Rodriguez to examine the matter, in order to reconcile the difference and to detect the error which he concluded must exist in the English observations; and, without adverting more particularly to his measurements and calculations, we may state that he ascribes the appearance of progressive augmentation in the degrees, to error in Colonel Mudge's observed latitudes. (*Phil. Trans.* for 1812, p. 336.) Bearing this in mind, Captain Kater prepared to ascertain the latitudes at the stations in question with all the exactness possible. The corrections for precession, &c. were those used at Greenwich Observatory; and the mean polar distance of the Pole Star, was taken from the latest observations of the Astronomer Royal. The mean of five series of observations, made between the 3d and 12th of October, gave the latitude of Clifton Beacon  $53^{\circ} 27' 29''.89$ . The observed arc between Greenwich and Clifton Beacon, as given by Colonel Mudge, was  $1^{\circ} 58' 51''.59$ . Add this to the latitude of Greenwich,  $51^{\circ} 28' 38''.01$ , and we have for the latitude of Clifton Beacon,  $53^{\circ} 27' 29''.6$ , differing only by  $0''.29$  in defect from that obtained by the repeating circle. Again, at Arbury Hill, the mean of three series of observations, made on the 18th, 22d, and 26th of October, gave the latitude equal to  $52^{\circ} 13' 25''.72$ . The observed arc between Greenwich and Arbury Hill was  $0^{\circ} 44' 48''.19$ , which therefore gives  $52^{\circ} 13' 26''.20$  for the latitude by the Trigonometrical Survey; differing only  $0''.48$  in excess from the latitude obtained by the repeating circle. Lastly, the latitude of Dunnose was found by the repeating circle to be  $50^{\circ} 37' 5''.27$ , and by the zenith sector,  $50^{\circ} 37' 6''.61$ ; the difference being  $1''.34$  in excess. It is very probable that this difference, small as it is, arose from Captain Kater being compelled, by the nature of the ground, to take a station at some distance from that used in the Survey. He chose Shanklin Farm instead of Dunnose; and the ground was so unfavourable for measuring a base, that there was great difficulty in connecting the two points. We are the better en-

titled to ascribe the discrepancy in this case to the circumstance now mentioned, because the difference was so very minute in the other stations where the points of observation coincided. That these latitudes, then, are as correct as *observed* latitudes can be, we may safely assume; but it is possible that they may differ from the *true* latitudes of the several stations. If this difference can be accounted for, the anomaly above alluded to will be satisfactorily explained.

The diminution of the force of gravitation from the Poles to the Equator, may be found by the difference of the lengths of pendulums oscillating in equal times at the Poles and at the Equator; or by the ratio of the squares of the number of vibrations in 24 hours, observed in different latitudes, with the same pendulum. The diminution indicated by the decrease observed to take place in the number of vibrations between any two given latitudes, must be the same, from whatever portions of the meridian it is computed, unless it be affected by some irregular attraction. But it is found from observations at Unst, and each of the other stations in succession, that the diminution deduced from the arc between Unst and Portsoy, is less than that obtained from the arc between Unst and Leith; the number expressing the diminution being .0053639 in the former case, and .005480 in the latter. When Unst and Clifton are the two latitudes, the diminution is .0056340; Unst and Arbury Hill give .0054282, denoting an increase of gravitation; Unst and London give .0055510; and a still further decrease appears from comparing the observations at Unst and Dunnose, the diminution thus obtained being .0055262. Again, Portsoy and Dunnose give .0055920, being a greater diminution than the last mentioned. Clifton and Dunnose make it only .0052616, which is smaller; while Arbury Hill and Dunnose give .0060212, which is greater than any of the preceding.

From these statements we gather, that in advancing towards the Equator, the decrease of gravity is greater than it ought to be by the theory; and also, that at some of the stations, the action of a disturbing force, proceeding probably from the greater density of the materials in the neighbourhood, has produced an irregularity in the diminution of gravity. The sudden increase perceptible at Arbury Hill deserves particular attention. It should also be observed, that the action of this disturbing force does not extend far; for, by the experiments at London and Dunnose, the number expressing diminution is reduced to .0052837. We may thence infer, that there exists very near Arbury Hill a mass of matter of considerable density. Captain Kater conjectures that this mass is Mount Sorrel, which consists of gra-

nite; and other rocks of primitive formation are situated in its vicinity. Be this as it may, the disturbance must arise from some such masses; and they must be situated to the north of Arbury Hill, because we have seen that, at a very small distance in a southerly direction, the force ceases to act. Another effect of these disturbing forces will be to attract the plumb-line northward: in which case the *observed* latitude will be less than the *true*; consequently the length of the degree computed from the arc between Arbury Hill and Dunnose will exceed, and that deduced from the arc between Clifton and Arbury Hill, will fall short of the true latitudes. This difference between the real and apparent latitudes, sufficiently accounts for the variance which seemed to exist between the lengths of the degrees and the latitudes, in the statements of the Trigonometrical Survey.

We have extended this account of Captain Kater's paper so far, that we have left no room for any additional remarks. The Appendix to his Report contains all the observations from which the results were derived which we have now analyzed. These observations are arranged in distinct Tables, according to the different places of observation. To persons who may be engaged in similar inquiries, they cannot fail to be of the greatest use; while they are the best vouchers of that extreme accuracy which gives to the author's own conclusions the whole value that belongs to such investigations. This is not to be attained, indeed, without the greatest labour and perseverance: But we should be infinitely mistaken in supposing that very great ingenuity is not also required, both in planning the operations, and conducting their details.

ART. IV. *Poems.* By BERNARD BARTON. 8vo. pp. 280.  
London, 1820.

THOUGH there is much that is pleasing in this little volume, the thing that has pleased us most about it, is to learn that it is the work of a Quaker;—and that, not merely because a Quaker poet is a natural curiosity, but because it is gratifying to find that the most tolerant and philanthropic and blameless of all our sectaries, are beginning to recommend themselves by the graces of elegant literature, and to think it lawful to be distinguished for their successful cultivation of letters as well as of Science. The interdiction of all light and frivolous amusements, and of all those pastimes which merely dissipate the mind, and distract the affections, ought never to have been con-

strued as extending to that pursuit which not only implies the most vigorous exercise of the intellectual faculties, but may be truly defined to be the art of recommending moral truth, and making virtue attractive. Poetry has been commonly supposed, indeed, to aim more at the gratification than the instruction of its votaries, and to have for its end rather delight than improvement; but it has not, we think, been sufficiently considered, that its power of delighting is founded chiefly on its moral energies, and that the highest interest it excites has always rested on the representation of noble sentiments and amiable affections, or on delineating pictures of the agonies arising from ungoverned passions. The gifts of imagination may no doubt be abused and misapplied, like other gifts; but their legitimate application is not, for this, less laudable or blameless;—and much of the finest poetry in our language may unquestionably be read by the most rigid moralist, not only with safety, but advantage.

To a Quaker poet, it is perhaps true that the principles or prejudices of his sect would oppose some restraints, from which other adventurers are free; and that the whole range of Parnassus could not be considered as quite open to his excursions—some of its loftiest, as well as some of its gayest recesses, being interdicted to his muse. The sober-mindedness which it is the great distinction and aim of the Society to inculcate and maintain, will scarcely permit him to deal very freely with the stronger passions: and the mere play of lively and sportive imagination, the whole department of witty and comic invention, would, we suspect, be looked upon as equally heterodox and suspicious. They have no reason, however, to complain of the scantiness of what remains at their disposal;—all the solemnity, warmth, and sublimity of devotion—all the weight and sanctity of moral precept—all that is tender in sorrow—all that is gentle in affection—all that is elegant and touching in description, is as open to them as to poets of any other persuasion; and may certainly afford scope for the most varied as well as the most exalted Song. When employed upon such themes, and consecrated to such objects, it is impossible, we should think, for the most austere sectary, to consider poetry as a vain or unprofitable occupation, or to deem amiss of an attempt to recommend the purest sentiments, and enforce the noblest practice, by all the beauty of diction, and all the attractions of style. The Society was for a good while confined to the lower classes, and when it first became numerous and respectable, the revolting corruptions of poetry which took place after the Restoration, afforded but too good an apology for the prejudices which were conceived against it; and as the Quakers are pe-

cularly tenacious of all the maxims that have been handed down from the patriarchal times of their institution, it is easy to understand how this prejudice should have outlived the causes that produced it. It should not however be forgotten, that W. Penn amused himself with verses, and that Elwood the Quaker is remembered as the friend and admirer of Milton, and the man to whose suggestion the world is indebted for the *Paradise Regained*. In later times, we only remember Mr Scott of AIMWELL as a poetical writer of the Society.

The volume before us has all the purity, the piety and gentleness, of the Sect to which its author belongs—with something too much perhaps of their sobriety. The style is rather diffuse and wordy, though generally graceful, flowing, and easy; and though it cannot be said to contain many bright thoughts or original images, it is recommended throughout by a truth of feeling and an unstudied earnestness of manner, that wins both upon the heart and the attention. In these qualities, as well as in the copiousness of the diction and the facility of the versification, it frequently reminds us of the smaller pieces of Cowper,—the author, like that eminent and most amiable writer, never disdaining ordinary words and sentiments when they come in his way, and combining, with his most solemn and contemplative strains, a certain air of homeliness and simplicity, which seems to show that the matter was more in his thoughts than the manner, and that the glory of fine writing was less considered than the clear and complete expression of the sentiments, for the sake of which alone he was induced to become a writer.—Though the volume contains sixty or seventy different pieces, and almost every variety of versification, there is something of uniformity in the strain and tenor of the poetry. There is no story, and of course no incident, nor any characters shown in action. The staple of the whole is description and meditation—description of quiet, home scenery, sweetly and feelingly wrought out—and meditation overshadowed with tenderness, and exalted by devotion—but all terminating in soothing and even cheerful views of the condition and prospects of mortality. The book, in short, is evidently the work of a man of a fine and cultivated, rather than of a bold and original mind—of a man who prefers following out the suggestions of his own mild and contemplative spirit, to counterfeiting the raptures of more vehement natures, and thinks it better to work up the genuine though less splendid materials of his actual experience and observation, than to distract himself and his readers with more ambitious and less manageable imaginations. His thoughts and reflections, accordingly, have not only the merit of truth and consistency, but bear

the distinct impress of individual character—and of a character with which no reader can thus become acquainted without loving and wishing to share in its virtues.

We open the volume almost at random for a few specimens. The first piece consists of 'Verses written in a Quaker Burial-ground;' and contains, among other things, this justification of their disallowance of sepulchral monuments.

' Could we conceive Death was indeed the close  
Of our existence, Nature might demand  
That, where the reliques of our friends repose,  
Some record to their memory should stand,  
To keep them unforgotten in the land :—  
Then, then indeed, urn, tomb, or marble bust,  
By sculptor's art elaborately plann'd,  
Would seem a debt due to their mouldering dust,  
Though time would soon efface the perishable trust.

But hoping, and believing ; yea, through Faith,  
Knowing, because His word has told us so,  
That Christ, our Captain, triumph'd over Death,  
And is the first fruits of the dead below ;—  
That he has trod for man this path of woe,  
Dying—to rise again !—we would not grace  
Death's transitory spell with trophied show ;  
As if that " shadowy vale " supply'd no trace  
To prove the grave is not our final dwelling-place.'

Then, be our burial-grounds, as should become  
A simple, but a not unfeeling race :  
Let them appear, to outward semblance, dumb  
As best befits the quiet dwelling-place  
Appointed for the prisoners of Grace,  
Who wait the promise by the Gospel given,—  
When the last trump shall sound,—the trembling base  
Of tombs, of temples, pyramids be riven,  
And all the dead arise before the hosts of Heaven !

Oh ! in that awful hour, of what avail  
Unto the " spiritual body " will be found  
The costliest canopy, or proudest tale  
Recorded on it ?—what avail the bound  
Of holy, or unconsecrated ground ?

As freely will the unencumber'd sod  
Be left asunder at that trumpet's sound,  
As Royalty's magnificent abode :  
As pure its inmate rise, and stand before his God.' pp. 2—8.

The following extract from Verses on the Death of a Youth great promise, will remind the admirers of Cowper of some of that author's smaller pieces.

' We had hopes it was pleasure to nourish,  
 (Then how shall our sorrow be mute?)  
 That those bright buds of genius would flourish,  
 And burst into blossoms and fruit.  
 But our hopes and our prospects are shaded,  
 For the plant which inspir'd them hath shed  
 Its foliage. all green and unfaded,  
 Ere the beauty of spring-time hath fled,  
 Like foam on the crest of the billow,  
 Which sparkles, and sinks from the sight;  
 Like leaf of the wind-shaken willow,  
 Though transiently, beautifully bright;—  
 Like dew-drops, exhal'd as they glisten;  
 Like perfume, which dies soon as shed;  
 Like melody, hush'd while we listen;—  
 Is Memory's dream of the dead.' p. 70.

The following, inscribed 'To the Memory of Mary Fletcher,' are nearly of the same character.

' Enthusiast, fanatic, and fool,  
 Many who read thy life will style thee;  
 And others, more sedate and cool,  
 Will pity, who dare not revile thee.  
 For me, I feel, on laying down  
 The volume, neither power nor will  
 To ape the critic's frigid frown:  
 To flatter thee were idler still.  
 While living, praise of man to thee  
 Was nothing: o'er thy mouldering earth,  
 Its empty echo now would be  
 But mockery of thy Christian worth!  
 Yet there are those, with whom the test  
 Of truth is not the Gospel creed;  
 To whom thy life will be a jest,  
 Thy path—a parable indeed!  
 And these, perchance, to show their wit,  
 Will heap thy name with obloquy;  
 And o'er thy hallow'd pages sit,  
 "Drest up in brief authority."  
 To thee it matters not; but those  
 Who honour and revere thy name,  
 May be allow'd to interpose,  
 And vindicate thy well-earn'd fame.  
 Not for thy sake alone, but theirs  
 Who tread the path which thou hast trod, &c. pp. 76-77

And the same model may be traced in the following lines to Bonaparte in his island prison.

' Far from the battle's shock,  
Fate hath fast bound thee ;  
Chain'd to the rugged rock,  
Waves warring round thee.  
Instead of the trumpeter's sound,  
Sea-birds are shrieking ;  
Hoarse on thy rampart's bound,  
Billows are breaking.  
For ensigns unfurling,  
Like sunbeams in brightness ;  
Are crested waves curling,  
Like snow-wreaths in whiteness.  
No sycophants mock thee  
With dreams of dominion ;  
But rude tempests rock thee,  
And ruffle thy pinion.' pp. 122, 123.

This stanza shows, that the author's dislike to tombstones is not altogether insuperable.

' Onward the queen of night advances : slow  
Through fleecy clouds with majesty she wheels :  
Yon tower's indented outline, tombstones low,  
And mossy grey, her silver light reveals :  
Now quivering through the lime-trees' foliage steals ;  
And now each humble, narrow, nameless bed,  
Whose grassy hillock not in vain appeals  
To eyes that pass by epitaphs unread,  
Rise to the view. How still the dwelling of the dead !' p. 88

And the same image is brought still more prominently forward in the following.

' How lonely and lovely their resting-place seem'd !  
An enclosure which care could not enter :  
And how sweetly the grey lights of evening gleam'd,  
On the solitary tomb in its centre !

When at morn, or at eve, I have wander'd near,  
And in various lights have view'd it,  
With what differing forms, unto friendship dear,  
Has the magic of fancy endued it !

Sometimes it has seem'd like a lonely sail,  
A white spot on the emerald billow ;  
Sometimes like a lamb, in a low grassy vale,  
Stretch'd in peace on its verdant pillow.

But no trace of gloom, or of care, or strife,  
Has it ever given birth to one minute ;



For lamented in death, as beloved in life;

Was he, who now slumbers within it.

He was one who in youth on the stormy seas

Was a far and a fearless ranger ;

Who, borne on the billow, and blown by the breeze,

Counted lightly of death or of danger.

Yet in this rude school had his heart still kept

All the freshness of gentlest feeling ;

Nor in woman's warm eye has a tear ever slept

More of softness and kindness revealing." pp. 230, 231.

The following is in a more gay and discursive vein; and affords a pleasing view of the literary recreations which are now permitted to those self-denying sectaries.

' To be by taste's and fashion's laws

The favourite of this fickle day ;

To win the drawing-room's applause,

To strike, to startle, to display,

And give effect, would seem the aim

Of most who bear the Poet's name.

For this, one idol of the hour,

Brilliant and sparkling as the beams

Of the glad sun, culls every flower,

And scatters round dews, gems, and streams,

Until the wearied, aching sight,

Is " blasted with excess of light."

Another leads his readers on

With scenery, narrative, and tales

Of legends wild, and battles won—

Of craggy rocks, and verdant vales ;

Till, always on amazement's brink,

We find we have no time to think.

And last, not least, a master-mind,

Around whose proud and haughty brow,

Had he but chosen, might have twin'd

The muses' brightest, greenest bough,

Who, would he his own victor be,

Might seize on immortality.

He too, forsooth, with morbid vein,

Must fling a glorious fame away ;

Instruction and delight disdain,

And make us own, yet loathe his sway :

From Helicon he might have quaff'd,

Yet turn'd to Acheron's deadly draught.

O shame and glory of our age !

With talents such as scarcely met

In bard before : thy magic page

Who can peruse without regret ?

Or think, with cold, unpitied mien,  
Of what thou art, and *mightst have been*?' pp. 107-109.

What follows has rather more of the ardour and tenderness of love, than we had supposed tolerated in the Society of Friends.

'I did not forget how with THEE I had paced  
On the shore I now trod, and how pleasant it seem'd ;  
How my eye then sought thine, and how gladly it traced  
Every glance of affection which mildly it beam'd.

The *beginning* and *end* of our loves were before me ;  
And both touch'd a chord of the tenderest tone ;  
For thy SPIRIT, then near, shed its influence o'er me,  
And told me that still THOU wert truly my own.

Yes, I thought at the moment, (how dear was the thought !)  
That there still was a union which death could not break ;  
And if with some sorrow the feeling was fraught,  
Yet even that sorrow was sweet for *thy* sake.

Thus musing on thee, every object around  
Seem'd to borrow thy sweetness to make itself dear ;  
Each murmuring wave reach'd the shore with a sound  
As soft as the tone of *thy* voice to my ear.

The lights and the shades on the surface of ocean,  
Seem'd to give back the glimpses of feeling and grace,  
Which once so expressively told each emotion  
Of thy innocent heart as I gaz'd on thy face.

And, when I look'd up to the beautiful sky,  
So cloudless and calm ; oh ! it harmoniz'd well  
With the gentle expression which spoke in that eye,  
Ere the curtain of death on its loveliness fell !' pp. 176-7.

The following stanzas on the Sea appear to us at once simple and powerful.

'Oh ! I shall not forget, until memory depart,  
When first I beheld it, the glow of my heart ;  
The wonder, the awe, the delight that stole o'er me,  
When its *billowy boundlessness* open'd before me !

As I stood on its margin, or roam'd on its strand,  
I felt new ideas within me expand,  
Of glory and grandeur, unknown till that hour,  
And my spirit was mute in the presence of POWER !

In the surf-beaten sands that encirc'd it round,  
In the billow's retreat and the breaker's rebound,  
In its white-drifted foam, and its dark-heaving green,  
Each moment I gaz'd some fresh beauty was seen.

And thus, while I wander'd on ocean's bleak shore,  
 And survey'd its vast surface, and heard its waves roar,  
 I seem'd wrapt in a dream of romantic delight.  
 And haunted by majesty, glory, and might !' pp. 242-3.

These specimens, we believe, will suffice :—we shall add but one more from the concluding verses, as a further illustration of the author's descriptive talent.

' It is the very carnival of nature,  
 The loveliest season that the year can show  
 When earth, obedient to her great Creator,  
 Her richest boons delighteth to bestow.  
 The gently-sighing breezes, as they blow,  
 Have more than vernal softness ; and the sun  
 Sheds on the landscape round a mellower glow  
 Than in his summer splendour he has done,  
 As if he near'd his goal, and knew the race was won.

It is the season when the green delight  
 Of leafy luxury begins to fade ;  
 When leaves are changing daily to the sight,  
 Yet seem but lovelier from each deepening shade,  
 Or tint, by autumn's touch upon them laid ;  
 It is the season when each streamlet's sound,  
 Flowing through lonely vale, or woody glade,  
 Assumes a tone more pensive, more profound ;  
 And yet that hoarser voice spreads melody around.

And I have wander'd far, since the bright east  
 Was glorious with the dawning light of day ;  
 Seeing, as that effulgence more increas'd,  
 The mists of morning slowly melt away :  
 And, as I pass'd along, from every spray  
 With dew-drops glistening, evermore have heard  
 Some feather'd songster chant his roundelay ;  
 Or bleat of sheep, or lowing of the herd ;  
 Or rustling of fall'n leaf, when morning's breezes stirr'd.' pp. 282-3.

Our readers, we think, may now judge for themselves pretty fairly of the merits of this volume. It is not calculated certainly to make a very strong or lasting sensation in the reading world ; and has no chance either of eclipsing any of the poetical luminaries that are now in their ascendant, or even of falling into their orbit with its attendant fires. Yet we believe there is a very large class of readers in this country to whom it is capable of affording the greatest delight—all those transparent, unambitious persons by whom the higher excitement of more energetic poetry is either dreaded as a snare, as a disturbance ; but who can still be interested

by the sweet and harmonious amplification of the feelings they have been allowed or taught to think it a duty to cherish. To the members of his own Society in particular, we cannot help thinking that a work like this must be a most acceptable present. Their amusements and recreations have always, we think, been rather too few; and both they and their wellwishers in other communions must rejoice when they can add to them the perusal of elegant poetry, in which they are sure of meeting with nothing that can revolt or offend; and from the very success and celebrity of which their whole body must receive new credit and respectability.

ART. V. *The Transactions of the Horticultural Society of LONDON.* Vols. I. II. & III. 1820.

THE original state of most of those vegetables which occupy the attention of the horticulturist, is unknown; and we are still ignorant of the native country, and existence in a wild state, of some of the most important of our plants, such as wheat, &c. We know, however, that improved flowers and fruits are the produce of improved culture, and that the offspring in a greater or less degree partakes of the character of its parent. The Crab has been thus converted into the Golden pippin; and many excellent varieties of the Plum boast no other parent than the Sloe. Yet, till lately, few experiments have been made, the objects of which have been new productions of this nature; and nearly every ameliorated variety appears to have been the offspring of accident, or of culture applied to other purposes: An extensive field of discovery is still therefore open to the scientific horticulturist. Societies for improvements in domestic animals, and all branches of agriculture, have been long since founded; but it was not till within these few years that the London Horticultural Society was established, for the encouragement of Gardening. Judging from the past exertions of this Society, we may hope that in a very short time we shall have to record improvements and discoveries of considerable importance: as, till within a few years, Horticulture was left to the common gardener, who, in general, implicitly followed the routine of his predecessor.

As fruit, as an article of general food in this country, is common, it is used in very small quantities. Yet it is well known, in its worst manufacturing towns, in those seasons when it is most abundant, the inhabitants have been far from healthy.

Of the different varieties cultivated for common purposes, most are of inferior quality, and the produce of exhausted or unhealthy parents: Hitherto little care has been taken (except in the gardens of the rich) to procure the better sorts of fruit-trees, or to renew the worn out trees which so generally incumber the gardens of our cottagers. A good sort, however, is as easy of cultivation as an austere or barren variety; and one of the principal benefits to be derived from the establishment of the Horticultural Society, is the distribution of scions of new varieties, as well as of the scarcer sorts already known. Much in this respect has been done; already the taste for horticulture has increased; and the spirit of liberality, and the desire of communication, is rapidly taking place of the mean and selfish desire of concealment so prevalent amongst collectors and virtuosi of all descriptions.

As an article of luxury, much fine fruit is produced in this country; but, owing to the little attention which has been paid to the mode of raising it, and the small and uncertain demand for it when produced, it is one of the most expensive articles at the table: yet perhaps there are few luxuries so sought after by our countrymen on the Continent; and, amongst their estimates of the comparative difference of cost, none seems to surprise them so much, as that of the prices of fruit in England and in France. Every one who has been on the Continent returns with stories of the number of peaches and pears, purchased in France for a franc; or of the still larger quantities of figs and grapes procured in Italy for the same price. Our climate forbids us to hope to rival our more fortunate neighbours in the growth of outdoors fruit; yet much is to be expected from the production of more hardy varieties, which will better withstand the chilling effects of our tardy springs and ungenial summers,—and also from the improved and more economical construction and management of our forcing-houses. By some it is conceived, that the coldness and the dampness of our climate render fruit an unfit article of food. To this we do not agree. Others also may have an objection to any diminution in the quantity of roast beef eaten by John Bull, lest any alteration should take place in his national character; but we are willing the experiment should be tried, leaving these alchymists in the mean time to the undivided enjoyment of their roasted crabs and sloes. It may be observed, that the introduction of fruit as an article of consumption amongst the poor, is not likely to diminish their quota of roast beef—the poor-laws, taxes, our wars, and the 'transition state' from war to peace have effectually done that long ago.

The Horticultural Society has a garden in the vicinity of London, established solely for the purpose of experiment: and from this much useful information has been already procured. In France, agriculture is considered to have derived considerable advantages from the establishment of the *Jardin des Plantes*; and more than equal advantages may be expected to arise in this country, where the cultivators are in general much more enlightened, and always prepared to introduce improvements of every kind.\* We have chosen the Transactions of the Horticultural Society for notice, that we may lay before our readers some of the modern improvements in Gardening: in doing which, we shall pursue no particular plan: but select from the different volumes before us, those parts which we think will be most amusing.

I. We have already had occasion to notice the two papers of Mr T. A. Knight, (the President of the Society), on the motion of sap in trees: † and the result of this was, ‘that the sap is absorbed from the soil by the bark of the roots, and carried upwards by the alburnum of the root, trunk, and branches; that it passes through the central vessels into the succulent matter of the annual shoot, the leaf-stalk, and leaf; and that it is returned to the bark through certain vessels of the leaf-stalk, and, descending through the bark, contributes to the process of forming the wood.’

The work before us contains several curious papers by the same author, on the subject of Vegetable Physiology, and some ingenious applications of the result of his experiments to the practical purposes of horticulture. All plants have a tendency to adapt their habits to the climate in which art or accident places them. Thus the Pear, which is probably a native of the

\* We are sorry to be compelled to remark, that the Royal Gardens at Kew partake of none of the liberality of the Experimental Garden of the Horticultural Society.—Not a single plant raised there is distributed—all access is denied, except the liberty to run through the gardens at the *pas de charge*, with a labourer at your heels. The great misfortune however is, that these gardens being considered as the public botanical gardens of the kingdom, all seeds of rare plants, &c. are sent there, and are therefore lost to the public.—But, fortunately, the Horticultural Society is not within the withering and baneful influence of Government Patronage; and it will, we hope, therefore flourish. If a ministerial member could ask of Lord Sidmouth the appointment of the gardener, the secretary, or the very porter or housekeeper to the Society, we should expect little good to arise from its institution, except to those who enjoyed the salary.

† Vol. V. p. 92.

southern parts of Europe, has so naturalized itself in Britain, as in some instances to ripen its fruit in the early part even of an unfavourable summer; and the Crab has, in the same manner, adapted its habits to the frozen regions of Siberia; but either of these fruits imported in their cultivated state from happier climates, are often found incapable of acquiring maturity, even when trained to a south wall.

As the pear and crab tree have acquired the powers of ripening their fruit in climates much colder than those in which they are placed by nature, ground is afforded (observes Mr Knight) to expect that the vine and the pear tree may be made to adapt their habits to our climate, so as to ripen their fruits without the aid of artificial heat, or the reflexion of a wall, though hitherto but little has been done to learn the mode of culture best calculated to produce these changes: But the experiments of that gentleman already show, that as fine varieties, or nearly so, of fruit, may be raised in this country, as any which have been imported.

Variety is the constant attendant on cultivation; and, in the offspring, is constantly seen, in a greater or less degree, the character of the parent from which they spring.

Early maturity and hardiness are the two qualities which the cold and unsteady climate of England render most desirable in the production of new varieties. ' If two plants of vine were obtained from cuttings of the same tree, and placed during successive seasons, the one to vegetate on the banks of the *Rhine*, the other on those of the *Nile*, and both subsequently transplanted in early spring to a climate similar to Italy,—that which had adapted its habits to a cold climate would instantly vegetate, whilst the other would remain torpid. The same occurs in our hothouses. A plant accustomed to the temperature of the open air will, on being introduced into a hothouse, vegetate strongly in December, whilst a plant sprung from a cutting of the same stock, but habituated to the temperature of the stove, remains apparently lifeless. The powers, therefore, of plants habituated to cold climates, are more easily brought into action, or more excitable; and as every quality in plants become hereditary, when the causes which first gave existence to these qualities continue to operate,—it follows that their seedling offspring have a constant tendency to adapt their habits to any climate in which art or accident places them. But the influence of climate will depend probably less on the aggregate quantity of heat in each country, than its distribution in each season. Thus, the aggregate temperature of England, and

‘ those parts of Russia that are under the same parallels of latitude, probably does not differ very considerably; but in the latter, the summers are exceedingly hot, and the winters intensely cold. In the spring, great degrees of heat suddenly operate on plants which have been exposed to intense cold, in which excitability has been accumulating during a long period of almost total inaction, and the progress of vegetation is consequently extremely rapid.’

These principles and facts are the grounds on which Mr Knight commenced his attempts to produce trees which should ripen their fruits earlier than usual. An apple tree was trained to a south wall, and the branches were in the winter detached and removed to as great a distance from it as their stems would admit, in order that the greatest quantity of excitability might accumulate by the inaction of the tree; and, in the succeeding spring, when the flower buds began to appear, the branches were again trained to the wall; the blossoms soon expanded, and produced fruit which early attained perfect maturity; and the seeds from their fruits afforded plants which, *partaking of the quality of the parent, ripened their fruit very considerably earlier than other trees raised at the same time from seeds of the same fruit which had grown in the orchard*: this, of course, must be considered as a confirmation of the truth of Mr Knight's theory. Nearly every plant, the existence of which is not confined to a single summer, admits of two modes of propagation, viz. by division of its plants, and by seed. By the first, an individual plant is divided into many, each of which, in its leaves, its flowers and fruit, permanently retains, in every respect, the character of the original stock; no new life is generated; and the graft, the layer, and cutting, appear to possess, in a great degree, the youth and vigour, age or debility, of the plant of which they once formed a part. No permanent improvement, therefore, can be derived from a graft or cutting which is but a continuation of the parent tree. On the contrary, seedling plants of every cultivated species sport in endless variety; and it is by a selection from these only, that new and improved varieties of each species of plant or fruit can be looked to.

II. The progressive influence of decay upon old varieties of fruit trees is now admitted; and the general law of Nature seems to be, that no living organized substance shall exist beyond a limited term. The diseased appearance of young grafted trees, particularly of the golden pippin, strongly confirms this position, although we are not willing to suppose that, like the supplemental noses of *Taliacotius*, the grafts are



to drop off the stocks of the parent tree. All reasoning from analogy, however, ceases in the opinion, that it is impossible to continue, by grafts or buds, any variety *ad infinitum*. Mr Knight is a strenuous advocate for this hypothesis: though we think there are some points of considerable difficulty to be got over. There are many well known varieties of trees which have been cultivated in this country for a very considerable time, such as the rose, the elm, &c. without any apparent loss of vigour. These, we however are aware, are propagated by an extension of *the root*; and this fact Mr Knight seems to consider as likely to insure grafts a longer continuance of vigorous existence. Mr Williamson, in a paper now before us, has in some degree controverted this position, that the cause of the diseased appearance of young grafted trees arises solely from the grafts being taken from old and decayed stocks. He states that, in the course of a few years, several young trees, which had been raised from seed, began to exhibit the same diseases, and to be affected by them in a greater degree than many of our older varieties; and that it is therefore evident that *old age* was not the only cause of these appearances. Mr W. ascribes the premature decay to the supposed diminution of the warmth of our summers. As a confirmation of this, it is to be remarked, that the golden pippin, which with us has become a shy bearer, in France, where the climate is warm, is still considered as a very productive tree. Without entering farther into the discussion of the question, there can be no doubt of the fact, that several of the older varieties of our fruits have been gradually decaying; and we owe principally to the scientific exertions of Mr Knight, the introduction of many new and excellent varieties, which supply the loss of the old; and, from the spirit which has arisen, every season will no doubt continue to increase our stock. Mr Knight's theory, he conceives, is confirmed by *Columella*, who seems to have known that a cutting of a bearing branch did not form a young tree; for, speaking of the cutting of the vine—*Semina* (he says) *optima habentur à lumbis, secunda ab humeris, tertia summa in vite lecta, quæ celerime comprehendunt, et sunt feraciora—sed et quam celerime Senescunt.*

The inuring plants of warmer climates to bear, without covering, the frosts, the ungenial springs, and cold summers of this country, is a subject of considerable importance to the horticulturist. Little hitherto has been done in this respect with trees, because in general the propagation has been effected by cuttings or layers from the parent plant, which have therefore, in a great measure, retained its original habits; and we are now probably growing in our gardens the identical *Lauri* introduced

by 'Master Cole, a Merchant at Hambstead,' some years before the year 1629, in which old Parkinson published his *Paradisus terrestris*.

\* Most of our present wall trees are merely continuations, by grafts, of trees raised in a warmer climate; and although it is not probable that either near London or Edinburgh the peach tree will ever be brought to bear fruit so perfect and so delicious as that which is ripened in warmer climates, much may be expected from the production of new varieties, raised in the manner suggested by Mr Knight's experiments, to procure early fruiting apples, and which shall have the *habit* of enduring our rougher climate. It is probable, observes Sir Joseph Banks, that wheat, now our principal food, did not bring its seed to perfection in this country till hardened to it by repeated sowings; and though some spring wheat from *Guzerat*, which was sown by him, eared and blossomed with a healthy appearance, many ears were, when ripe, without corn, and few brought more than three or four grains to perfection. Some seeds of *Sisania aquatica* were sown in a pond: the first crop produced strong plants and ripe seeds, the produce of which, however, was in the next year weak, and not half the size of the parent plants; but in each succeeding year they grew stronger, and in a few years attained their full size. Thus a plant, at first scarcely able to bear the cold summer of England, in fourteen generations became as strong and as vigorous as our indigenous plants.

† III. The creation of hybrid or mule productions, from two plants of distinct species or varieties, by fecundating the blossom of one with the farina of the other, is also one of the ingenious devices adopted by Mr Knight, in order to obtain varieties of fruit, partaking of the different qualities of the two parent plants. Mr Herbert (Vol. IV. Part 1.), as far as we can understand him, is persuaded that, by such intermixtures, new species may be created amongst vegetables, capable of continuing a distinct race by the natural descent of an unadulterated progeny to an indefinite extent, and without reverting to the single form of either parent plant. It is impossible to conceive any thing more improbable than such a position; and we entirely concur with the opinion intimated on this point in the *Botanical Register* (Vol. III. p. 195.), 'that no truly hybrid plant, under any circumstances, will continue an unadulterated descent through seeds, beyond a very limited number of degrees; and that the less complete productions of this kind, such as take place between remarkable varieties of one species, revert to the single likeness of either one or the other parent, or assume new appearances in endless vicissitudes.'

Several hybrid apple trees, the produce of the Siberian crab, and the richest of our apples, have been the result of Mr Knight's experiments; and which, while partaking of the hardness of the Siberian crab, and ripening in cold and exposed situations, yet possess the fine qualities of the other parent. In some, the varieties inherit the character of the male, and others of the female parent, in the greatest degree; and from some varieties of fruit, particularly the golden pippin, a better copy was obtained by introducing the farina into the blossom of another apple, than by sowing the seed of it. The excellent variety called the Downton pippin, was obtained from the farina of the Golden, and the female flower of the Orange pippin.

We extract from the *Pomona Herefordiensis* the account given by Mr Knight of the course he adopted in his experiments.

‘ Preparatory to these experiments, many varieties of the apple were collected, which had been proved to afford, in mixture with each other, the finest cidrers. A tree of each was then obtained, by grafting upon a Paradise stock; and these trees were trained to a south wall, or, if a Siberian crab, to a west wall, till they afforded blossoms; and the soil in which they were planted was made of the most rich and favourable kind. Each blossom of this species of fruit contains about twenty chives or males, and generally five pointals or females, which spring from the centre of the cup or cavity of the blossom. The males stand in circle, just within the bases of the petals or flower leaves, and are formed of slender threads, each of which terminates in a small yellow ball or anther. It is necessary in these experiments, that both the fruit and seed should attain as large a size, and as much perfection, as possible; and therefore a few blossoms only were suffered to remain upon each tree, from which it was intended to obtain seed. As soon as the blossoms were nearly full grown, every male in each was carefully extracted—proper care being taken not to injure the pointals or females; and the blossoms, thus prepared, were closed again, and suffered to remain till they opened spontaneously. The blossoms of the tree which it was proposed to make the male parent of the future variety, were accelerated by being brought into contact with the wall, or retarded by being detached from it, so that those were made to unfold at the required period; and a portion of their pollen or farina, when ready to fall from the mature anthers, was, during three or four successive mornings, deposited upon the pointals of the blossoms, which, consequently, afforded seed. It is necessary, in this experiment, that one variety of apple only should bear in unmutated blossoms; for, where other varieties are in flower at the same time, the pollen of these will often be conveyed by the bees to the prepared blossoms; and the result of the experiment will, in consequence, be uncertain and unsatisfactory.

‘ Every seed, though many be taken from a single apple, will af-

ford a new and distinct variety, which will generally be found to bear some resemblance to each of its parents. Examples of this are presented in the Grange apple and Downton pippin, and in the Foxley apple and Siberian Harvey.

After varieties are thus formed, the operator has still to wait long before he can estimate the success of his labours. A seedling pear tree does not often bear fruit till it is ten, and sometimes not till it is sixteen or eighteen years old; but a seedling apple tree will generally produce fruit at six or seven years old, and sometimes even at four, when either of its parents has been the Siberian Crab. The success of the experiment is also still uncertain: many of the new varieties will be worthless; and where the fruits are good, the trees will often prove unproductive, or defective in health and vigour; and the planter must think himself fortunate if, under the best management, fifty seeds afford a single fine variety for the press; though many will probably be above mediocrity.

IV. Experience shows that the different varieties of vegetables, when long propagated, gradually lose some of the good qualities which they possessed in their earlier stages of existence. About fourteen years, it seems, is allotted to the duration of a variety in a state of perfection; and Mr Knight has applied the principles before noticed to the production of new and early varieties of the potatoe. Observing that those varieties which were early, produced little blossom and no seed, he conceived this to arise from the nutriment being chiefly carried away to supply the tuberous roots (or potatoe) which are produced on runners, and are distinct from the fibrous roots. By destroying the runners, and only permitting the fibrous roots to grow, early blossom and perfect fruit was procured; from which new varieties were obtained, which in a great degree inherited the early habit thus given to the parent plant.

The trouble and the uncertainty, and the length of time which it was supposed was necessary for the production of varieties from seed, are the principal reasons why so little has hitherto been done: but considerable error and prejudice has existed on this subject. In New South Wales, a Peach tree (which arrives at puberty earlier than any other fruit) is said to have borne at the end of sixteen months from the planting of the stone. In America, whole orchards of peaches are used for making brandy and feeding hogs; and these are always planted from the stone, and bear at the end of the third year. And a peach stone planted by Mr Knight in the middle of February, kept under glass, and frequently supplied with fresh manure, had, in the following autumn, formed blossom buds, capable, as he conceived, of bearing fruit.

V. The construction and form of forcing-houses is an object

of considerable importance, and hitherto appears to have been very defective; and two are rarely built alike, though intended for the same purposes. The object is to procure a building in which the greatest possible quantity of space has been obtained, and of light and heat admitted, in proportion to the capital expended.

The introduction of steam, in metal pipes, for the purpose of warming forcing-houses, instead of thick brick flues, and the improvement in the form, which admit of the ripening more fruit in a house built at a smaller price, render it probable that they will become much more common, and that larger ones will be built, in which the tropical fruits may be ripened with facility; more especially as a greater and more regularly continued degree of heat may be furnished by steam at a comparatively trifling expense. Already the fruit of the *Grenadilla*, the *Loquat*, and the *Mango*, have been ripened in this country; and it is probable that, at no very distant period, the *Aki*, the *Avocado* pear, the *Flat Peach*, the *Mandarine Orange*, the *Litchi* of China, the *Mangosteen*, and the *Durion* of the East Indies, and other valuable fruits, will add to the luxury of the tables of the rich. One year in three has already been saved in the time of fruiting the *Pine*,—and the necessity of the use of tan in its cultivation in a great measure done away with, as stated by the President; and we are led to suppose that the time is at no great distance, when this expensive fruit will be no longer an object of rarity, from the cost of its cultivation.

Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the best form of a forcing-house. It is however evident, that when fruit is to be ripened in the same climate and season of the year, one peculiar form must be superior to every other; and that in our climate, where sunshine and natural heat do not abound, the form which admits of the greatest quantity of light through the least breadth of glass, and which affords the greatest regular heat with the least expenditure of fuel, must generally be the best. The sun, of course, operates most powerfully on the forcing-house, when its rays fall most perpendicularly on the roof; because the quantity of light that glances off without entering the house, is proportionate to the degree of obliquity with which it strikes upon the surface of the glass. Mr Knight conceives the best elevation for latitude 52, to be that of about 34 degrees.

Hothouses are comparatively of modern introduction, and were probably little, if at all used in this country, in the beginning of the last century. Lady Wortley Montagu observes, on the circumstance of pine apples being served up in the des-

sert at the Electoral table at Hanover (1716), as a thing she had never before seen nor heard of. Sir Joseph Banks has communicated some curious remarks on the subject of the forcing-houses and the fruits of the Romans, vol. i. 147.

‘ *Pallida ne Cilicūm timeant pomaria brumam,  
Mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus :  
Hybernīs obiecta notis specularia puros  
Admittunt soles, et sine fæce diem, &c.*

*Martial, Lib. viii. 14.*

*Qui Corcyrae vidit pomaria regis,  
Rus Entelle, tuæ preferat ille domus.  
Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos,  
Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat ;  
Condita perspicua vivit vindemia genama,  
Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.*

*Fœmineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus ;  
Calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua.  
Quid non ingenio voluit natura licere ?*

*Autumnū sterilis ferre jubetur hiems.*—*Ibid. viii. 68.*

On the first Epigram Sir Joseph remarks, that it in all probability describes a peach-house; and the word *Pallida*, which is meant as a ridicule on the practice, gives reason for this supposition; as we now know, that peaches grown under glass cannot be endowed either with colour or with flavour, unless exposed by the removal of the lights whilst the fruit is ripening; and, if this is not done, the best sorts are pale, green, and tasteless when ripe.

The second Epigram more plainly refers to a grape-house: contrived however, probably, for securing a late crop, rather than as a forcing-house; and the last line leads to this opinion.

Pliny also tells us, that Tiberius was fond of cucumbers, and had them in his garden throughout the year, by means of *specularia* (stoves), where they were grown in boxes, and wheeled out in fine weather.

Theoretical writers on vegetation, as well as gardeners, are apt to transfer the feelings of animal life to plants; whence arises the recommendation of hungry soils and cold situations for nurseries, seeing how agreeable it is to go from worse to better; and this feeling amongst gardeners has led to a mode of treatment of plants in forcing-houses directly contrary to nature; and as they like a warm bed in a cold night, and fresh air in a hot day, they are apt to treat their plants as they would wish to be treated themselves. But this is contrary to the mode of existence of the plants in a state of nature; and Mr Knight conceives the consequence of this excess of heat during the night,

in all cases injurious to the fruit-trees of temperate, and not at all beneficial to those of the intertropical climates.

In Jamaica, and other mountainous islands of the West Indies, the air upon the mountains becomes, soon after sun-set, chilled and condensed; and, in consequence of its superior gravity, descends and displaces the warm air of the valleys; yet the sugar canes are not injured by the sudden decrease of temperature. It must, on consideration, be obvious, that the more nearly Nature in its best climates and most favourable seasons is copied as to temperature, the more perfect will be the production. As yet, according to the common practice, there is hardly a gardener who does not imitate, as he supposes, the cool evening dews of nature, by sprinkling his flues with water, and filling his house abundantly with steam;—the one in fact resembling the sudden chill of the shower-bath, and the latter that of the hot-vapour baths of Russia.

Mr Knight, in his peach-house, reduced the temperature to the natural state of the air during the night, except when there was an appearance of frost, and every evening sprinkled his peach-trees with abundance of water; and he states, that his fruit blossomed, set, and ripened more successfully than he had ever experienced it. Although the succulent shoots of trees always appear to grow more rapidly on a damp heat during the night, it is rather an elongation than growth. The spaces between the bases of the leaves, indeed, become longer, but no new organs are added; and it is in fact only the quantity of material extended to a greater length. Another of the ill effects of the high temperature during the night is, that it exhausts the excitability of the tree much more rapidly than it promotes the growth, or accelerates the maturity of the fruit, which is, in consequence, ill supplied with nutriment at the period of its ripening, when most nutriment is probably wanted.

VI. Sir Joseph Banks, some time since, published a pamphlet on the Rust or Mildew in Wheat, which we have already noticed; \* and it contained strong evidence that this disease was a minute parasitic fungus, propagated like other plants by seeds. ‘The evidence,’ Mr Knight observes, ‘would, I think, be sufficient, if the means were ascertained by which the seeds of this species of fungus are conveyed from the wheat plants of one season to those of the succeeding year. This, however, has not been done; and some still consider that the mildew of wheat consists only of preternatural processes, which spring from a diseased action of the powers of life in the plants them-

---

\* Vol. VII. p. 148.

'selves.' † Assuming that the various species of fungus are propagated by seeds as the least objectionable hypothesis, Mr Knight observes, it will not be difficult to show that they are sufficiently numerous to account for the ubiquity of the plants they are supposed to produce; and as these apparent seeds are, by their lightness, capable of being everywhere dispersed by the winds, Mr Knight, from an experiment made by him on a mushroom, conceives that 250 million seeds were produced in 96 hours. He has endeavoured to point out some means by which the injurious effects of the common white mildew may be prevented. The secondary and immediate causes, to him appear a want of sufficient supply of moisture from the soil, with excess of humidity in the air; particularly if plants are exposed to a temperature below that to which they have been accustomed. And it is observed, if damp and cold weather in July succeed that which has been warm and bright, without the intervention of sufficient rain to moisten the ground to some depth, the wheat crop is generally much injured by mildew.

'I suspect that, in such cases, an injurious absorption of moisture, by the leaves and stems of wheat plants, takes place; and I have proved that, under similar circumstances, much water will be absorbed by the leaves of trees, and carried downwards through their alburnous substance, though it is certainly through this substance that the sap rises under other circumstances. If a branch be taken from a tree when its leaves are mature, and one leaf be kept constantly wet, that leaf will absorb moisture, and supply another leaf below it upon the branch, even though all communication between them through the bark be intersected; and if a similar absorption takes place in the straws of wheat, or the stems of other plants, and a retrograde motion of the fluids be produced, I conceive that the ascent of the true sap, or organizable matter, in the seed vessels, must be retarded, and it may become the food of parasitical plants, which then only may

---

† A hypothesis, differing little from his, has been published in the *Quarterly Review*, respecting the dry rot, or *Bolletus Lacrymans* of Finlber, in which it is supposed the different kinds of fungus which appear upon decaying timber, are produced by the remaining powers of life in the sap of the unseasoned wood; and that the same kind of living organizable matter which, whilst its powers remained perfect, would have generated an oak branch, will, when debilitated, give existence to a species of fungus. It only requires to pursue this argument, to see its absurdity; which would soon arrive at the conclusion, that a mass of animal matter, as old cheese, might generate a mite—and a larger mass of decomposing animal matter, produce us elephants!



‘grow luxuriant and injurious.’ This is Mr Knight’s view of the subject; and, whether correct or not, it is impossible not to see how much good must be derived from inquiries of this nature, pursued with such unremitting care and attention as is bestowed on them by the President. In some experiments made on the cultivation of the Pea, (a plant peculiarly subject to the mildew at the latter part of the year), considerable quantities of water was given to the growing plants, and to the ground before the sowing; and all appearance of mildew was avoided. Several of the more delicate fruits now cultivated in this country cannot be made to produce, unless with the assistance of being trained against a south wall.

VII. The facts observed by Mr Knight with respect to vegetable physiology, have enabled him to improve much in the practice of training wall trees, which was irrational and defective—no attention having been paid to the form which the species or variety naturally assumed; and, be its natural growth upright or pendent, it was constrained to take the same form on the wall. From experiments, Mr Knight inferred, that none of the forms in which fruit-trees are generally trained, are those best calculated to promote an equal distribution of the circulating fluids, by which alone permanent health and vigour, and power to afford a succession of abundant crops, can be given. The principal of his improvements is, to expose a greater surface of leaf to the light, without placing any of the leaves so as to shade the others; and, by selecting the strongest and earliest buds towards the points of the year-old branches, and the weakest and latest near the bases, an equal vigour was thus given to each annual shoot; and when one grew with greater luxuriance by being depressed, and the weaker elevated, they acquired an equal degree of vigour. In France there is an annual publication, called *Le Bon Jardinier*, which contains much useful information on practical gardening; and we trust, before long, that a similar publication will be produced in this country, under the auspices of the Horticultural Society. In addition, however, to the difficulties arising from the climate, the French materially surpass us in several branches of horticulture; and one of their principal means of success is the division of labour, which has not yet been adopted in this country. In France, whole villages are employed in the cultivation of one single sort of fruit; and, consequently, the whole attention of individuals, for generations, is directed to one point only. At *Montreal*, the whole population has been long maintained by the cultivation of peaches,—their sole occupation; and the inhabitants of *Argenteuil* derive their chief support from the cultivation of fig-trees. Near the town, are immense fields covered with these trees on the sides

of hills facing the south, and in other places sheltered from the north and south-west; and it is at these towns alone, perhaps, that the true management of these delicious fruits can be acquired.

Next in interest to the papers by the President, are those contributed by Mr Sabine the Secretary, and by the late Sir Joseph Banks, who was indefatigable in his exertions to promote the interests of the Society. \* We cannot conclude our observations, without recommending that those entrusted with the selection of the papers for publication should in future be somewhat more careful, or at least more sparing in their choice; for though there are many containing useful practical information, yet there is much that might have been omitted; and we confess, that had we, in the early part of our examination, stumbled on some of Mr R. Salisbury's long papers, or the account of Mr Seaton's invention of '*marked tallies, or garden sticks, accompanied by a plate,*' it is most probable we should have been deterred from all further progress; in which case, our general readers would have remained ignorant of the Theory of hybrid plants, and the whole mystery of the propagation of apple-trees, whether by seeds or grafts.

---

\* All must regret the recent loss of the late venerable President of the Royal Society. The annals of science do not perhaps afford an instance of a man who so entirely devoted his time, talents and fortune, to the advancement of knowledge. At his entrance into life, succeeding to a splendid inheritance, he turned aside from the paths of pleasure, and the usual pursuits of his age, to become the companion of Cook; and, scarcely arrived at manhood, was a sharer of the fame of that illustrious navigator.

The zeal and eagerness with which he pursued all subjects connected with science, continued one of the most striking features of his character; and, at an advanced age, and although long suffering under the most painful diseases, the freshness and vigour of his mind, and his interest in those subjects, were unabated. His valuable collections, and his unbounded stores of information, were at the service of all. His library (the richest perhaps in Europe on subjects of natural history) was of far more easy access than any other public library in England. His unostentatious readiness to supply the pecuniary wants of scientific persons will, we are persuaded, long live in the memory of many. No one perhaps, in our time, has gained such universal and unmixed admiration and esteem: unconnected with politics or party, he neither trenched upon the interests, nor interfered with the prejudices of any. It will be long indeed before one shall be found capable of filling the vacancy made by his death—  
'*Artium tum utilium, tum elegantiorum iudex et patronus!*'

ART. VI. *Mademoiselle de Tournon, par l'Auteur d'Adèle de Sénange.* 2 vol. Paris, 1820.

THE present state of France, though full of promise with respect to her commercial and political advancement, is not very favourable to the immediate interests of her literature. The minds of a great part of the population are still too unsettled for such calm pursuits, and—to those, who study any thing—politics is so new a study, that we cannot wonder it should take the lead of all others, and draw most of the thinking spirits of the day into its vortex. Accordingly we find that, out of the circle of this tempting theme—which they pursue with all the freshness, as well as the rawness of schoolboys—there is but little original produced in any department of literature; and the Press is chiefly employed in circulating either new editions of long-established works, or translations from the popular writers of other countries. In the field of poetry, where it might be expected that the excitements of the Revolution would have called forth something at least bold and new, France has been long without even a candidate for Fame; and M. Chateaubriand, who has written nothing but prose, is the only real poet she at present possesses. There has appeared, indeed, within the last year, a little work entitled '*Méditations Poétiques*,' which has been profusely lauded in certain circles, but which appears to us a very unsuccessful attempt to break through the *ancien régime* of the French Parnassus, and transplant the wild and irregular graces of English poetry into the trim parterre of the Gallic Muse. What this author's notions of sublimity are, may be collected from the first stanza of one of his '*Méditations*.'

Lorsque du Créateur le parole féconde,  
 Dans une heure fatale, eut enfanté le monde  
     Des germes du Chaos,  
 De son œuvre imparfaite il détourna sa face,  
 Et d'un pied dédaigneux le lançant dans l'espace,  
     Rentra dans son repos.  
 Va, dit-il, &c. &c.

Which may be thus, not unfairly, translated:—  
 When the Deity saw what a world he had fram'd  
 From the darkness of Chaos, surprised and ashamed  
     He turn'd from his work with disdain;  
 Then gave it a kick, to complete its disgrace,  
 Which sent it off, spinning through infinite space,  
     And return'd to his slumbers again;  
 Saying, "Go and be," &c. &c.

M. Chateaubriand himself, in his interesting work, 'Les Martyrs,' which contains more bright pictures and fanciful thoughts than are to be found, perhaps, in any one poem in his language, yet shows, throughout his unlucky descriptions of Hell and of Paradise, how dangerous it is for a Frenchman to meddle with the sublime. The following scene (worthy only of the *Petites Danaïdes*), is supposed to take place during a council held by Satan.

'A ce discours de l'Esprit le plus profondément corrompu de l'abîme, les DémonS applaudirent en tumulte. Le bruit de cette lamentable joie se prolongea sous les voûtes infernales. Les réprouvés crurent que leurs persécuteurs venoient d'inventer de nouveaux tourmens. Aussitôt ces âmes, qui n'étoient plus gardées dans leurs bûchers, s'échappèrent des flammes, et accoururent au conseil; elles trainoient avec elles quelque partie de leurs supplices: l'une son suaire embrasé, l'autre sa chape de plomb, celle-ci les glaçons qui pendoient à ses yeux remplis de larmes, celle-la les serpens dont elle étoit dévorée. Les affreux spectateurs d'un affreux Sénat prennent leurs rangs dans les tribunes brûlantes. Satan lui-même appelle les spectres gardiens des ombres . . . . . "Remettez, s'écrie-t-il, ces coupables dans les fers, ou craignez que Satan ne vous enchaîne avec eux."

He is not more fortunate in revealing to us the mysteries of the other région. Thus, describing a part of the 'Cité de Dieu,' he says,

'Là sur-tout s'accomplit, loin de l'œil des Anges, la mystère de la Trinité. L'Esprit qui remonte et descend sans cesse du Fils au Père, et du Père au Fils, s'unit avec eux dans ces profondeurs impénétrables. Un triangle de feu paroît alors à l'entrée du Saint des Saints: les globes s'arrêtent de respect et de crainte, l'Hosanna des Anges est suspendu, les milices immortelles ne savent quels seront les décrets de l'Unité vivante, elles ne savent si le Trois Fois Saint ne va point changer, &c. &c. . . . . Quand les essences primitives se séparent, le triangle de feu disparoit: l'Oracle s'entr'ouvre, et l'on aperçoit les trois Puissances.'

After all, however, our own Milton's actual artillery, and the 'broad extingisher' with which Dryden furnishes the hand of Omnipotence, for the purpose of putting out the fire of London, leaves us but little right to reproach M. Chateaubriand, in particular, for this disparagement of things divine,—this profane familiarity, which a too close approach to sacred subjects has, in all times and all writings, produced.

In the dramatic department—in addition to those countless 'minora sidera' which twinkle out their gay and brief existence on the Boulevards—there have lately appeared two or three successful tragedies; and though, in 'Marie Stuart,'

Queen Elizabeth is represented as finding herself at the gates of Fotheringay Castle, during the course of a morning's ride from London, and Mary, from the same accommodating spot, is enabled to catch a view of the mountains of Scotland, this tragedy is, upon the whole, of a superior order; and contains verses worthy of the admirable manner in which that fine actress, Mademoiselle Duchesnois, recites them.

In novel writing—which brings us more directly to the subject of the present article—since the death of Madame Cottin, and of the inimitable author of *Corinne*, as little has been done as in the other walks of literature. Madame de Genlis still writes, but, of late, rather to edify than amuse; and she is at present, we understand, most laudably employed in weeding infidelity out of the works of Voltaire, and writing Jean Jacques Rousseau all over again. Madame de Souza herself, the author of the novel before us, has been, if we mistake not, a long time idle. Reposing upon the fame which she acquired as Comtesse de Flahaut, this is, we believe, the first wreath with which she has circled her present name. ‘*Adèle de Sénange*,’ one of the earliest of her productions, is the story of a young English nobleman, Lord Sydenham, a sort of wandering, melancholy philosopher of twenty-two, who, in the act of extricating a young lady out of an overturned carriage at Paris, is struck with her beauty, and falls violently in love with her. In the interval, however, between this and their subsequent interview, she becomes the wife of M. de Sénange, a gouty old gentleman of seventy, who, having once had a platonic affection for the young Lord’s grandmother, and promised her, at parting, that if ever chance should throw any of her children (including, of course, grandchildren) in his way, he would act as a father to them, is delighted to take this opportunity of fulfilling a promise made half a century before, and invites Lord Sydenham to spend the summer at his country-house at Neuilly. The natural consequence of this somewhat rash step of the kind-hearted old gentleman, whose character, indeed, throughout, excites much more compassion and respect than it is, in general, the lot of these *prédestinés* to inspire, is an instant and ardent attachment between his wife and the young Englishman; and as, in the present times, the scale of familiarities and indecorums has been measured and graduated by such grave authority, that even bishops themselves must now be completely learned on the subject, it will not be difficult to ascertain at how high a point above zero the temperature of the following scene is to be rated. ‘*Adèle m’écoutait avec une espèce de ravissement. Elle était si émue que, lorsque j’eus cessé de parler, elle laissa tomber*

sa tête sur moi. Nos visages se touchèrent ; nos larmes se confondirent, mes bras l'entouraient encore. Je la pressai contre mon cœur, en me promettant intérieurement de respecter en elle la femme de mon ami.'

The difficulties and struggles to which such a passion gives rise, are at length happily terminated by a fit of apoplexy, which seizes on the old gentleman on discovering the secret of the lovers ; and he dies, generously enjoining that they should marry each other, after the decent interval of a year's mourning for his loss. This novel is in letters—the least popular form, perhaps, into which a novel can be thrown. Young persons, the chief consumers of such articles generally, prefer the straight-forward sort of narrative to which they have been accustomed from their nurseries ; and we confess ourselves young enough to be entirely of their opinion. Neither do we very much approve of the plan of making heroes or heroines tell their own stories. Besides the incompleteness which it necessarily entails upon their history—leaving them still alive and at large for new adventures, after the reader has done with them—they are generally supposed to be grown old when they relate their adventures ; which matter-of-fact anticipation, as in the case of Marivaux's Marianne, disturbs, at every step, all the illusion and interest of the narrative. Instead of accompanying, in fancy, this young creature through her first moments of bloom and ignorance, we are continually reminded of the wise and withered personage she is now become ; and when, describing her having held out her hand to some admirer, she adds in a parenthesis, ' et je l'avais belle,' this unfortunate past tense throws the occurrence so very far back, that we cannot help being disenchanted of a considerable part of our interest in it.

' *Emilie et Alphonse*,' another of Madame de Souza's novels, is also in letters ; and, in a similar manner, turns upon the misfortunes of a young lady, who unluckily marries the wrong man, being violently and irrecoverably in love with another. It displays, like all that the fair author has written, an acute knowledge of that part of the world which is called Society.—The follies even of her own sex assume a grace and charm in her description of them, and their coquetry becomes of that kind which a French poet describes—

' *La coquetterie*

' *S'épure en passant par son cœur.*'

The process, by which an innocent young married woman may be transmuted into a heartless lady of fashion, (a result like that at which Lavoisier arrived in reducing diamonds to carbon), is developed with much skill in the experiments of Ma-

dame d'Artigue upon the character of Emily—who, having committed the *faute* of forgetting her husband, is near falling into the *crime* of forgetting her lover also. She is, however, saved in time from utter worthlessness, by a circumstance which hardly would have occurred to a male philosopher, as likely to produce such a seasonable reformation. The accidental smell of a little fan of sandal-wood—her lover having once had a little walking-stick of the same odorous material—so completely dissipates, at a whiff, all the collected fumes of vanity, that, bidding adieu to the rouge, flounces, and furbelows of this world, she takes to love, sentiment, and 'mousseline blanche' again. She is not, however, in the end, so lucky as Adèle de Sénange; for, though the lover performs *his* duty, by wounding the husband mortally in a duel, the husband, at the same moment, returns the compliment, and poor Emily is obliged to end her days in a convent, without either.

We cannot help considering this sort of stories, where married ladies are brought into such unconjugal situations, as very perilous things, in every sense of the word;—yet female writers have always been fond of them, from the Royal Intrigues of Madame la Fayette, down to Madame Cottin's loves of the Manufacturers in Claire d'Albe. We remember, too, some years ago, a novel by one of our own countrymen, in which the heroine (Rhoda, we believe, she is called) loves one man, marries a second, and intrigues with a third—'au reste, charmante 'personne'—and having at length driven her husband, who is, as usual, the best sort of man in the world, to blow out his brains, retires from her capacity of heroine, at the end, upon a handsome independence of three thousand a year.

The story of 'Eugénie et Mathilde' is, perhaps, more artfully constructed than any that Madame de Souza has hitherto produced. The time of the events is during the first years of the French Revolution; and the struggles of an uncloistered nun with her vow of singleness, affords, if not the chief, the most touching source of its interest. The characters of the three sisters—the prim, rigid Ernestine, 'qui dès quinze ans 'on eût voulu rejeunir'—the capricious, but affectionate and natural Mathilde, who, when expostulated with on any of her faults, thinks it enough to answer gaily 'je suis comme cela'—and the gentle and sensitive young nun, Eugénie, whose sacrifices to another world are enhanced by her susceptibility of the best affections of this—all these various portraits are touched with a delicacy, a discrimination and a truth, which throw an air of perfect reality over the painful story to which they belong.

There yet remains to be noticed, in this brief retrospect of

Madame de Souza's works, two other novels, 'Charles et Marie,' and 'Eugène de Rothelin,'—in the latter of which, by the by, the wrong halves of the Androgynes are again brought together.—But we have already dwelt so much longer than was necessary, upon books which every one has read, that we may now turn our readers into 'fresh fields and pastures new,' by giving some account of the last, and, we rather think, the best of this lady's productions, 'Mademoiselle de Tournon.'

The story is founded upon a few pages in the *Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois*, which relate the melancholy death of the young *Hélène de Tournon*, daughter of the celebrated woman of that name, who twice defended the town of Tournon against the Protestants. This heroic lady was the *Dame d'honneur* of Marguerite; and the character of 'femme un peu rude et terrible,' which the lively Queen has given her, is turned skilfully to account in working up the interest of the novel. Having forced her eldest daughter into a marriage of *convenance* with M. Balançon, whom the King of Spain had lately appointed governor of the *Comté de Bourgogne*, she readily accedes to the request of *Hélène*, at this period entering into her seventeenth year, to be allowed to accompany her sister to the *Pays Bas*. From the following short sketch of M. Balançon, it will be seen that Madame de Souza possesses, as an observer of character, what Cicero in a painter calls the '*oculum eruditum*.'

'Monsieur de Balançon était parvenu, seulement en respectant les petits devoirs de la société, à faire donner le nom d'une vertu à chacun de ses défauts. Son avarice était nommée de l'ordre; sa fausseté paroissait de la prudence. Il prouvait ce qu'une longue observation du monde apprend; c'est que la jeunesse, avec un peu de sérieux, obtient des égards, inspire de la confiance: comme les vieillards, en se montrant parfois indulgents et faciles, passent pour bons, quelque exigeants qu'ils soient dans leur intérieur.'

M. Balançon has two brothers, Leopold and Auguste, whose situation and dispositions will be best learned from the account which he himself gives of his family affairs, in one of those communicative moods which, providentially for the reader, generally seizes some person or other at the beginning of every novel.

"Ma mère avait deux frères. L'aîné possédait, comme il est d'usage, tous les biens de sa maison; le second avait été destiné à l'église. Cet aîné mourut peu après le mariage de sa sœur avec mon père. Sa fortune passa donc à son jeune frère qui, fort heureusement pour nous, était déjà engagé dans les ordres. Lorsqu'il parvint à l'électorat de Trèves, il se plaisait à répéter qu'il nous regardait comme ses héritiers.



“ Ma mère en mourant recommanda à mon oncle Auguste mon second frère, aujourd’hui marquis de Varambon. L’électeur de Trèves voulut disposer de lui comme s’il était son fils. Mon père eut la faiblesse d’y consentir ; et un beau jour l’enfant partit avec lui. Nous restâmes avec mon père. Mais depuis ce moment Léopold et moi nous fûmes regardés par mon oncle comme des collatéraux incommodes. Toute son immense fortune était réservée pour mon frère ; il lui accorda même une pension considérable. Auguste, loin d’économiser pour augmenter le patrimoine de la famille, dispersait en prétendus actes de bienfaisance tout ce que mon oncle lui donnait. Voilà ce que j’appelle une première folie sérieuse.

“ L’électeur l’a fait élever pour être son coadjuteur et lui succéder. Cependant, lorsque monsieur Auguste a eu vingt ans, non-seulement il n’a point voulu entrer dans les ordres, mais il a refusé positivement de prendre l’habit ecclésiastique, déclarant qu’il ne se soumettrait à la volonté de mon père et aux désirs de mon oncle, que lorsqu’il aurait vingt-cinq ans. Et voilà ce que j’appelle une seconde folie très-sérieuse ; car, en attendant cette époque, l’électeur peut mourir, et monsieur mon frère rester avec toutes les belles phrases qu’il nous débite : “ De ne consentir à prendre cet état, qu’après en avoir bien connu les devoirs ; de ne se résigner à sacrifier son indépendance, sa liberté, qu’après avoir eu la certitude que ses regrets ne seront pas plus forts que sa raison.”

“ Pendant qu’il se refuse à assurer les avantages de sa situation, à prendre l’habit qui prouverait du moins qu’il se destine à l’église, mon très-cher frère se soumet à la vie sévère et retirée qu’elle prescrit. J’appelle cela encore une folie si sérieuse qu’elle m’en fait rire. Auguste me paraît un homme au bord d’un précipice, n’osant ni le franchir ni s’en détourner.”

After this interesting ‘ note of preparation,’ the young Marquis de Varambon arrives at the chateau ; and his first interview with the heroine is most happily imagined and described. She had been walking through the apartments prepared for his reception, with an old housekeeper of the family, who had loved and watched over him from his childhood, and who was now busy in ornamenting the rooms with all his favourite flowers. After showing her the library, whose ‘ meubles de velours noir, sans aucune broderie’ presented a severe and melancholy contrast to the flowers which this good old dame placed among them.

“ Elle conduisit Hélène dans un salon qui tenait à la bibliothèque, et, prenant mademoiselle de Tournon par la main, elle la plaça devant le portrait d’une femme de la plus grande beauté.—“ C’est madame, c’est ma bonne et chère maîtresse, dit Geneviève ; la voilà, comme elle était, toujours environnée de fleurs.” En effet, le peintre l’avait représentée près d’une table, sur laquelle il avait placé un vase d’albâtre rempli de fleurs, et entouré d’une guirlande de roses.

Geneviève dit, en montrant une table qui se trouvait au milieu du salon : — “ Voilà ce vase d'albâtre, cette table, qui ont servi de modèle au peintre ; mais les fleurs et madame n'y sont plus ! ” Hélène demanda si ce vase était cher à monsieur de Varambon ? — “ Tout ce que madame affectionnait lui est précieux. ”

Alors Hélène se mit à placer des fleurs dans ce vase ; elle tâchait de les arranger comme elle les voyait dans le tableau ; ensuite elle commença la guirlande. Dame Geneviève la regardait travailler avec une sorte de satisfaction ; mais tout-à-coup, revenant à elle-même, elle lui dit : “ Ne craignez-vous pas que cette imitation ne lui cause plus de peine que de plaisir ? ” — “ Vous avez bien raison, répondit Hélène. Rappeler une perte irréparable, c'est renouveler une douleur. ” Comme effrayée, elle rejeta sur la table ce qui lui restait de fleurs, laissa sa guirlande à moitié finie, et, se levant, elle demeura pensive devant ce tableau qui lui offrait la jeunesse, la beauté, les fleurs, et la mort. Elle s'oubliait dans ses réflexions mélancoliques, lorsque un cri échappé à dame Geneviève la fit retourner. Elle fut interdite en voyant près d'elle monsieur de Varambon occupé à la considérer. Son extrême ressemblance avec sa mère le lui fit reconnaître. Embarrassée d'avoir été surprise par lui dans son appartement, elle se troubla, n'osa lui parler, et se mit à fuir, oubliant même de le saluer.

Love follows, of course ; and the varieties of its progress and effects, in two such differently constituted natures—the reserved, meditative, but jealous and impetuous, M. de Varambon, and the gentle, timid, but devoted and unchangeable Hélène—are defined throughout with all that delicate power of analysis, which women seem instinctively to possess on such subjects. A visit with which M. Balançon is honoured by Don John of Austria, whom his brother Philip II. has just sent to take the government of the Low Countries, gives the first development to that fatal passion of jealousy, which is attended at last with such tragical consequences to the young lovers. A ball takes place at the Chateau, on the arrival of the Prince, from which the sanctity of the line of life marked out for him imposes upon M. de Varambon the necessity of absenting himself ; and there is considerable fancy, as well as pathos, in the description of his solitary sufferings, within hearing of the gaieties by which his mistress is surrounded.

‘ Revenu chez lui, il y était poursuivi par le bruit des violons. L'appartement où l'on dansait était audessus du sien : tous les pas retentissaient. Il est inquiet de ce qui se passe dans le salon ; il n'a pas un instant de repos ; il fait appeler Geneviève ; et, oubliant toute prudence, il lui dit : “ Ma bonne, ma chère amie, allez voir le bal ; sachez ce que fait mademoiselle de Tournon. ” — “ Elle danse, monsieur, j'en viens. ” — “ Avec qui ? ” demande-t-il en tremblant. Il le prévoyait, il le savait, et il le demandait ! Espérait-il une réponse

qui pût calmer sa jalousie, passion cruelle dont il devait tant souffrir ?

“ Mademoiselle de Tournon danse avec le prince, répond Geneviève ; il ne voit qu’elle, n’a dansé qu’avec elle ; c’est la reine du bal ! ” — “ Comment reçoit-elle ses attentions ? ” reprend-il vivement — “ Sans les remarquer ; elle est aussi modeste que belle. ”

‘ Les danseurs se faisaient toujours entendre : monsieur de Varambon aurait pu compter la mesure de leurs pas. Ce nouveau supplice lui devient insupportable ; il s’enfuit dans le parc. Ces allées sombres, cette nuit paisible, ne pouvaient le rendre à lui-même. Les yeux constamment fixés sur les fenêtres du château, il voyait des ombres fugitives se dessiner sur le plafond de la salle ; des plumes agitées se montraient, disparaissaient, suivant les mouvements animés des danseuses : il ne cherchait qu’une seule femme, et ne pouvait la distinguer.

‘ Tout-à-coup il vit arriver des domestiques, s’empressant d’allumer des lampions qui éclairèrent les jardins. Les chiffres de dom Juan brillaient en verres de couleur. Monsieur de Varambon revint dans son appartement, plus vite encore qu’il ne l’avait quitté. Il éteignit ses lumières, ne voulant point être vu du dehors ; et, dans l’obscurité, attaché à sa fenêtre, il regardait ce qui se passait dans le parc. Audessus de sa tête, la musique, la gaieté, le tourbillon du bal ; devant lui, l’éclat des lumières ; ces jardins, brillants de chiffres odieux ; lui, seul, dans le silence, dans l’ombre, et plus agité que personne.

‘ On était dans les plus beaux jours de l’année. Bientôt il vit plusieurs femmes qui étaient sorties du bal pour venir se promener dans les jardins. Dom Juan parut, donnant le bras aux deux sœurs. Monsieur de Varambon ne se possédait plus. Mais combien il fut touché de voir Hélène se retourner plusieurs fois, et regarder son appartement. Elle a l’air triste : elle pense donc à lui ! et des larmes s’échappaient de ses yeux, sans qu’il les sentit couler.

‘ Après quelques pas, Hélène quitta dom Juan, et revint lentement du côté du château. Elle s’arrêta devant cette fenêtre où Monsieur de Varambon venait d’éprouver des angoisses si cruelles. Qu’il était ému ! le bal, dom Juan, les chiffres importuns, avaient disparu ; il n’y avait plus qu’Hélène de présente à sa vue. Il se dit qu’elle sera heureuse dans la retraite ; ils y vivront uniquement l’un pour l’autre ; elle se contentera de la modeste fortune qu’il peut lui offrir. — O amour ! toi seul peux peindre ces orages du cœur, qu’un rien fait naître, qu’un mouvement dissipe ! Le son de la musique, des pas légers, les ondulations de ces plumes flottantes, avaient bouleversé son âme : un regard le calme ! Déjà il ne redoute plus l’avenir ; et passe le reste de la nuit à espérer une félicité parfaite.

He declares at length to M. Balançon the resolution which he has formed to renounce the religious profession for which he was destined ;—a scene of altercation ensues between the brothers ; and M. Balançon, discovering that an attachment for Mademoiselle de Tournon is the cause of a step so ruinous

to the worldly interests of the family, writes such a letter to Madame de Tournon, as determines that proud and rigid woman not only to refuse her consent to a marriage between the young persons, but to recal her daughter instantly to Paris. Thither M. de Varambon secretly pursues her; and a new source of fuel to his unreasonable jealousy presents itself in the person of M. de Souvré, the chief favourite of Henri III., who becomes deeply enamoured of Mademoiselle de Tournon; and whose respectful attentions, mistaken by her for the assiduities of friendship, are received with all the favour and gratitude which her esteem for his very amiable character dictates. The unlucky appearances arising from such an intercourse, and the effects which they produce upon the inflammable disposition of M. de Varambon, are delineated through a succession of animated scenes and incidents, to which we should ill do justice by such a skeleton abstract—without either the colouring of style or the life of detail—as the limits allowed for this subject afford. The conclusion of the story is peculiarly affecting; and the description of M. Varambon's feelings, on seeing the cold remains of the innocent and faithful girl, whose heart his unjust suspicions had broken, is as simply and finely done as any thing of the kind with which we are acquainted.

‘ Ils arrivent enfin à Liège. Les rues sont encombrées d'un peuple immense qui les arrête. Ils voient de loin un convoi qui s'approche. Le char funèbre est couvert d'un drap blanc et argent, autour duquel sont attachées des couronnes de roses blanches. Monsieur de Varambon frêmit et serre la main de son frère; ses lèvres tremblantes ne peuvent prononcer une parole. Son air égaré attire l'attention d'un vieillard qui précédait le cortège. Il passe en disant : “ Pauvre Mademoiselle de Tournon ! ”—Monsieur de Varambon tombe sans connaissance. On l'emporte dans une maison voisine, où il reste plusieurs heures évanoui.—Malheureux ! quel réveil l'attend !

‘ Le convoi s'avance lentement vers l'église. Les chants religieux demandent au ciel la paix d'une autre vie, pour celle qui n'a connu de ce monde que le malheur et la souffrance.

‘ Vers le soir, Monsieur de Varambon revient à lui en jetant des cris affreux. Il appelle Hélène, ne peut se persuader qu'il l'a perdue; il la demande à son frère, le supplie, le conjure de la lui rendre; il veut la revoir encore. . . Il s'échappe, et Léopold, ne pouvant l'arrêter, le suit. Ils arrivent à l'église. La foule est dispersée. Les funérailles ne devant avoir lieu que le lendemain, Hélène est déposée dans une chapelle ardente. Cette lumière le guide. Un prêtre, à genoux, récite des prières. Monsieur de Varambon se jette au pied du cercueil.

‘ Le prêtre, que sa présence étonne, que son désespoir effraie, regarde avec inquiétude Léopold qui lui dit : “ Il devait être son

époux !" L'homme pieux et charitable le plaint, et s'éloigne pour ne point contraindre la douleur.

' L'infortuné, anéanti, prosterné contre terre, craint de relever sa tête coupable, et ne cesse de répéter qu'il l'aime, qu'il l'aimait, qu'il va la suivre. . . . Enfin il ose élever ses yeux jusqu'à ce visage/insensible qu'aucun voile ne lui cache encore. Ses sanglots, ses cris, font retentir l'église. . . . Malheureux qui as brisé le cœur qui n'existait que pour toi ! . . . Il joint ses mains, pleure, s'accuse, demande à Dieu qu'un instant, un seul instant leur soit accordé ! qu'elle le revoie encore ! et puis tous deux mourir ! " Qu'elle sache que je l'aimais ! que je l'adorais ! " crie-t-il en s'adressant au ciel. . . . Sa tête se perd ; il la regarde, il attend, il écoute. . . . Le silence de la mort lui répond ! . . . Un sombre égarement est dans ses yeux ; il étend ses bras et s'écrie : " Ne m'entendra-t-elle donc jamais ! jamais ! "—Et les voûtes de l'église répètent : JAMAIS !'

The personages in this novel are almost all historical ; and the skill with which their real characters, as well as that of the gallant, superstitious, and cruel court to which they belonged, are made to serve the purposes of the author's fiction, without deviating in the slightest degree from their original and recorded peculiarities, is the more remarkable, from its rarity in works of this kind, where, as in the portraits of distinguished persons in print-shops, the name is often the only part of the original that is preserved. Madame de Tournon is here exactly what the Queen, whom she served, has painted her ;—M. de Souvré, though turned into a sentimental lover, (that common fate of all statesmen, heroes, and philosophers, that fall into the hands of French writers, and which Racine would not suffer even Achilles himself to escape), is still the same sensible and amiable man of the world who was, as history tells us, the favourite of so many kings ;—the brilliant Don John of Austria acts his part in the novel, without losing any of that splendour with which Strada and our own Hume have invested him ;—and, though Madame de Souza has had the good taste not to distinguish her facts from her fancies by pedantic reference to authorities, it is still satisfactory to trace the accuracy of her allusions, and to observe how, in this wedlock between History and Fiction, she has contrived to preserve all the wild beauties of the latter, without sacrificing to them any of the masculine dignity of the former. This is particularly remarkable in the scene between Don John and the Astrologer, (a scene of considerable effect throughout), in which the secret treaty entered into by this prince with the Duc de Guise, and his project to carry off and espouse our Mary Queen of Scots, are introduced so as to give the stamp of authenticity to fiction, and make the fairy money of fancy pass current as real.

We know but two works with which this *roman* can properly be compared, the *Princesse de Cleves* of Madame la Fayette, and the *Mademoiselle de Clermont* of Madame de Genlis. The great merit of the former—in addition to its being the first of the kind—is that insinuating naiveté of detail, that uniform flow of events which, like monotony in music, wins more upon the ear and heart than all the transitions and surprises that the most fertile fancy can invent. The conclusion, however, is unsatisfactory:—that a lover should ever cease to love, however common in life, is against all the established rules of romance. The story of *Mademoiselle de Clermont* is one of those which young people will read from generation to generation. The charms of the style, the unity of the interest, and the association of both its pleasant and melancholy scenes with the beautiful forest and gardens of Chantilly, all combine to give it a degree of popularity which few of its most pretending competitors have attained. Without entering into any formal comparison between these two celebrated works and the novel before us, we shall merely say, that, in our opinion, it is in every respect worthy to take its station by their side.—We have more weighty matters, however, to settle with our French neighbours:—and cannot now afford to dwell longer on this light prelude.

ART. VII. *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes jusqu'à la Fondation de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, et sur les Causes qui ont favorisé l'Accroissement successif du Nombre des Livres.* Par L. C. I. PLIT RADEL, Membre de l'Institut de France et de la Légion d'Honneur; Bibliothécaire Adjoint, administrateur perpétuel de la Bibliothèque Mazarine. 1 Vol. Paris, 1819.

THE title of this book has occasioned us some disappointment; for it promises much more of general matter than actually follows: the real and true object of the author being to give an account of the Libraries of France—and particularly of that of which he is librarian.

Neither can we join with this learned person in his surprise that the number of libraries and of books, to which the French public has access, should be greater now than it was 30 years ago; when we recollect, that two-fifths of the great mansions of France were demolished during that period; that government universally constituted itself the residuary legatee of their ruins; and that, after the guillotine had ceased to coin (*battre monnaie*)

noie, as Barrère jocosely termed it), those who preserved their heads, lost their property. Some credit however is due to such of the rulers as, in those days, respected literature, and spared its monuments.

Four principal libraries now exist in Paris; the King's library; that founded by the cardinal Mazarine; that at St Genevieve; and that of the Arsenal; besides some others belonging to particular establishments, and dedicated to special uses. The sum total of volumes to which a public, consisting of about 700,000 persons, has access in Paris, during about five hours daily, is 1,125,437.

In the departments of France, the proportion is very different: neither does it by any means follow the ratio of the population, or the importance of the towns in which the libraries are situated. Of this we could give examples, which prove that the materials were often brought together into such strongholds as were nearest to the scene of spoliation; and have not since been distributed with a view to utility. The sum total of public libraries in France is 273: that of the volumes they contain, as far as ascertained, is 3,345,287: and thus, deducting Paris, 2,219,850 volumes are open to the daily inspection of twenty-six millions of departmental students; that is to say, eleven readers have one volume; while, in Paris, seven readers have eleven volumes; consequently the balance of volumes is eighteen to one, in favour of the capital, against the departments.

But there is redundant proof in history, that books are not learning, and that learning is not wisdom;—as well as that the soundest systems of policy and morality have flourished in countries where no libraries had been formed. Indeed we might almost say, that, in a great many cases, collections of books have been resorted to, not as the complement, but as the supplement of wisdom; and it is obvious that the same motives may induce monarchs to form stupendous heaps of volumes, as of other things. The Spartans had few books. The Romans, when they expelled the Tarquins, and long afterwards, had no library but the books of the Sybils. There were but few volumes, we suspect, among the Barons who, at Runnymede, compelled King John to sign the British Charter; and when the French themselves obtained from their monarch of the same name, his ordinances of 1355—which however were not of much use to them—they had not yet opened a Royal library to the inspection of the curious. If books were wisdom, Asia Minor would have been more civilized than the Peloponnesus; and Pergamus would not have found a rival even in Athens: Rome, under Julius Cæsar and Augustus, would have

been wiser and more moral than in the days of Numa, Fabius, and Regulus. The city which contained the most renowned library of antiquity, was not either the best or the wisest of those times; for we find from Quintilian, that Alexandrian voluptuousness was proverbial; and one of the Ptolemies, in particular, treated its inhabitants in a manner which no tyrant could have done with impunity, if their wisdom had been proportioned to their 700,000 volumes.

We are infinitely far, however, from insinuating that books are not useful to mankind; or that libraries are establishments of which human happiness should not dread the destruction. But, in certain cases, their advantages may be all in speculation; and they may conduce to purposes widely different from those to which they are nominally devoted.

One of the great benefits which men have derived from libraries, and collections of all kinds, is the preservation of many precious documents, through ages inimical to intellectual progress. In this point of view, monastic institutions claim a large portion of our gratitude; and we must even extend our thanks to some of the most detestable sovereigns that ever have disgraced human nature. As conservatories of mental treasures, their value, in times of darkness and barbarity, was incalculable; and even in those happier days, when men are incited to explore new regions of thought, they command respect, as depôts of methodical and well-ordered references for the researches of the curious. But what in one state of society is invaluable, may at another be worthless; and the progress which the world has made, within a very few centuries, has considerably reduced the estimation which is due to such establishments. We will say more. Such is the state of knowledge at this day in Europe, that we should be inclined to suspect the nations which make the greatest parade of their public libraries, and collections of volumes, not to be those which have the most contributed to civilization. We think it not difficult to demonstrate this assertion, at least in the case before us.

The principal event which destroyed the value of great public libraries, was that which multiplied their contents, and opened the possession of what was valuable in them to a greater number of persons. By the invention of Printing, the destruction of knowledge became less probable; and the means of literary researches were diffused among classes of men, who never before aspired to such occupations. The two great ends of these storehouses of instruction were therefore more than answered by the new process; and it is somewhat remarkable, that it occurred at a time when a new inroad of Tartars, more alarm-



ing perhaps than any which had preceded them, was threatening the civilization of Europe; and the reflux of learning, from the invaded countries, gave greater value to every means by which it could be preserved.

Mr Petit Radel gives an enumeration of the number of books, or editions, published in different parts of Europe, from the time when the art of printing was invented, to the end of that century. They are as follows—

Before 1500.		At a second period, from 1500 to 1536,		From 1500 to 1536.	
At Venice	2789	they are as follows, and show no small in- crease for the time.		Paris	- 3056
Rome	- 972			Venice	- 2229
Paris	- 789			Strasbourg	- 1021
Strasbourg	298			Lyons	- 997
London	- 31			London	- 198
Westminster	99			Rest of England	108
Oxford	- 7			Spain and {	- 117
Spain and {	126			Portugal }	
Portugal }				Cracou	- 294
				Constantinople	80

The art of printing is certainly, of all inventions, that which nations would cherish the most, in proportion to their civilization. And yet the difference between the number of books printed in England and in France, at the periods now mentioned, belongs not so much to the general progress and state of the two countries, as to the special circumstances of these particular periods. It is true that England did not enter so early upon the career of social improvement as France; and the causes are obvious. The advantages which Nature had bestowed upon the latter country, exempted her inhabitants from severe labour, and gave them greater leisure to flock together; and thus to begin the foundation of that easy intercourse which is advantageous to the first rudiments of society. France, too, lay nearer to the centre from which learning and the arts were spread over Europe; and the direct road they must take to England, was through her dominions. But, for these reasons too—particularly the former—the civilization of England is at this day of a higher order. It is the result of more urgent necessity. Men are there drawn together by the hope of solid advantages, which, though they do not operate so early as gregarious instincts, or the prospect of mere pleasure, yet when once they are perceived and appreciated, are more binding and more powerful; and the advantage which France undoubtedly had in the beginning, is now more than compensated by the superior development of intellect, which has long since been our inheritance.

It would be difficult to say at what precise moment we began to take a decided lead in the concerns of mind; especially as, like most other things, this too has had its vicissitudes. In the time of Alfred, we were probably wiser and better than the French, or so great a prince never would have confided to the most unlettered among us, the duty of reciprocally sitting in judgment upon each other; a right which no French monarch ever thought of bestowing upon his people, and which his people never thought of exercising or demanding. During the civil and religious wars of that country, and the long train of perfidy and cruelty which accompanied them, we again had a vast and decided superiority. When York and Lancaster drew forth their battles in England, France perhaps took a momentary lead. But, at the Reformation, we again became superior; and, with the exception of the most frenetic moments of our first revolution, have never derogated for a single instant since that time. The age of Louis the XIVth was indeed a brilliant epocha for France; and still more so for her monarch. It was an age of glory, of splendour, of luxury,—of any thing but national wisdom: And it stood the more prominent, because it was not preceded or followed by any thing that can be compared to it. The even tenor of our constant pace has carried us farther in a wider road; and while we persevere in the same track, with as few interruptions to our general progress in political wisdom, in science, in literature, in the useful arts, as we have done for more than a century, our boast shall be, that we have no *Siecle de Louis XIV.* to be vain of; and, still more, our pride shall be, that of that, or any single age, we should think it humiliating to boast at all.

It did so happen, that the epochas which Mr Petit Radel mentions, immediately followed the most disastrous period England ever knew; our civil wars of York and Lancaster; wars undertaken for the advantage of one or other of two families, to choose between whom was not really worth one single battle to the country; from which no portion of the nation expected to derive the slightest benefit; in which the name of liberty was never uttered; which had no object but to decide whether England was to be governed by a fool or a profligate; by the tergancy of Margaret, or the nepotism of Lady Elizabeth Woodville; and which form the most lasting and unavailing delirium that ever afflicted this nation. The misfortunes of France, on the contrary, were relieved about the middle of the 15th century, by the wise and vigorous reign of Charles the VIIth, during which foreign invasion was repelled, and domestic discontent quieted. His successor, Louis XIth, though a

tyrant, was not so hostile to learning as most of his kind. The protection he showed to the philosophers of his day, the Nominalists and the Realists, such as they were; the estimation in which Philip de Comines was held; the establishment of posts, are proofs that his reign was favourable to intellect. In the same epocha are included Anne de Beaujeu; Charles VIIIth; still more, Louis XIIth; and, more than all, 20 years of Francis Ist. The end of the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th century, were more propitious in France, than in England, to mental improvement; and the art of printing, could not have been presented to the two countries, at a period when it was more likely to be honoured in the former, and neglected in the latter, than those which our author has specified. The first volumes, however, which were shown to the court of Louis XIth, were supposed to be the effect of witchcraft; and poor Faust, the German printer, was very near being burned as a conjurer—because all the dots in all his Bibles were alike. It was in the presence of this court, too, that Margaret of Scotland, first wife of Louis XIth, who afterwards died by poison, impressed (such was the respect paid to letters) what Wieland would call a metaphysical kiss, upon the lips of the ugliest man in France, Alain Chartier, Secretary of State to the King, whom she one day found asleep, as a recompense for the sweet things they uttered.

But, whatever may have been the superiority of the French press, in those days, things are now very different; and the only advantage which France can justly claim at this hour, with regard to books and all that is derived from them, is the possession of the richest public library in existence; of one immense dépôt, containing a greater number of valuable works and manuscripts, than can be found collected together in any single building or establishment. To every other pretension the French may urge, we must dispute their title.

In a former article we endeavoured to give a sketch of the French mind, drawn after the state of National Industry in that country. Such, certainly, is the widest view which can be taken of the subject; for, in the productions of industry, every man is interested, and exercises, in some respect, a legislative influence. We shall now attempt a similar picture, deduced from what is usually called a higher province of intellect, the comparative state of Science in the two countries; and we shall endeavour to found our conclusions upon a wider basis than that which is afforded, merely, by the present moment. The plan we shall adopt, is to consider science under the double aspect of depth and of diffusion; that is to say, we shall examine,

according to the history of each science, 1<sup>st</sup>, in which of the two countries it has made the greatest progress, and in which its development has been marked with the widest views and the profoundest thought; and, 2<sup>d</sup>, among the population of which nation, are more generally diffused the results of those extensive views and profound thoughts—together with such a general knowledge of science, as contributes to enlighten and improve mankind, and furnish useful stores for meditation and reflexion.

The state of knowledge in France is so different from all that Englishmen are in the habit of contemplating at home, that no just estimate can be made of it by any one who decides according to British rules; and this may be adduced as one, among many instances, of the errors which arise from the very natural, but very defective practice, of judging of others by ourselves. In the fine arts, in the exact sciences, and in many branches of human knowledge, the French unquestionably rank very high among nations; and the reputation which they justly hold is above the reach of envy or detraction. While we accede to this, however, there are two points which we must allege against them; 1<sup>st</sup>, that in the political and moral sciences, as well as in some other branches of knowledge, they have not advanced in the same proportion; and, 2<sup>dly</sup>, that the mass of general instruction diffused throughout the population of every rank, bears no ratio to the eclat which surrounds a small number of individuals, in the higher and more brilliant, but less important walks of science.

As to their inferiority in the Moral and Political sciences, little more is necessary than to read their history, to be convinced of it; and further proof may be found in all the details of their philosophy and literature. Of whatever has been said and written upon this subject, in that country, the general characteristic is a deficiency in extensive views of human nature, in profound investigation of the heart, portrayed in all its strongest feelings and multitudinous bearings. Ingenuity in discovering unexpected glimpses, and superficial coincidences, in the ordinary relations of life, they assuredly possess in an eminent degree; but these are not sufficient for the great purposes of polity and government. On the contrary, they tend to contract the mind, by giving importance to incidents too insignificant to have an extensive influence upon the great interests of society. It is, upon the most comprehensive view of the nature of man that the whole science of government depends; and, without it, no system, applicable at once to his imperfections and his virtues, none which holds the just medium between his good

and evil propensities, can be founded. It is not then to be wondered at, that after so many centuries of inattention to those qualities which might have fitted them for a better and a nobler lot, the French, when on a sudden they began to speculate upon revolutions, should lose sight of the conditions without which all such schemes must ever prove destructive to practicable freedom.

If the authors who have speculated upon the philosophy of man, in the two countries, be compared, as well as those who have given active representations of him in the drama, and in fictitious history, the same characteristic prevails—the same want of acquaintance with the great springs of action—and the same exclusive attention to the affections of convention, and the etiquette of passion. Human philosophy, the theory of the sentient creature, are among the things which their authors have the least studied, and their public the least inquired about, and the nation the least understood.

As to sound speculations upon the understanding, the philosophers of France have always been deficient, not merely in original matter, but even in acquaintance with what has been doing in neighbouring nations. Voltaire discovered England: and not a little astonished his countrymen, when he told them that the natives of this island could do something better than cut off the heads of their kings and the tails of their horses. It was he who introduced to the acquaintance of the French, Shakespeare, Bacon, Locke, Newton, and almost all the writers of Britain: and it would be difficult to mention any one mental philosopher of France, who, since the return of Voltaire, has risen to respectable eminence, and has not taken all his leading ideas from British authors. Thus the two most important branches of human knowledge, those which are the ultimate aim of every other science, and which the most directly tend to the happiness of the species, are the most neglected by the nation which claims exclusive civilization. We shall take a future opportunity for returning to this part of our subject, and proceed to consider some branches of knowledge in which the French may found a juster title to rivalry with Britain.

The mathematical, physical, and natural sciences, are those which the French particularly cultivate. In the pure mathematics, indeed, which of late years have been the most brilliant of all the sciences in France, we are ready to allow a temporary but a decided superiority over Britain. It may appear strange that a nation so little busied with profound or abstract thought, should excel in a study so eminently abstruse. But metaphy-

sical and algebraical abstraction are operations of mind so different, that one cannot well comprehend by what accident they ever were confounded. The objects of metaphysical speculation are the immaterial properties of an immaterial being, intangible even when concrete, demonstrable only as far as probability can reach, and incapable of any emblematic representation. But mathematical inquiries are, for the most part, directed to sensible objects. In geometry, these objects are absolutely tangible. In pure mathematics, they are magnitudes. In mixed mathematics, they are either facts derived from actual experiment, or hypotheses assumed upon analogy. But in every case, even when most disengaged from matter, they cannot justly be called abstract; for the understanding considers them, in their conventional representatives, a line, an angle, an  $x$ , or a  $y$ , with as little regard to abstraction, as if the subject, together with its properties, was absolutely submitted to mensuration. To this species of abstraction the French mind is not unapt; and the rigor of mathematical demonstration may form an amusing episode, in the midst of great usual laxity of ratiocination.

The superiority of the French in this science, however, is not ancient; neither do they, at this moment, so far surpass us, as we, in the very long account of a general balance, would be found to have surpassed them. One of the earliest European mathematicians was the venerable Bede. Alcuin gave lessons in this science to Charlemagne. In the 13th century, Sacrobosco, or plain John Holywood, a native of Yorkshire, was professor of mathematics in Paris. Since that time, let the following English mathematicians, and their discoveries—Roger Bacon, Lord Bacon, Lord Napier (logarithms), Briggs (ditto improved), Harris, Harriot, Lord Brouncker (continued fractions), Wallis (arithmetic of infinites), J. and D. Gregory, Barrow, Hooke, Hamstead (fixed stars), NEWTON, Bradley (aberration of stars) Hadley, Taylor (increments, his fundamental theorem), Sanderson, M'Laurin, Simpson, Walmley, Collins, Robins, Landen (residual analysis), Waring, Atwood, Maskelyne, &c. be compared with the following French mathematicians, and their discoveries—Cardan, Vieta, Des Cartes, Gas-sendi, Fermat (de max. et min. theory of numbers), Pascal (probabilities), D. J. and F. Cassini, La Hire, Clairault, N. and D. Bernoulli, La Caille, Bouquet, Jacquiers, Le Seur, Maupertuis, Ricard, Condamine, D'Alembert, &c.—and an immense preponderance will appear in the depth and comprehensiveness of the views and methods discovered in this country.

Since the era which may justly be called the mathematical age of Newton, we have rather remained in the inaction into which our admiration of his stupendous mind had plunged us; and the French, particularly when the name of La Grange a Piedmontese is added, could produce a longer list of recent mathematical discoverers than we could. A reproach, indeed, has been made to them, that they have indulged too much in the metaphysics of analysis, and surrounded it with too many difficulties. But this is a dangerous principle in science. Whatever is powerful must be difficult to wield; and if, by bolder methods, new truths are attained, or older systems finally admitted or rejected, the world must not complain of the time or labour which they cost. It must be stated, however, that the methods by which the modern French mathematicians have advanced, are of Newtonian invention, and among the gradual efforts of the mind of man. We are far from admitting either that the improvements of La Grange, La Place, &c. bear any thing like the ratio to Newton, which Newton bore to all his predecessors.

Astronomy is so nearly connected with Mathematics, that we have put, under that head, many names which might be inserted here. Beside the greater vigour of reflexion which is a part of our temperament, and a more inquisitive spirit for great researches, as islanders we have always had the additional stimulus of more extensive navigation, warlike, commercial, social, scientific; and we have always maintained a decided superiority, by wider views of astronomical phenomena and systems, even more than by the detached facts and observations we have added. Much as we excel the French in the long balance of mathematical discovery, we should say, that, in the vast conceptions of the heavenly bodies, we have a still more decided superiority. We are ready to abstract all that Newton has done; the fact and theory of gravitation; the laws of motion of the heavenly bodies; the mathematical refutation of the vortices of Des Cartes, &c.; and we say, that the French cannot produce any discoveries of theirs comparable to the following—the first which occur to us upon a hasty recollection;—aberration; the changes of position which have taken place among the stars called fixed; the revolutions of some round others, now well ascertained; the measurement of the diameters of some, not long since deemed impossible; the translation of our solar system through absolute space, demonstrated by observation, after being long suspected, upon one of the great general ideas, entirely English, which elevate the whole human mind—In a

system, the parts of which are free to move or to be at rest, and which are governed by the usual laws of gravitation, the moment that any one of them is in motion, the others cannot be quiescent.' We might add, too, all that relates to double and coloured stars, &c.

In Optics we have a like superiority. One of the earliest works published on this science, since the revival of letters, was by Peccam, archbishop of Canterbury, contemporary of Roger Bacon. The first notable French optician was Des Cartes, to whom it belongs to have explained the laws of refraction, upon plain mechanical principles; to have brought Dioptrics into the form of a science; and to have added much to the speculations of A. de Dominis on the rainbow. This philosopher, however, was not satisfied with what really belonged to him, but took possession of the discoveries of Snellius, whose papers, as Huyghens solemnly declares, upon his own positive knowledge, Des Cartes had rummaged; and whose law of reflexion and refraction having fallen into one of the Frenchman's vortices, he brought to light again, in somewhat an altered form, as the result of his own researches. From Des Cartes till Malus, the French made no leading discovery in Optics; yet that period includes the most remarkable progress of this science. They do, indeed, claim Mr Dolland as a Frenchman. This requires a few observations: and we must again say, that we wish some general law were fixed, about this kind of national property; and a treaty made to assign discoveries and inventions to the countries *either* where their authors were born, or where they reside. In the present anarchy, the French rest their claims upon *both* of these grounds, and carry it down to generation after generation. Now John Dolland, of achromatic memory, was born January 10th, 1706, in Spitalfields, of Norman Protestant refugee parents; consequently, as he would have been liable to be hanged, and that without the privilege of a *jury de medietate lingue*, had he been taken in arms against England, we cannot give him up to any claim from France. He was a true-born Briton; and we are proud of him. But, let us suppose that he was born in France; we assert that the most disastrous principle—unless reciprocity be excluded—which the French could advance, would be the very one now in question; though it certainly is the true and fair principle upon which justice should be distributed; for, of the persons already named in this article, they would lose Cardan, Dom. Cassini, the Bernoullis, La Grange, and Berthollet; while, of our much longer lists, the only names about which a doubt could be raised are,



Herschel, a subject of the King of Great Britain, though not a Briton born; and Black, whose father was a British wine-merchant, resident at Bourdeaux, where his son was born indeed, but where he did not end the years of his childhood, being sent to his father's native town, Belfast, for the purpose of receiving a British education. Dom. Cassini was not naturalized in France till he had attained the age of 48. We have looked over the names of persons celebrated at different times in both countries, and in various departments of intellect; and we have found, that the number of foreigners who have contributed to the glory of France, and who have, in consequence thereof, been received into the bosom of that country, and claimed as its own, is about five times as great as that of such foreigners in England. In this calculation are included two Frenchmen, to whom our country is at this moment indebted, Mons. Didot, who has established a manufactory of paper of indefinite length; and, much more, Mons. Brunel, whose block machinery is one of the wonders of our naval arsenals. We know the French will attribute this to their amenity to strangers; but we could refute this argument by our much more extensive and enlightened hospitality and benevolence, so often and so largely exercised, without hope of benefit or return.

The discovery of Malus is certainly very meritorious; but what he has termed *polarization*, was at least suspected by Huyghens long since; and Dr Higgins, in his Essay on Light, maintains that the polarity of all parts of matter varies in the different arcs of each atom. To Malus we can oppose Dr Herschel; and to the French corps de reserve we can bring up Brewster, Dalton, Leslie, Wollaston, Young, &c. over whom it would not be easy for the world combined to obtain a victory at this moment.

The accusation brought against Des Cartes by Huyghens relative to the papers of Snellius, reminds us of another instance of plagiarism in the same philosopher. Sir Charles Cavendish showed Roberval Harriot's algebra, from which Des Cartes had stolen the method of placing all the terms of an equation on one side, and making them  $= 0$ ; and, upon further examination, it was found, that he owed many of his discoveries in algebra to the same source.

The names which could be brought forward, in France, as having contributed to the advancement of the sciences, comprised under the general title of Natural Philosophy, are wonderfully few; and the discoveries made by French philosophers,

in this branch, are rare, and not very generally in the first order of importance. Des Cartes, Pascal, Rôaumur, are no brilliant exceptions: But what a host of overpowering facts might we not oppose to them!—Gilbert, two Baccus, Boyle, Flook, Newton, Halley, Gray, Hawkesbee, Dolland, Hutton, Priestley, &c.

In Natural History, the French possess a host in the name of Buffon, who, with considerable defects as a philosopher, yet ranks very high as a poetical thinker, and an eloquent discourser upon the works of Nature. But when he came to generalities, he showed the usual failings of his country intellect; and drew most rash and hasty conclusions from limited premises. His works, however, will always be a favourite study of those who take delight in adequate representations of the wonders of the universe.

A branch of natural history which the French have altogether raised to the rank of a mathematical science, and which, in this point of view, is in a great measure their own, is Mineralogy; or, in a more restricted sense, Crystallography. They were not indeed the first who discovered the tendency of certain minerals, always to assume regular forms; but Romé de Lisle, and infinitely more the Abbé Haüy, have deduced from this property such an admirable series of laws, so beautiful a system of nature, that any previous knowledge which others may have had of the mere leading fact, does not in the least diminish their glory. In England, we have not achieved any thing comparable to the immense crystallographic labours of the Abbé Haüy; but, notwithstanding the pompous establishments for diffusing mineralogical knowledge in France, and the very magnificent cabinet at the King's garden in Paris, with many other public collections, an acquaintance with minerals is much more common in Britain. We defy the French, in all their mineralogical annals, to produce such an example of zeal, talent, and public spirit, as the single geological society of London has evinced, during the few years it has existed—and such a mass of facts and observations as it has communicated to the world within so short a period. If we were inclined to follow the example of the French, we should claim the labours of the Count de Bourbon as ours, for they were performed and published in London.

Is it because Botany is one of the sciences which demands the smallest range of intellect, that the French have made themselves more conspicuous in it than in most others—and may absolutely claim a superiority over England! Though Ray in

England, and Tournefort in France, were rivals, we could not name any British botanists who could be compared with the Jussieus, all of whom have made themselves illustrious by the sagacity they have shown in botanical researches. In Vegetable Statics, indeed, we have Hales, a translation of whom was the first work of Buffon. In Zoology, we cannot say that the balance inclines very ponderously either to the English or the French side. In Comparative Anatomy the French have at this moment Cuvier, to whom we cannot find a rival in this country; and the science was in a great measure created by Daubenton and Buffon.

In the anatomy and functions of the human frame, the French could not produce any discovery, or combination of discoveries, to be compared to the single fact which Harvey first demonstrated, and elucidated in all its points, the circulation of the blood; and to which very little has been added since his time, 1688. Notwithstanding this, however, the persons employed in the art of healing, particularly in the operative branches, generally possess a competent knowledge of the structure of the human frame. In considering surgery and medicine, many persons have characterized them by qualities which we do not think appropriate. Thus the former has been styled a more positive science, while the latter has been deemed hypothetical. It is true that medicine is a conjectural branch of knowledge, deciding, something like the court of Chancery, upon precedents. Like the court of Chancery too, its practitioners have less of positive law to guide them, and, in their conclusions, are left more to their own sagacity, than in surgery, or the King's Bench. But the conjectures of physicians, as of chancery lawyers, must pass through severe trials, and finally be judged by consequences; and a greater exercise of sagacity is requisite to extricate them from the possible errors which surround them, than when they can lean on the absolute letter. The men whose names will reach the farthest to posterity as legists in this country, have all been more versed in the proceedings of Chancery, than of any other court; and the chancellor, not merely as president of the peers, but because his business is to judge according to the great principles of equity, rather than by what local usages have substituted for general justice, is always considered as the first law officer of the kingdom. In the same manner the physician must extend his views, not to what his eye can see, but to what his mind can reach. The better part of genius to him is sagacity; and this must be his every day commodity. In whatever community acuteness, promptness

and accuracy of observation are predominant, there also, *cæteris paribus*, will be the greatest number of eminent physicians.

But Surgery also has its conjectural as well as its operative part. The former is something like medicine, and requires its portion of sagacity. The other certainly cannot proceed without some intellect; but the picture of an operative surgeon is thus drawn by Celsus. 'He must not be too old, his hand must not shake, he must be ambidexter, his sight must be clear and penetrating, his mind pitiless (*inmisericors*), and he must be heedless of the screams of his patient.' The only mention made of mind in all this, is that it should be pitiless. Now it would be a strong argument in favour of what we advance upon the state of intellect in England and France, if the history of these branches of knowledge should demonstrate that the only one in which the French can claim a superiority, is that in which ambidexterity and the pitiless mind are the chief ingredients.

In 1271 Pitard established the college of surgeons in France; but the father of improved French surgery is Ambroise Paré, a man of extraordinary genius, and, on that account, saved by the King himself, Charles IX., from the massacre of St Bartholomew. His mere presence in a besieged town made the inhabitants as intrepid as if they were invulnerable. His discoveries and observations on the modes of operating are innumerable and invaluable. To him succeeded Rousset, Guillemeau, Covillard, Cabrol, Habicat: and about the same time Wiseman and Harvey flourished in England. In the 17th century surgery declined in France, and under Louis XIV. it was in a degraded state. In the last century, Petit gave new life to this study; and his principal cooperator was Desault. In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery, may be found a list of celebrated names, amounting to near twenty, among which are Bordenave, Le Cat, Le Dran, Fabre, Faye, Foubert, Lassus, Livret, Louis, Peyrille, Sabatier, Verdier, &c.; Now though it is difficult to decide upon the manual merit of an operation, which is transient, we will give up this to the French. But we will maintain, that the writings of the English surgeons, taken *in toto*, contain much more comprehensive, just, and philosophical views of their subjects, and form a more complete body of science, than those of the French authors; and the world would sustain a greater loss by the destruction of the former, than of the latter. Within the last 30 years the operative part of surgery, in which we had been the most deficient, has made prodigious advances in England; and we should not hesitate to say that, at this moment, France does not possess one single operating surgeon, equal in

merit to many whom we could name in Britain; and, if we were to enumerate the consulting surgeons in this country, whose opinions are of higher value than any in France, we should swell our list to an unconscionable length. The fact is, the reputation of French surgery always stood too high with regard to the ratiocinative part; and, at this moment, the manual part is too much indebted for its fame to the memory of, Ambroise Paré, and to the operative skill of Frere, Cornie and Desault. In both we are now superior; but still more in consultation than in manipulation. We spare our readers the catalogue of names which might be enumerated on either side. One of the modern inventions of French surgery, is what Mr Larrey has introduced into military medicine under the name of *ambulance*, but which unfortunately for his pretensions to originality was thus described, some eighty years ago, by Ranby sergeant surgeon to our George the Second, whom he accompanied in his German wars. 'When the army is forming for an engagement, let the surgeons with their respective mates, of the three or four regiments that are posted near each other, collect themselves into a body, (the same method being observed throughout the line), and take their station in the rear according to the command of the general. Here let the wounded be put under immediate care and management. By this means they will be enabled mutually to assist each other, and to perform with more exactness and despatch:—and he concludes by painting the sufferings of the wounded, who with large lacerated wounds and bleeding arteries and fractured limbs, were carried to a distance, as in the usual method. (*Ranby on Gun-shot Wounds*, p. 33.)

In the other branch of Therapeutics, and which we deem to be the highest, the English have at all times been superior. The ignorance of French physicians always has been excessive; and even those who have read and written upon the subject, are little skilful in the practice. The origin of this superiority we conceive to be the same which has acted upon our whole mind; and given it a greater reach of thought, and a wider power of combination. What has particularly turned that mind in the channel of medical inquiries, is the uncertainty of our climate, which exposes us to a greater variety of diseases, and lowers the general average of health in this country; while the disorders which fall under the cognizance of surgery are, in part, produced by accidents independent of climate. From these too has resulted another cause, which has not a little contributed to advance the study of medicine. Its practitioners, as being more necessary here, are upon a more dignified footing than in any

other part of Europe: in rank they have precedency of an esquire: in estimation they are considered as gentlemen: and, as men of learning and talent, they are respected. The person to whom we fly for aid in the dread alternative of life and death, honoured, as he should be, by our esteem, while he holds in his hands the web of our fate, is not, the moment afterwards, discarded, and thrown into the worthless lumber of society, as in France. Under these circumstances, it is clear, *a priori*, that the medical sciences and profession cannot anywhere stand upon so fair a footing as in England.

The progress which physic had made in other countries, while no attempt had yet been made in France to promote its study, is quite astonishing. In the 12th century, the schools of Salerno, Padua, Paris, Piacenza, Milan, Ferrara, Bologna, were flourishing; while only two in France, those of Paris and Montpellier, were known. In the 13th century, the French had Pitard, a man, as Quenay says, born for surgery; while Gilbert, John of St Giles, Richard of Windermere, Nicolas Farnham, John of Goddesdem, flourished in England. When the absurdities of the Arabian doctrines began to be exposed, and the merits of the Greeks to be made known, by Leoniceus and Matardus in Italy, by Fuchs, Koch, Umter, Hagenbut in Germany, by Linacre and Calus (Anglicæ John Kaye) in England, — Gorris, Duret, Houlter, and Foesius in France were illustrating the precepts of Hippocrates: But Brissot of Pontois was the first Frenchman who proposed any practical improvement. A very long period of stagnation elapsed after this, during which the French did hardly any thing; though many discoveries were making elsewhere, and the mind of Lord Bacon was towering over the medical, as over all other sciences. Then came their fanciful theories concerning the fermentation of the fluids and the animal spirits from the brain; and various ridiculous refinements upon the chemico-mechanico-physiologocal theories of Descartes, together with other systems, — the absurdity of which Boyle first exposed, and Sydenham quite overthrew. Dionis, professor of surgery at the King's Garden in Paris, who maintained that the circulating system of the human body was the same as the machine at Marly, (a miserable hydraulic machine for raising water from the Seine, yet one of the wonders of the environs of Paris), was posterior to Sydenham. To every eminent English physician succeeded Pitcairne, Keil, Witheringham, Mead, Lower, Molyneux, Mayan, Gifford, Whiston, Monro, Willis, Porterfield, Whytt, Culston, Brown, Gregory, Darwin, Baillie; and, in France, Hecquet, Astruc, Pecquet, Broussais, Sauvages, Senac, and per-

haps superior to all French physicians, even at the early age at which he died, Bichat. Medicine, says Stahl, is little more than rational empiricism. So, it may be said, is every science not founded on demonstration, and reduced to practice. But the perfection of all these is, when such consistency is given to the rationale, that it may supersede the mere empirical. This is the work of genius and sagacity; and this is what the English have most particularly effected. In practice, indeed, we seem to have made a singular partition with the French, and to have left them the empirical and the anile, while we have kept the rationale to ourselves. They are indeed in the most deplorable state in which men who wish for knowledge can be; for they have theories without philosophy—and the place where they are most inefficient is the bed side of the patient.

It is not so much in the diagnosis of disease, as in the exhibition of medicines, that the French practitioners are deficient. The difference between the English and French modes of practice, has been thus jeocosely characterized. The English physician kills his patient; The French physician lets him die. This saying may be put in the same rank with the various antilegal aphorisms of persons who grumble, because physicians have not yet subverted the laws of nature, and restored antediluvian longevity. But let a proportion be established between the quantity of health and sickness in the world; let it be considered how many disorders have a fatal tendency, how many of these are, by the laws of nature, and the duration which Providence has assigned to human existence, beyond the reach of any but supernatural aid and how many may be removed by enlightened medical assistance;—and, from these data, let the mean term which the science of medicine may rationally be expected to add to the established term of life be deduced, and we are convinced it would be infinitely little. The period of life at which man has the probability of the greatest number of years to come, is the age of 33. Now we are rationally convinced that all the medical skill which men have ever possessed, nay, which the Creator ever will allow them to possess, could not add 1-400th part to that period, and make it, instead of 33 years, 33 years and one month; that is to say, the labours of medicine have not made, and cannot make, a perceptible addition to the mean term of human life. How much of that month has been added in England, and how much in France, we cannot pretend to determine; but we may confidently advance the former, whatever it is, to be double of the latter and the proportion of individual suffering relieved, (for such is the real advantage of medicine) to be infinitely greater.

The *Materia Medica* of the French is very limited; but, such as it is, it is held to contain more mortal words than the whole nosologies of Sauvages and of Cullen taken together. We say words; for, according to their practice, one would suppose the very name of some substances were deadly. They seem to know but little, too, of the opposite qualities of one entire class of remedies, which, in one proportion, excite, and, in another, depress; and of the tendency which particular medicines have to particular organs of our frame. The language of this science is altogether metaphorical. Tea whips the blood; diluting beverages wash it; corroborants put fire into the body; baths of whey give unctuousity to crisped nerves; and this is the more extraordinary, as French poetry admits such sparing use of tropes and metaphors. We were present when the Nestor of Parisian medicine and anatomy ordered a patient, who had laboured under an ague for seven months, 'du thé de tilleul, de l'eau de fleurs d'orange, et les pieds dans l'eau.' The result of a consultation of some eminent Parisian practitioners, in 1818, was to order their patient to suck the dried skin of an Egyptian ass. A physician told a rheumatic lady, that her illness proceeded from her not having been *purgée* at her last lying-in,—her youngest child being then aged 32. We have known a *conseil de famille*, presided by the family Esculapius, to sit in deliberation whether a dose of hippeacuanha might not be administered, in a few days, to one of its members afflicted with catarrh. Every person has, for every disorder, his little *pacotille* of heroic medicines, such as those just mentioned; to which may be added, in cases of indigestion, a verre d'eau sucrée; and no details of their effects are ever spared in conversation. The sovereigns of Asia trumpet to the world when they have dined; the subjects of France seem to have a public privilege of an opposite kind. Their physicians could not, at similar epochs, adduce any examples in their practice or theory to be compared to Willis on the brain and nerves, the speculations of Cullen, the Brunonian theory, Darwin's theory of fever, his catenation of animal motions and diseases, association, inoculation, vaccination, the use of mercury in cachexia, the improved modes of treating fever, particularly by cold affusion, &c.

The last science which we mean to compare in the two countries is Chemistry. It is that in which the French have claimed, in modern times, the greatest superiority; and have directed the entire activity of their ambition to affix, to the last half century, the title of the French Age of Chemistry. We will not



look back into the history of this science, any farther than the period which that nation claims as its own.

The modern theory of chemistry is founded upon a greater number of new discoveries than ever were made in a like space of time, or than ever had contributed to create a system of science; and, what is more extraordinary, those discoveries consist, not merely in facts, but in substances. More than a century before it was established however, many, both of the one and of the other, had been perceived; but they lay like heaps of ore upon the surface of the ground, visible to all, their value quite unseen. In the oldest times of chemistry, since the revival of letters, airs of different natures had been perceived by Van Helmont, Rey, Boyle, Hooker, Hales, Mayow, Scheele, Priestley, and others, before any of the conclusions now admitted were drawn respecting them. And many things then known to our great countrymen, but neglected by the age in which they lived, might be held as happy anticipations of the modern theory.

The person who took up the science in this state, and began to new-model it, was Dr Black. In his investigation of the aerial fluids, he discovered one fact, the existence of carbonic acid; and one great point of theory, latent heat. Mr Cavendish, by far the most completely minded of all modern chemists, made known another aerial fluid, hydrogen; and ascertained the composition and nature of nitric acid. 'In looking for one thing, I have generally found another,' said Dr Priestley of himself; and 'to enumerate the discoveries of Dr P.' said Mr Kirwan, 'would be to enter into a detail of most that have been made within the last fifteen years'—'discoveries which have new-modelled that science, and drawn to it, and to this country, the attention of all Europe. It is certain that, since the year 1773, the eyes and regards of all the learned bodies of Europe, have been directed to this country by his means.' By these three great men, a much nobler scientific juncto than the medical triumvirate of a former era, Boerhaave, Stahl, and Hoffman, the revolution in chemistry was begun. We must add Waltham, Watt, Crawford, Kirwan, &c. in England; Wille, Scheele, Berzelius, in Sweden; and some Germans; but the latter were more metallurgic and pharmaceutic than theoretic chemists.

A prodigious mass of new facts, and a large portion of theory begun, about the year 1770, to be imported from this country into France, where they attracted the attention of Lavoisier. As the claims which the French lay to the title of founders of the modern system of chemistry rest solely on the labours of

this celebrated individual, we will examine them. In the year 1772, he began to work, first, on carbonic acid. The state of our knowledge concerning that substance then, was as follows. Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Hales, and Black, had disengaged it from earths and alkalis; Cavendish, Priestley, Kier, Bewley, Bergman, Lane, M'Bride, Jacquin, had examined its properties; and Black had proved, by direct experiment, that it results from the combustion of coal and charcoal. In 1772, Lavoisier burnt these substances in close vessels; and thus, by a more rigorous synthesis, gave additional weight to the discovery of Black.

2dly, With regard to diamond, Newton first asserted its combustibility; the Academy del Cimento burnt it in the focus of a lens; Macquer, Darceet, Ronelle, in a crucible; and Lavoisier in close vessels—hence demonstrating its analogy with charcoal.

3dly, Previous to the experiments of Lavoisier, on the calcination of metals, Rey, Homberg, Hooke, Moyou, had ascertained the fact; as also that, during calcination, the metals acquired weight.

4thly, It had long been suspected that atmospheric air was not a simple body; but Scheele and Priestley proved its compound nature beyond a doubt. In 1774, Lavoisier, by operating in close vessels, showed that the weight acquired by metals during calcination, is exactly equal to that lost by the air in those vessels. But he was not then acquainted with the nature of the air combined, or of the change produced.

5thly, In August of the same year, Priestley discovered the gas, since named oxygen, and in 1775, Lavoisier communicated to the Academy, that, having reduced red oxide of mercury in a retort, he obtained from it a peculiar kind of air, which maintained combustion better than common air; and which he concluded to be an exceedingly pure portion of our atmosphere.

6thly, By reducing the red oxide of mercury with charcoal in close vessels, Lavoisier obtained a farther confirmation of Dr Black's opinion concerning carbonic acid. He also varied, with great sagacity, the researches to which these subjects had given rise.

7thly, Previously to this time, Lavoisier had not turned his attention toward the theory of caloric. Between 1755 and 1765, Dr Black had established his whole system upon this subject; and before 1770, it had been examined, confirmed, extended, by Irwine, Crawford, Wilek, Cullen, Watt; and, what cannot often be said in things of this nature, it came out of the

mind of its author, as complete as it stands at this hour; for, since its first promulgation, not so much as a modification has been added. The same thing may be said of specific heat; yet, of both these theories, Lavoisier has been deemed the author, because a few facts had been added, and a new instrument had been applied, by Laplace and him, to measure the capacities of bodies for heat. In the same manner, every fundamental proposition respecting respiration, animal heat, &c., had been determined by Black, Priestley, Crawford, &c., before Lavoisier had investigated the subject.

*Schley.* The last claim of this celebrated chemist is to the decomposition of water. The compound nature of this quondam element had been long suspected, and many attempts had been made to ascertain its nature. Scheele supposed that the result of the combustion of hydrogen and oxygen was caloric. In 1776, Macquer and Sigand de la Fond found drops of water on a surface which they held under the flame of burning hydrogen. In 1777, Buequet supposed the product to be carbonic acid; and Lavoisier concluded it to be sulphuric or sulphureous acid. In 1781, Mr Waelure burnt a mixture of the two gases, and observed the vessel on which he operated to be moist in the inside. In the same year, Mr Cavendish combined the two gases together, and obtained from them a ponderable and examinable quantity of water, such as enabled him firmly to assert, 'water is composed of hydrogen and oxygen.' The like conclusion too was ascertained by Watt, about the same time. But, so far was Lavoisier from having any title to a participation in the glory of the discovery, that his preceding conclusions were threatened with subversion, and his whole system was tottering, because the production of hydrogen by iron, while dissolving in dilute sulphuric acid, could not be accounted for; and, so far was he from anticipating a fact so essential to his theory, that, to use the words of a philosopher whose candour never was surpassed (Mr Cavendish, Phil. Trans. Vol. 74, p. 184), 'until he was prevailed upon to repeat the experiment himself, he found some difficulty in believing that nearly the whole of the two gases could be converted into water.' It is somewhat remarkable too, and not very creditable to the inductive powers of the French chemist, while it most triumphantly refuted the flagitiousness of his claim, that, in the winter of 1781-2, and six months after the luminous conclusion separately drawn by Watt and Cavendish, Lavoisier, aided by Gengembre, burnt a quantity of hydrogen gas (*Mém. de l'Académie des Sciences de Paris*, 1783, p. 460), still in the expectation of obtaining an acid like that produced from sulphur. Finally—on

the 4th of July 1788, he performed the experiment in a more convenient apparatus, and on a larger scale; and thus, eighteen months after all doubt had ceased, discovered that Cavendish was right, and obtained conviction. The French chemists who repeated these experiments, were La. Place, Monge, Meunier, La. Favre, Gineau, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Berthollet, &c.

With these facts and dates before the eyes of all Europe, it is difficult to conceive how Lavoisier should ever have been named as the founder of modern Chemistry. But such is the spirit of monopoly with which we have too just grounds to reproach the French upon many occasions. No sooner did discoveries begin to multiply in England, and grand conclusions force themselves upon the minds of our philosophers, than a fine opportunity of glory presented itself to France, provided that her academicians could by any means contrive to appropriate to themselves all that we had done. For this purpose, then, a party of French chemists pounced upon the science; and, in order to wed it in indissoluble bonds, *convincio stabili*, they gave their own names to every thing that belonged to it. Even while we acknowledge the services which a methodical nomenclature has rendered, we must say that it has proved the most powerful of all the means the French have employed to support their unjust claim. No nation has so often proved the little wiles of language, in all its departments, as the French; and they very naturally concluded, that the universal currency of their dialect, which had so often furthered their political ends, might help them in their scientific intrigues.

An obvious method for Lavoisier to extricate himself from the suspicion of connivance or complicity, was to disavow the unjust pretensions which his partisans alleged in his favour. But this he did not do; and, upon a fair review of his writings and conduct, compared with the charges brought against him, and with dates, it is difficult to dispute that he stands fairly convicted of scientific plagiarism. In his publications there is not that fair and general avowal of the merits and discoveries of his forerunners, at all times just, but which became a special duty in a moment when his countrymen were preying upon the rights of every foreign philosopher. Nay, he seems studiously to have avoided the mention of all persons, whose title to originality he knew to be stronger than his own. His public illiberality to Dr Black was extreme; and, when contrasted with his private flattery, disgusting. Still worse was his conduct to Dr Priestley, on the discovery of oxygen, which he claims for himself in these words, (Lav. Elements of Chemistry) "This species of air was discovered

'about the same time by Mr Priestley, Mr Scheele, and myself.' To which vague and slippery assertion we shall oppose the precise and simple statement of Priestley. In a pamphlet, '*The Doctrine of Phlogiston Established*,' published in 1800 by this truly eminent philosopher, then in America, and in a great measure retired from science, and from Europe, he says, 'Having made the discovery (of oxygen gas) some time before I was in Paris, in the year 1774, I mentioned it at the table of Lavoisier, where most of the philosophical people in the city were present, saying that it was a kind of air in which a candle burnt much better than in common air; but I had not yet given it any name. At this, all the company, and Mr and Madame Lavoisier, as much as any, expressed great surprise.' This occurred in 1774. In 1775, Lavoisier, of course, was in readiness to communicate his own discovery of oxygen to the Academy. Taking in all the circumstances of the case, and all collateral evidence, together with the too frequent practice of the French, at least since the days of Des Cartes, we must say that we implicitly believe Dr Priestley.

The great object of the French was to take away the merit of all Modern Chemistry from the English, and to bestow it on themselves. Who the sharers in the spoil should be, was a secondary question, provided France was the theatre of glory. No person could have been more judiciously selected to wear the robes of triumph than Lavoisier. He had a princely fortune; and, almost alone in the class of opulence in which he stood, he was busied upon science. He was respected in the financial world of Paris; he enjoyed the confidence of Government; in private life, he was beloved; and his mind was fraught with method and discernment. His house then became the temple of the new science. In it was erected the altar on which, while solemn dirges sung a requiem to defunct Phlogiston, the Fundamenta of Stahl were offered up as a holocaust to the vanity of French philosophers. Neither has the spirit of monopoly diminished in proportion as the science has gained strength; and in the Report made by Cuvier to Bonaparte, in 1808, the same injustice prevails. It is in that respect, too, that we may behold the melancholy spectacle of a man of eminent talents bowing with this phrase before usurpation and despotism—'A word from your Majesty can create a work which shall surpass that of Aristotle (*Hist. of Animals*), as much as your actions surpass in splendour those of the Macedonian conqueror.'

Upon summing up the evidence on both sides of the question,

it appears, then, from the irrefragable testimony of dates, that a very great proportion of the chemical facts and theories ascribed to Lavoisier, is not his. The nature of carbonic acid; the acquisition of weight by metals during calcination; the nature of the atmosphere; the composition and analysis of water; the whole theory of caloric, were well known, before he had ever written upon these subjects. Yet these are the great fundamental points upon which the chemical theory of the last century chiefly rests; and every one of these is English. The just claims and merits of Lavoisier are the following, and no more. 1st, He proved the diamond to be charcoal; but he was mistaken in supposing those two substances to be identical. Besides, this is a mere insulated fact, very interesting, it is true, with regard to those two substances, but wholly independent of any general theory. 2d, From the experiments of Priestley, in which nitrous gas was evolved from nitric acid, and nitric acid again formed when nitrous gas was mixed with oxygen, he drew the obvious conclusion, that nitric acid was composed of nitrous gas and oxygen. 3d, He overthrew the influence of phlogiston in chemical phenomena, and ascribed to the new substances, and their combinations, the effects which had till then been attributed to an imaginary agent. 4th, He united in one single work the experiments and deductions of others, with so much order and perspicuity, that his *Elements of Chemistry* will ever remain a model of logical composition, whatever be the modifications which the science may undergo. 5th, He devised many new and ingenious experiments; he diversified those which had before been executed; he imagined some new instruments, the whole with great sagacity; and he was indefatigable in the pursuit of science. His assumption of oxygen, however, as the universal acidifying principle, has been proved to be erroneous. It was, indeed, admitted too lightly; and in despite of too many contradictions then known, and to which further experiments have added many more; and it is remarkable, that the only branch of the general system really appertaining to Lavoisier is now fast mouldering into dust; while all that has been devised by our own great countrymen is daily growing to greater strength and solidity.

Until Lavoisier had become acquainted with the new truths elicited in Britain, he had given no earnest of his future fame, though surely of an age to show much more than promise. Then, indeed, his mind was fired, and his intellect, or his ambition, expanded. In original experiment he always remained inferior to Black, Cavendish, Priestley, and many others. In powers of induction Black was his superior, and much more so

Cavendish; and we think we are acting with great liberality, nay with tenderness to his post fame, when, taking an average of fact and theory, we admit that the labours of *any one* of the three British philosophers above named, have contributed much more to the progress of Chemistry, than all the experiments and conclusions of Lavoisier taken together; and consequently that more than three-fourths of that science, in its modern state, are British, and one-fourth is his. We have dilated upon this subject, because it is recent, striking, and characteristic of both nations; the one of which is always encroaching, and the other too indifferent to fame. At least, it may help to make them better known to each other, and to the world.

Among the last surviving contemporaries of Lavoisier is Mr Berthollet, a native of Savoy, but claimed by the French; and who has added more philosophical investigations to the science, than any of his adopting countrymen, during near thirty years; and who is not less distinguished by his talent, than by the candour and rectitude with which he champions scientific justice.

The discoveries which of late years threaten the subversion of the chemical system, falsely called Lavoisier's, have altogether originated in Britain; and any claim the French may urge, except that of having repeated, confirmed, and slightly modified them, is unfounded. Those discoveries are owing principally to a more powerful engine than was before possessed; and to the brilliant imagination of Sir H. Davy, who has most successfully wielded it. We will not enter into the details of recent chemistry; but we confidently state that, most particularly in the philosophy of the science, Britain could produce a living list, twice as long as that of France, and of equally celebrated names. The atomic theory, the union of elements in definite proportions, expressible in integral numbers to form compound bodies, is a discovery wholly British.

This rapid sketch, which the unceasing assertion of the French, that they are the most scientific of nations, has induced us to give, and which we consider not as complete, but as just, must make the scientific superiority of Britain undoubted. But what is still more gratifying, is, that our preeminence is greater, and most indisputable, precisely in those branches of science which demand the highest powers of intellect, as well as in those whose applications are the most valuable to society—mathematics (excepting the present moment); astronomy; natural philosophy; medicine; consulting, and, at present, operative surgery—and chemistry;—while the French can pretend to rivalry in those branches only which depend upon a smaller portion of less powerful mind. The grand combinations all are

our—moral, intellectual, and physical; and at this day, as two thousand years ago, we merit the preference which one of the ablest of the Romans, Agricola, as reported by his own son-in-law, Tacitus, gave to British genius, over that of the Gauls.

We must now proceed to our second charge, the little diffusion of knowledge in France.

The ruling passion of the French nation, that to which they perpetually sacrifice, is always to appear to advantage; and, unfortunately for themselves, they too generally bound their views, to the attainment of this single end. But, while the inordinate desire to dazzle and to captivate is militating against their true happiness, and well-being, it answers the purpose of seducing unsuspecting nations into an opinion of their superiority. Thus it is that the splendour and brilliancy with which they have contrived to surround the knowledge of a few, has very generally diffused the belief, that the nation at large is particularly scientific and instructed. But, to judge soundly, it must be remembered, that, in France, glory is the condiment to the whole feast of life; and that the trumpet of fame is that which makes the sweetest music to their ears. Science, in the hands of the French, is like every thing else. It fills a page of history, and adorns their tale. But, for this end, there is no necessity that it should be general. A legion of well-informed men, but who make no discoveries, does not cut such a figure in the world as a single hero of the crucible, who forces nature in her entrenchments. We do not wish to depreciate either state of knowledge, for we rejoice to find it upon any terms; but we do think, that one thousand persons of moderate general instruction form a better, a wiser, and a happier community, than nine hundred and ninety-nine ignorant, and one discoverer. Nay more, it is probable, that, among one thousand persons of moderate general instruction, there will be more discoveries, than among ten, or twenty, or twice twenty, of the deeply learned.

The disparity between the learned and the unlearned, in France, is greater than in any other part of Europe: and forms one of the striking and characteristic features of that vivacious nation. In the countries which may be considered as her rivals in science, England, for instance, and many parts of Germany, plain homely instruction is much more general, and more knowledge is diffused throughout society; consequently, a shorter interval divides the two conditions. In other nations, on the contrary, as Italy, Spain, &c. in which general knowledge and instruction are not so common, the sciences are far from being on the same brilliant footing as that which they have main-  
tained



in France for nearly one century; and no scientific eclat induces a belief that those nations are learned. There is not any thing extraordinary in this proportion of learning to ignorance, in France. A similar condition of intellect is exemplified, in other nations not European; and to a much greater extent than it can be supposed to exist in this quarter of the globe, where the general state of society approaches nearer to equality of every kind, as well among nations, as among individuals. The Arabs, for instance, who highly honoured certain shades of intellect, were, with the exception of a very few, a nation of slaves, plunderers and banditti; ignorant of law or of justice; incapable of good government; living, judging, preaching by the sword; without a tincture of morality, and with little knowledge of the human heart. The hundred poets who accompanied the Caliph Aroun-el-Raschid in his pilgrimage to Mecca, did less to civilize and enlighten their countrymen, than did the disciples of Fohi or Confucius, to prepare the future wisdom of China, though the hundred poets may have dazzled with a brighter lustre.

We have often heard it asserted, even by our own countrymen, that the French have a greater taste for science than the English. We know not where this opinion could have had its source, except it be in the modesty, the despondency, or the ignorance, of some splenetic travellers, who prided themselves upon doing what they conceived a great act of justice, and gaining a notable triumph over prejudice, by thus untruly setting a rival nation above their own. But we would recommend to all such, still to keep some corner of their conscience for plain and simple truth. The French have indeed a greater taste for the splendour and renown of science, a more ambitious feeling of its fame and glory, than we have; but a less adequate sentiment of its real value—of the enjoyments it procures, and of the blessings it diffuses. In France, one great emporium has been established, one brilliant focus, into which the whole light of the nation has been collected. The most distinguished men, in every branch of science were at all times to be found in that learned body, which, by the publicity of its meetings in a capital where all is show, by assuming the forms of a deliberating assembly, a supreme judicial council over the state of science, not merely in France, but in Europe, has raised itself to a degree of notice and celebrity, which no other modern academy has aspired to possess, by the like means. But our Royal Society is not the only luminary for our learned world to gaze upon. There is nothing theatrical in its forms. Its sittings are short, cold and pithy. There is no discussing, no debating. Its long accu-

mulated merits must be sought for in the volumes it has published; and, from a comparison established upon such grounds, it has nothing to apprehend from all the learned societies of Europe.

The Institute of France may be far more truly said to contain the essence of French science, than the Royal Society of London can be said to contain that of Britain. Its number is limited; and every vacancy is supposed to be filled by the next most deserving scavant of the nation. It professes at all times to select the most learned men of the whole country, and none other, for its members. But the Royal Society is free, and open. Any well-informed, independent gentleman—any respectable, scientific artist, without reckoning how many superiors in science they may have—may become a Fellow of it; and admission into it is not considered as indispensable to reputation. With the exception of those who stand at the very head of science, and who, in the Institute, as elsewhere, are comparatively few, it would be much easier to form a dozen Royal Societies in Britain, than a second Institute in France. We do, indeed, possess many men of great talent and learning, who never thought of becoming members of the Royal Society; and we have many societies, chartered and otherwise, for the promotion of knowledge, in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, and various other cities of the United Kingdoms, that have contributed, in no less a proportion, to advance the study of the sciences. But, out of the pale of the Institute, and those who aspire at its honours, there is infinitely little; and out of Paris, and its emanations, no science, or next to none.

The organization and nature of these two eminent bodies, are in perfect conformity with the minds and habits of the respective countries. The Royal Society of London has all the characteristics of an association which grew, uncontrolled, out of the acquirements of a free and enlightened people; and a cordial meeting of independent men, whom a congeniality of tastes and pursuits had drawn together. The Academy of France bears too many marks of a society the formation of which was demanded, not so much by the knowledge already attained, as by the ambition of that which was in expectancy; and it was nursed in the hotbeds of despotic vanity, before general science was ripe enough to require its existence. In England, the study of Astronomy, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, occupied the place which duly belongs to them in the progress of learning; and did not engage the attention of men, until long after other branches, more connected with their hap-

piness, much more important, and which should naturally precede them, had been profoundly investigated. The moral and political sciences, those which have for their object men and nations, had long been studied in their most general principles. The Parliaments which sat under the two first of the Stuarts, were the schools in which these great themes were discussed; and our Revolution was a practical essay of their justness; an experiment, the most awful that can be imagined; and which, if it did not prove the speculations of our forefathers to be always mature, never failed to show in what their error consisted. But, in France, ethical inquiries were in their infancy when the exact sciences began to be cultivated; and many astronomers and geometricians had made themselves celebrated, while but one single political writer of permanent note could be counted. We can assert, upon the very first authority of this age, Mr Dugald Stewart, that, in questions connected with the philosophy of the human mind, the French are at least half a century behind the writers of this Island; and what would this illustrious philosopher not have added, if a residence in France had shown him, how much further still behind us is the general population of the country, in acquaintance with mental philosophy! It was not till long after the Academy of Sciences had been established, that the Encyclopedists, shallow, visionary, and impious as they mostly were, began to call the attention of the French toward the nature of man and of society. One of the most eminent of these, d'Alembert, complains that, however alert and versatile his countrymen may be in matters of taste, they always lag in the pursuit of mental philosophy; and Mr de Gerando, in his heavy pages, allows that the French philosophers of this age owe all their knowledge to Locke. Among the last things which a despot would recommend to his subjects, is the study of their own rights and nature; and, if the people do not feel the necessity of political and moral researches, it certainly does not behave such a Government as that which fourteen centuries had naturalized in France, to point out the advantages to be derived from them. When the thirst after knowledge becomes uncontrollable, absolute monarchs are too fortunate if they can find means still to divert the minds of men from political speculations into some less dangerous channels, and give other employment to that curiosity which can no longer be repressed. The fine arts have more than once been prostituted to such debasing ends; and the exact sciences are still more deceitful means of diverting nations into a belief that they are free and enlightened, though liberty and knowledge be denied them. Louis XIV. well knew this artifice, and most insidiously practised it; and if ever despot

made a more pernicious and successful use of it, Bonaparte was that despot. It would be a great error, indeed, to suppose, that the average of scientific acquirements, throughout France, bears the same proportion to the labours of the French Academy, as the average of scientific acquirements, in Britain, bears to our Royal Society; but it would be a still greater error to conclude, that the ratio between the sciences moral and political, and the exact sciences, was ever the same in both countries.

The contrast which the Institute forms to the general state of knowledge in France, is however not greater than the disproportion between the ostensible means of public instruction, in the higher branches of learning, and the effects produced. When the reign, commonly called of terror, but which we should rather characterize as the reign of blood, was over, some attempts were made to reinstate science; and, under the succeeding Governments, many public institutions were disseminated over France with this intent. Under the dominion of Bonaparte, these establishments were apparently much favoured; but his object was to create gunners, engineers, officers, scavants; marks to shoot or stare at, food for powder or for wonder:—but he knew his trade of tyrant too well, to instruct his vassals generally. He found that, next to arms, and with the same view, to glory, science was admired; and as, by the former, he had risen to power, so, by the latter, he aspired at consideration. He went accordingly to the Institute; took part in its discussions; mingled with the wise men of the capital; had himself well stuffed by his Imperial grammars; and, forming a kind of geometrical staircase of their heads, scrambled up like great Isaacles, into his throne; or, tickling the lungs of his complaisant chemists, rose upon the wings of sublimation, like the philosophers of Dioscorides, or the white eagle of Crollius. But he soon kicked away the lowly ladder of his young ambition; which, suddenly falling upon the noses of his deserted colleagues, led them to suspect they had been his dupes; and then, sticking a little piece of red riband in their button-holes, he sent them to dose in the Senate, or dream in the Council of State, the sleeping partners of his usurpation.

In all he did, there was nothing which could make science general in France. Though even in the abuse he made of it, when he converted many ingenious scavants into very indifferent statesmen, there was every thing to induce a belief, among persons who saw the thing but cursorily, that the French were the greatest respecters of learning in Europe. The schools of France, however, at the head of which we place l'Ecole Polytechnique, be the fault in them, or in the people, or in both, have not produced effects at all proportioned to their means, or to the fuss that has been

made about them. The exact sciences are principally taught in them; yet it is impossible to know France, and not to be struck with the excessive rarity of scientific information, even in the branches which have been the most profoundly studied by the learned. The dearth of general mathematical instruction, for instance, is quite astonishing. In the Parisian world at large, and in the provinces, the slightest knowledge of Geometry is hardly ever to be found; and it seems as if the quintessence of the differential calculus, and analytic functions, had been coerced into a few heads, whence it never has vent again, except upon the most solemn occasions. But, in Britain, some knowledge of Euclid is essential to the education of every gentleman; and an acquaintance with such algebraical calculation as can find its daily application, is beyond comparison more common than in France. The average of our upper classes of workmen, overseers, builders, carpenters, millwrights, are infinitely better versed in the mathematics of their various trades, than the analogous classes in France; and, while in that country a profounder, but a rarer study of infinites, is confined to the very highest order of the learned, in this, a more general and more applicable acquaintance with the mathematics, is diffused throughout the population.

The state of mechanical science is nearly the same. Of all the works which have been written upon that subject, the most profound, that which considers it in its greatest generalities, and in which the most powerful methods of analysis have been applied to it, is the '*Mécanique Analytique*' of the Piedmontese philosopher, *Le Grange*; and which, as he was long resident in France, that country claims as its own. To him, as a mechanical philosopher, may be added *Prony*, and one or two of minor note. But the rarity of mechanical instruction, in whatever branch, is quite deplorable through every class of society. Nothing can be more miserable, too, than the general state of machinery; and, at the very gates of their luxurious metropolis, may be found most pitiful examples of ignorance, in the use of machines, which, in this country, have been superseded a century since, by instruments more powerful and grand. The state of hydrostatics, hydraulics, is nothing better; and, in every science, the most remarkable thing is the excessively small number of those who are acquainted with it. Even when the rage for chemistry was highest; when alchemy with England was the ruling passion; when Bonaparte was pushing on his servants to discover, still no knowledge of it was diffused by its many lecturers, as in England; and, except among the schoolmen of the science, one might live for ever in society of all descriptions, and, among a thousand educated individuals, not meet

with one who could converse upon the subject, even the topic of the day. As to Classical instruction in France, not being a region of discovery; or a source of glory, its ratio of depth and of diffusion, compared with what it is in England, is even lower. We are pretty confident, that twice the number of good Latinists could not be found in France, as of equally good Grecians in England; and as to Greek in France, it may be as general as Hebrew in Britain. Bonaparte wished the memory of all conquerors but himself to be lost. The exclusives among the revolutionists profess, that the knowledge of all events preceding 1792 is useless. We have heard much of the rising literary generation of France; that which was formed under the Directory, and Bonaparte. We stand prepared to give credit to its promise, as soon as it is performed; and, in the mean time, we hail the auspicious novelty of genius, planted by anarchy, and matured by despotism:

But this scantiness of knowledge is perceptible, not merely in the public at large. It pervades the professedly learned classes of society; and it is much more common to find, in France than in England, men deeply versed in one single branch of science; and possessing little knowledge of any other. Generally speaking, it is after an Englishman has gone through the common process of a liberal education; and even made himself acquainted with the various themes of higher acquirements, that he fixes his thoughts, more especially, upon that branch of science which he finds the most attractive; and profound knowledge upon one subject, is rarely coupled with profound ignorance upon another. At least, whatever be his other learned pursuits, the moral and political sciences, the public affairs of his country, fill some portion of the daily thoughts of an Englishman; and, however scientific an assembly of French philosophers may be, an assembly of British philosophers is much more generally enlightened. A source of many misfortunes, during the Revolution of France, was, that her scavants imagined they could master human passions, as they could rake out the ashes of their Athanasior; or govern the loosened wind of the cavern of Moloch, as easily as they could calculate their velocity.

It is an old practice, in France, for Government to consult the scavants upon great occasions; and the practice has been held as wondrously wise. In England, we do not so much bow to their opinions; and this custom we conceive to be a still greater proof of wisdom. The fact is, that, in France, if the scavants are not consulted, those who want to obtain information

have none other to whom they can apply. A large middle class, an extensive *tiers état*, in knowledge, does not exist there; and for this reason, there is no union of theory with practice, and none of the happy effects which only such an union can produce. But England is a country of practitioners; and, with the necessity we feel of always keeping the lead in industry and forethought, as the means of national supremacy, we cannot fail to be enlightened practitioners. In all that is useful we have many persons in many places, from whom Government may learn, and who can give more applicable information than the Institute of France; yet who are not clad in half its brilliancy, because they stand upon a less contrasting ground. In the various shades and stages of wisdom, science has been differently esteemed among nations: In none, since the first expansion of reason, has it been wholly despised: In none, perhaps, has it been entirely honoured as it should be. The French have reached precisely that degree of knowledge, that mixture of physical and moral improvement, of luxury and civilization, which makes men bow, in prostrate admiration, before the science which they keep enshrined. The English, more enlightened, pay it a more rational homage; they reverence and diffuse it, and hold it as abortive as long as it is not conducive to human happiness. We are very far from denying that there are many in France who feel the advantage of diffusing science; but we maintain, and shall presently demonstrate, that science is not near so much a national demand in that country as in Britain.

In France, too, Government is the great protector and promoter of science; and not merely urges on, but even directs the pursuits of the learned. This likewise has been much extolled. There, indeed, where the stimulus of enlightened liberty is wanting, and where admiration is so precious to the nation, it may be necessary to urge men on, even in their studies: In England, the Government does less, because the subject does more. In free governments, it is not so much the function of the rulers to enlighten the governed, as of the governed to enlighten them. In order that the people may be wise, wisdom must be a demand of the people. The only knowledge which men truly appreciate, is that of which they feel the value; not that which they are told is excellent, or which is pointed to as glorious. The enlightened state of the wealthy British population, and the efforts of those who would become both enlightened and wealthy, spare our Government from all solicitude upon science.

As is the state of science, so is the state of books in the two countries. In England, we do not possess any one establishment containing so many rare materials as the King's Library at Paris; but the mass which is contained in our metropolis is more valuable, and the manner in which it is diffused is infinitely more advantageous. The curious, upon some particular subject, might perhaps add some recondite, nay, some valuable facts to his knowledge, by consulting the former; but the community must derive incomparably more light from the latter. Beside this too, in every country seat in England there is a library, which would average at least ten times as high as such libraries in France; and, moreover, the number of our country seats is ten times greater. Our humbler mansions, if they do not possess what deserves the appellation of a library, have at least some well furnished book cases; and even our cottages contain a few volumes. But no book ever degrades the silken luxury of a French salon; very rarely is a room set apart for such guests in the metropolis; and, in the country, a billiard table is the usual occupant of the apartment which, in England, is reserved for the library. We *know* a village situated just  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Paris, containing six families, whose yearly income would average about 2500*l.*, equivalent to 4000*l.* in England; and of 850 meaner inhabitants. In all the wealthy houses taken together, two thousand volumes could not be mustered: but, in each of them, is a billiard table: and there are moreover five public billiard tables in the village, for the amusement of the 850 poorer inhabitants. In a radius of three miles, are six or eight more villages; and, in all these, the ratio of books and billiard tables is nearly the same. As we recede from Paris, the ratio of books diminishes, in a much more rapid progression, than that of billiard tables. But, in the village alluded to, there is one billiard table to about 182 volumes. We are afraid to aver, that the average of entire France would be one billiard table to one hundred volumes. In all these villages too, though there are many coffeehouses and wine-houses, not three public daily papers could be found.

— The glorious and brilliant days of Bonaparte cannot be better characterized than by the following fact. The price of new books rose considerably in his time; not from any additional tax, or increase in the price of labour or materials, but because the demand was so small as to allow but a small number of copies to be taken off. At the same time, old editions of the best French authors were currently bought and sold in Paris for one fourth part of their value. When the armies of



Europe entered France, the price of old books rose considerably, and they have since become more rare. The court of the tyrant was the least reading of all such polished assemblies. Were we to judge by the profusion of libraries, collections and museums, dispersed over the kingdom of France, we should conclude that Science had there established her universal empire. But we have more certain modes of appreciating the truth; for we can state results, upon very positive documents. Two thousand copies at least of the *Journal of the Royal Institution*, conducted by Mr Brande, are sold quarterly. Of the *Annales de Chimie* by Gay-Lussac, Thenard & Co., not more than six hundred copies are distributed monthly. But, as the quantity of letter-press in the former, is about three times as much as in the latter, the frequency of sale is compensated; and the proportion of scientific information, thus circulated, in equal times, is ten in England, and three in France. But, beside Mr Brande's *Journal*, we have many others of considerable merit—medical, surgical, botanical, mineralogical, chemical, mathematic, astronomical; as well as scientific communications in our literary journals, reviews, magazines, &c.; and the transactions of our learned societies; insomuch, that the total periodical scientific circulation of Britain, is six times the *Journal of the Royal Institution*. But we could not find three times as much more periodical scientific letter-press, in France, as that which is circulated in the *Annales de Chimie*. Hence, then, the ratio of periodical scientific letter-press in England and France, is eight to one; which being circulated in populations that are as two to three, it follows, that the demand for scientific information is twelve times greater, in an equal number of British than of French consumers. The list of journals, in France, is tolerably long, and their titles sonorous; but few of them attain longevity. That which has the most extensive circulation, is chiefly literary; and of this about twelve hundred copies are distributed monthly. Another, with a very high sounding epithet, lately had nineteen subscribers, and now has seventy-two. Government defrays its expenses, but cannot conscribe readers. Upon a moderate computation, and one even favourable to France, the ratio of periodical letter-press, of various kinds stands thus, in favour of Britain. Scientific 12 to 1: Literary 30 to 1: Political and Moral 50 to 1.

The dearth of private libraries, of the receptacles spread almost indefinitely over the country, where men are domesticated with books, and live amidst them as in their families, cannot be compensated, in practical advantages, by any number of

public repositories. If books of useful knowledge are not among the familiars of men, one half of their value is in show. Something intermediate between the two modes are the circulating libraries of this country; against which, those who are satisfied with nothing have loudly declaimed. But we cannot agree with these well meaning grumblers. That circulating libraries have done harm, we firmly believe. But so has every thing. Men have been assassinated with a case-knife. The brains of a child were lately beaten out with the heel of a shoe. Yet it does not follow that men had better eat with their fingers, or wear no shoes, or put no nails into them. Circulating libraries, like all other commodities, must take their tone from the markets that consume them; and their general tendency may be estimated by inspecting their catalogue. Now, supposing the contents of these to be of equal value in both countries, (and from what we have just now seen this is not likely to be the case)—we say that the resources which each derives from them are *infinite* in favour of Britain. One single London circulating library could purchase the sum total of all the circulating libraries of all the towns of France. And yet our private libraries are certainly as fifty to one.

In the same category as the King's library in Paris, the French include their other public collections; such for instance as the Museum of Natural History, the Establishment of Arts et M<sup>ét</sup>iers at the Abbaye St Martin, their galleries of pictures and statues. But of the latter we are inclined to judge somewhat differently. Wherever the productions of genius consist in sensible objects, their appeal must be directly made to the senses; and whatever stimulates the mind increases their effect. The greater the mass of talent which, at one glance, bursts upon the eye, the higher will enthusiasm be raised; and the more surrounding objects harmonize, the more deep and undisturbed will be our admiration. Many a mind which would pass indifferently by every object singly, is yet excited by contemplating them collectively; and only perceives the perfections of detail, when roused by the grandeur of the whole. In the fine arts, then, we admit the greater advantages of collecting the productions of superior talent. But, when we wish to reason, we must preserve an entire serenity, and unruffled calmness; and, were it possible that, by merely beholding the work which reflexion only can appreciate, enthusiasm should be excited, the archives of its treasures would be baleful to it. It is allowed that, as private property dispersed over England, we possess a greater number of capital pictures than are contained in the gallery of the Louvre, that is to say, nearly in all France. But even while we

boast that individuals in this country have done more than Government has been able to effect in that kingdom—though the chief superiority claimed over us is in the fine arts—we must allow that our mode of distributing is not so advantageous. In Italy, the disadvantages of dispersion are not so strongly felt. The whole country is a museum; and every spot is fraught with hallowed recollections. We cannot, however, give implicit credit to the French, for having made so vast a collection in favour of the arts. If the arts, thus collected, brought back to them no greater return of glory than does the diffusion of knowledge, we should soon see them fall into neglect.

The collection of machines is intermediate between a picture gallery and a library. It must be seen like the former, and understood like the latter. It may render essential services where such knowledge is not general; and may be convenient even where it is. In England, we may not have any one collection of machines equal to that in Paris. But the quantity of machines, not models, which we have dispersed over the whole country, not to look at, but to use, not to talk of, but to profit by, is many hundred times greater. Our fields, our farmyards, our mines, our manufactures, are our practical Abbaye St Martin; as the backs and cottages of our Yeomanry are our exhibition of national industry, and the minds of our enlightened gentry are our Royal library.

Another rule we may lay down respecting public collections is this.—Wherever specimens are costly, rare, and cannot be multiplied, such collections are precious; but wherever, as is the case with useful books, they can be put in common circulation, at a moderate price, collections lose their value, by the case with which their contents can be set in hourly presence with the consumers.

We will conclude this article by an anecdote of Louis XVth, whom we have shown, on a former occasion, to have been the only patron whom the Chevalier Pawlet found in France for his method of instructing children. His favourite study was geography. Mr Petit Radet mentions, as a piece of furniture belonging to the Mazarine Library, a globe, which, in 1784, Louis XVI. had ordered to be constructed as a record of the state of Geography down to his reign. He wished to have it made of the most durable materials; on the largest dimensions; and with all the care and skill which the ablest geographers of his kingdom, aided by foreign discoveries, could bestow upon it, in point of exactness. It was to have contained the results of nineteen voyages round the world; to which was to be added, the voyage that La Peyrouse was then perform-

ing. Some parts of this machine were put in great forwardness, under the administration of Mons. de Vergennes; but the whole was never completed. One of the circles alone weighs 1500 lib. In its present state, the globe is suspended. The ocean is coloured light blue. The land is yellow; and the mountains shaded. The project of La-Peyrouse's voyage was submitted to the monarch, before that unfortunate navigator left France; and, on the margin, Louis with his own hand wrote several notes. The intention was, that the ships should separate after crossing the Line. The king's remark was, 'This separation must not take place. It is too dangerous in seas so little known.' He adds, that in the Southern ocean, as being calmer, the ships might separate; and one of them make for Easter Island, to ascertain whether, as Cook advances, the human race is becoming extinct there. He frequently marks his anxiety that the ships should keep together, as long as separation might be dangerous; and he concludes thus—'The happiest event of this expedition will be its termination without the loss of a single man.' If Louis XVth. had more resembled the nation he had to govern, he might have run his course of nature on the throne, and left his sceptre to his own posterity. But when subjects and their sovereign are so much unlike—no matter which is best or worst—the chasm which separates them must generally be filled with blood; and too often with the blood of the most innocent.

The topic mentioned in the last paragraph reminds us, that we should say a few words upon Geography. This science, like all others, is much more general in England than in France. Were we to judge by the globe of Louis XVth, and the labours of Danville, we should say the contrary. But globes happen to be one of the things in which our superiority in quantity, multiplied by quality, and divided by price, is extreme. At the exposition of the products of French industry in 1810, many globes were exhibited; and, in the number, one written by hand, which had occupied the writer two years of his life. The diameter was, we think, four feet. It was purchased by Louis XVIII. In point of clearness, distinctness, and neatness of execution, we should prefer Mr Carey's twenty-one inch globes at ten guineas the pair. At the same exhibition there were also engraved globes, of various dimensions, but so much inferior to Mr Carey's of the same diameter, one foot—so petty in all great points—so illegible, so *vetilleux* as the French would say—that one could hardly suppose them destined to the same purpose. The price too of the French globes, instead of being two-thirds of the price of Mr Carey's, was eight guineas; the English

globes being three guineas and a half; that is to say, in proportion to the value of money, about four times as dear as they should be. It is entirely owing to the great demand for these things, that is to say, to the great and superior diffusion of useful knowledge among the public of this happy Island, that our artists are enabled to sell them at so low a rate.

---

ART. VIII. *Journals of two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales, undertaken by Order of the British Government in the Years 1817-18.* By JOHN OXLEY, Surveyor-General of the Territory. 1 Vol. 4to. pp. 408. Murray, Albemarle-Street. London, 1820.

WHETHER Botany Bay was made in a merry mood of Nature, or whether it was her first essay in making continents, we shall never know; but we may be quite sure, that every thing found there will be diametrically opposite to the ordinary productions and inventions of the Old World. Here are, for instance, two rivers, the Lachlan and the Macquarie, which Mr John Oxley, arguing upon analogy, supposes to flow on and increase till they empty themselves into the sea. But in three or four weeks he rides them fairly down into the bogs, where they are lost among millions of barren and unhealthy acres, impervious, unfit for human life, abandoned to reeds, ducks and frogs. A mouth for the Niger has of late years been loudly and arrogantly called for. The excellent Mr Park, some Captains, and a good deal of money, have been expended in its detection. Mr Oxley has shown, that Nature will have her caprices in spite of hydrographers and map-makers—that she does not consult Mr Arrowsmith—and flows where she pleases, without asking permission of Mr Barrow, or inquiring what direction will best suit the hypotheses of Mr Maxwell or Mr Reichard. We have no doubt that some of our geographical people will be very angry with these rivers; but they must learn, in this age of discovery, to hold their theories at single anchor—often to acknowledge their supposed land to be fog-banks—and to turn flexibly and obsequiously, as they are impelled by the breath of science.

The year 1813 was very dry in Botany Bay; the grass was consumed, and the cattle threatened with famine. Three gentlemen (as Scotchmen are in the habit of doing)\* sallied forth in

\* Better this than to gain it (as they often do at home) by the most abject political baseness.

quest of food, penetrated across the Blue Mountains, and discovered, on the western side of them, a beautiful country, admirably qualified for the support of man and beast. Governor Macquarie, the same year, despatched Mr Evans, deputy-surveyor of the Colony, who, proceeding westward from the point where the former discoverers stopped, passed through a mountainous country abounding in water and pasturage, till he arrived at the spot where the union of the Fish River with the Campbell River constitutes the River Macquarie. From this point he traced the Macquarie for eleven days, through a country abounding in game, water, timber, and grass, and offering every advantage to colonization. The next step was to construct a road over the Blue Mountains. Upon this, so constructed, the Governor passed, and founded on the Macquarie the town of Bathurst, commanding for many miles a beautiful and extensive prospect in every direction, situated on a clear and beautiful stream, and within a short distance of fifty thousand cleared acres, well adapted for every purpose of agriculture. During the Governor's stay in Bathurst Plains, Mr Evans was sent to explore in a south-west direction. This expedition produced the discovery of the River Lachlan; and the importance of examining the course of that river gave birth to one of the Journeys recorded in the publication now before us.

• Mr Oxley commences his journey from Bathurst in the end of March 1817.

• Bathurst had assumed a very different appearance since I first visited it in the suite of his Excellency the Governor in 1815. The industrious hand of man had been busy in improving the beautiful works of nature; a good substantial house for the superintendant had been erected, the government grounds fenced in; and the stackyards showed that the abundant produce of the last harvest had amply repaid the labour bestowed on its culture. The fine healthy appearance of the flocks and herds was a convincing proof how admirably adapted these extensive downs and thinly wooded hills are for grazing, more particularly of sheep. The mind dwelt with pleasure on the idea that at no very distant period these secluded plains would be covered with flocks bearing the richest fleeces, and contribute in no small degree to the prosperity of the eastern settlements.

• The soil, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bathurst, is for the first six inches of a light, black, vegetable mould, lying on a stratum of sand, about eighteen inches deep, but of a poor description, and mixed with small stones, under which is a strong clay. The surface of the hills is covered with small gravel, the soil light and sandy, with a subsoil of clay. The low flats on the immediate borders of the river are evidently formed by washings from the hills and valleys

deposited by floods, and the overflowings of the water-courses. — pp. 2, 3.

From Bathurst they passed through a fine grazing country to the river Lachlan; and in their way they discovered, not a gold nor silver mine, but (what is infinitely more valuable to the colony, and had never been discovered there before) plenty of good limestone. On the 25th of April they made the Lachlan River, of the breadth of forty yards, and with very steep banks. From this period till the 3d of May, they travelled along the banks of the river, at the rate of from ten to fifteen miles a day, finding considerable tracts of good pasturage, and plenty of timber and of fish. As they advanced, the country became worse and worse, a perfectly dead level, to which no boundary could be discerned.

May 3.—Proceeded down the river. We passed over a very barren desolate country, perfectly level, without even the slightest eminence, covered with dwarf box-trees and scrubby bushes; towards the latter part of the day a few small cypresses were seen. I think the other side of the river is much the same. We have hitherto met with no water except at the river, and a few shallow lagoons, which are evidently dry in summer. I do not know how far this level extends north and south, but I cannot estimate it at less than from ten to twelve miles on each side; but this is mere conjecture, since, for the last three days, I have been unable to see beyond a mile. I have, however, occasionally made excursions of five or six miles, and never perceived any difference in the elevation of the country. To-day the course of the river has been a little south of west: its windings are very frequent and sudden, fully accounting for the apparent heights of the floods, of which marks were observed about thirty-six feet above the level of the stream. At six o'clock the boats had not arrived; and as I had given directions on no account to attempt to proceed after dark, I ceased to expect them this evening. pp. 16, 17.

The same sort of country continued till the 12th of May, when the party was completely stopped by the spread of the waters. Upon ascending an eminence, about half a mile to the south side of the river, the whole country from the west north-west, round to north, was either a complete marsh, or lay under water, and this for a distance of twenty-five to thirty miles. Low marshy grounds lay between them and more elevated grounds which appeared in the south and south-west quarters. From this point Mr Oxley made for the coast in the direction of Cape Northumberland to the south-west, that he might intersect any river flowing from these marshes into the sea between Spencer's Gulf and Cape Otway. This journey he be-

gan on the 18th of May; and a more wearisome expedition was never undertaken by man. No water fit to drink—a boundless expanse of barrenness—horses dying daily from fatigue—the absence of every living being but themselves—every thing calculated to produce depression and despair. After many days of this kind of suffering, they turn to the north-west and west, in search of a better country and a better supply of water,—not forgetting from time to time, like good Christians, to scatter in the desert the seeds of many European fruits, yet doubting if ever these spots would again be revisited by civilized man.

On the 23d of June they again fell in with the River Lachlan, extremely diminished in size, from the water diffused over the marshes, but running with a brisk stream to the westward. Down the tortuous and barren banks of this river they proceeded through a country, of which the following extract is the description.

‘Immense plains extended to the westward, as far as the eye could reach. These plains were entirely barren, being evidently, in times of rain, altogether under water, when they doubtless form one vast lake: they extended in places from three to six miles from the margin of the stream, which on its immediate borders was a wet bog, full of small water holes, and the surface covered with marsh plants, with a few straggling dwarf box-trees. It was only on the very edge of the bank, and in the bottoms of the bights, that any eucalypti grew: the plains were covered with nothing but gnaphalium; the soil various; in some places red tenacious clay; in others a dark hazel-coloured loam, so rotten and full of holes that it was with difficulty the horses could travel over them. Although those plains were bounded only by the horizon, not a semblance of a hill appeared in the distance; we seemed indeed to have taken a long farewell of every thing like an elevation, whence the surrounding country could be observed. To the southward, bounding those plains in that direction, barren scrubs and dwarf box-trees, with numberless holes of stagnant water, too clearly proclaimed the nature of the country in that quarter. We could see, through the openings of the trees on the river, that plains of similar extent occupied the other side, which has all along appeared to us to be (if any thing) the lower ground. We travelled in the centre of the plains, our medium distance from the river being from one to two miles; and although we did not go above thirteen miles, some of the horses were excessively distressed from the nature of the ground.—There was not the least appearance of natives; nor was bird or animal of any description seen during the day, except a solitary native dog.’ pp. 89–91.

• On the 9th of July, the country began to stink; the river had dwindled to a mere lagoon; and the whole region, as far as the eye could see, was one interminable and impassable marsh.



Finding any farther prosecution of their journey to be utterly useless,—having detected this shabby termination of the river,—and aware that any farther discoveries in a part of the globe, fruitful only in intolerable smells, would be of little importance, they turned about in their way home; but instead of taking an easterly direction, they aimed at the supposed course of the Macquarie, at a considerable distance below Bathurst. In this direction, the country rapidly improved: they met with grass, water, beautiful trees, and were soon restored to the Botany Bay delicacies of Kangaroo and Emu. On the 19th of August, they find the river Macquarie.

August 19.—Full of the hopes entertained yesterday, at half past eight o'clock we pursued our course down Glenfinlass. A mile and a half brought us into the valley which we had seen on our first descending into the glen. Imagination cannot fancy any thing more beautifully picturesque than the scene which burst upon us. The breadth of the valley to the base of the opposite gently rising hills was, between three and four miles, studded with fine trees, upon a soil which for richness can nowhere be excelled: its extent north and south we could not see. To the west it was bounded by the lofty rocky ranges by which we had entered it: this was covered to the summit with cypresses and acacia in full bloom; a few trees of the *sterculia heterophylla*, with their bright green foliage, gave additional beauty to the scene. In the centre of this charming valley ran a strong and beautiful stream; its bright transparent waters dashing over a gravelly bottom, intermingled with large stones, forming at short intervals considerable pools, in which the rays of the sun were reflected with a brilliancy equal to that of the most polished mirror. I should have been well contented to have found this to be the Macquarie River, and at first conceived it to be so. Under this impression, I intended stopping upon its banks for the remainder of the day, and then proceeding up the stream southerly. Whilst we were waiting for the horses to come up, we crossed the stream; and, wishing to see as much of the country on its banks northerly as possible, I proceeded down the stream, and had scarcely rode a mile when I was no less astonished than delighted to find that it joined a very fine river, coming from the east-south-east from among the chain of low grassy hills, bounding the east side of the valley in which we were. This then was certainly the long sought Macquarie; the sight of which amply repaid us for all our former disappointments. Different in every respect from the Lachlan, it here formed a river equal to the Hawkesbury at Windsor, and in many parts as wide as the Nepean at Emu Plains. These noble streams were connected by rapids running over a rocky and pebbly bottom, but not fordable, much resembling the reaches and falls at the crossing place at Emu Ford, only deeper: the water was bright, and transparent, and we were fortunate enough to see it at a period when it was neither swelled

beyond its proper dimensions by mountainous floods, nor contracted by summer droughts. From its being at least four times larger than it is at Bathurst, even in a favourable season, it must have received great accessions of water from the mountains north-easterly. — pp. 184—6.

For five days they proceeded down the banks of this enchanting river; sometimes contracted between rocky cliffs; sometimes expanded between forests, or hills clothed with the most luxuriant grass to the very summits. The timber was various and excellent. Limestone, slate, and granite overhung the river, everywhere navigable for boats; and confined, in its highest inundations, by secondary banks, which operated as a complete security to the contiguous land. A great number of streams from either bank empty themselves into the Macquarie. Fish and game were found in great abundance. On the 24th, they quitted the banks of the river, and, on the 29th, arrived at Bathurst, after an absence of nineteen weeks.

Such a description as Mr Oxley brought back of the parts of the Macquarie he had seen, it was impossible to put up with. An universal joy was diffused over the whole colony. Larceny reared her drooping head; the Children of the Antient Bailey magnified themselves into importers and exporters; and thought they were at last within the reach of wealth, which no jury could find guilty, and no judge punish with the rope of the law. Forth went the indefatigable Oxley, and, with him, the usual apparatus of dogs, bat-horses, boats, and instructions signed (perhaps read) by Lord Bathurst. Their journey was begun on the 5th of June, from nearly the same spot where they had at first touched upon the Macquarie in their former expedition. From this period till the 25th of June, the river Macquarie appeared to be much the same as they had found it at first: the country not perhaps quite so good; but fully entitled to be considered a land of great promise and fertility. The only new useful substances they found upon the banks, were fullers' earth and freestone. On the 25th, the expedition began to quake, and the Macquarie to lose the character it had hitherto maintained. The gravelly beaches and rocky points disappeared; the banks became lower; and in many parts, the floods swept over them. A second Lachlan began to be suspected.

They had scarcely gone six miles, on the 26th, before they perceived the waters spreading over the plain on which they were travelling, and that with a rapidity which reduced their safety to a fair trial of speed between them and the river. They gained a secure place; and from thence Mr Oxley, with two or three men, proceeded down the river in a small boat.

' After going about twenty miles, we lost the land and trees. The channel of the river, which lay through reeds, and was from one to three feet deep, ran northerly. This continued for three or four miles farther; when, although there had been no previous change in the breadth, depth, and rapidity of the stream for several miles, and I was sanguine in my expectations of soon entering the long sought for Australian sea, it all at once eluded our farther pursuit by spreading on every point from north-west to north-east, among the ocean of reeds which surrounded us, still running with the same rapidity as before. There was no channel whatever among those reeds, and the depth varied from three to five feet. This astonishing change (for I cannot call it a termination of the river), of course left me no alternative but to endeavour to return to some spot, on which we could effect a landing before dark. I estimated that during this day we had gone about twenty-four miles, on nearly the same point of bearing as yesterday. To assert positively that we were on the margin of the lake or sea into which this great body of water is discharged, might reasonably be deemed a conclusion which has nothing but conjecture for its basis; but if an opinion may be permitted to be hazarded from actual appearances, mine is decidedly in favour of our being in the immediate vicinity of an inland sea, or lake, most probably a shoal one, and gradually filling up by immense depositions from the higher lands left by the waters which flow into it. It is most singular, that the high lands on this continent seem to be confined to the sea-coast, or not to extend to any great distance from it.' pp. 243-4.

It does not exactly appear from this narrative, why Mr Oxley stopped and turned back. He was victualled for a month, and had only been out three days; he had from three to five feet water; and his boat did not, as he says, draw more than one foot. The waters set strongly to the north. He thought himself upon the eve of entering a great inland sea. Twenty or thirty miles further would in all probability have determined the point. Possibly the reeds may have been so thick, that it was impossible either to pull or push the boat any further. If this were the case, he should in justice to himself have said so. At present, we know that he had arrived at the point where geographical curiosity was on the very point of receiving its gratification; yet we remain as ignorant as we were before, and unable to divine why our darkness has not been illumined. We dare to say Mr Oxley can give very good reasons—but he does not give them in his book.

From this point the expedition returns, in a direction nearly east, to the coast, and in the parallel of 31—20 south latitude. By the 26th of August, they had reached a good fertile country, where water ran, and kangaroos hopped—where the eye

was gratified, and the belly filled. In their way thither, they passed a large and impetuous river, to which they gave the name of Castlereagh. Why grandeur and impetuosity should have brought to their recollection this polished Member of the Cabinet, we do not exactly perceive; but we cannot help admiring the officiality of the nomenclature. There is hardly now a clerk in the pay of Government, who has not some portion of land named after him in Botany Bay.

In their way to the sea, they pass over hills 3000 feet high, with good pasture up to the very summit; and look into glens 3000 feet deep, three miles broad at the top, and sloping to 100 feet at the bottom. On the 23d of September they saw the sea from the top of the mountains; and upon the coast discovered a good harbour for coasting vessels. Their journey was finished at Sydney on the 5th of November. It is very remarkable, in so mild a climate, in such a latitude, and with such plenty of fish and game, that they should have found the countries through which they passed so badly peopled. Mr Oxley attributes this circumstance in some measure to the great want of ingenuity in the natives. They cannot kill kangaroos, except by some lucky accident;—they cannot catch fish;—they live by necessity upon rats and squirrels. Whatever the fertility of New Holland may be, it contributes little more than this reptile fecundity to their support. Why the New Hollanders are so inferior to other savage nations in the arts of life—why they cannot fish like the New Zealanders,—why they do not catch large animals in traps, or shoot them with arrows—why they are only elevated a few degrees in capacity above these animals which they cannot kill,—we do not presume to conjecture. There is no other instance of such an intellectual state in the midst of such physical advantages. It must be considered as a prodigious advantage to this country, that raptid tygers, and the cruel seeds of lions, are absent. This makes the thinness of population more surprising. The most noxious animals appear to be native dogs: they are very mischievous to sheep.

The result of these two journies is certainly very singular. All the water falling on the west side of the Blue Mountains, between 30° and 34° S. latitude, and all the streams on that side of this great dividing range, seem to be employed for the formation, as far as we know at present, of one immense marsh, receiving the alluvial matter poured into it from the higher grounds. The Lachlan river, one of the main carriers, receives no tributary streams for a course of 1200 miles, but pours into

the marsh the original water which it received at the commencement of its course almost neat as imported. The other main channel, the Macquarie, passes through a well watered country; collects all the tributary rivers; and pours them, in the same way, into the great muddy magazine. The curious points now are, to discover whether these immense supplies of water do not end in an inland sea; and whether this inland sea, if it exists, has any communication with the ocean. The nearest part of the coast about Cape Bernouilli, is distant 180 miles from the farthest part of the Lachlan reached by Mr Oxley in his first expedition; by which expedition it is clearly demonstrated, that no great river flows from the eastward into the sea between Cape Otway and Spencer's Gulf. A land expedition from the eastern part of Spencer's Gulf, would soon determine the fate of the western side of the Lachlan Marshes. The waters of the Macquarie point to the north-west; and the promised sea of Mr Oxley may there perhaps penetrate deep into this fifth quarter of the globe. The solid gain to the Colony is the disclosure of a beautiful tract of land, for 200 or 300 miles on the Macquarie, and the discovery of a good port to the north of Port Jackson.

This publication is not well drawn up; and the maps are indifferently. At the end are some Statistical Tables, by which it appears that the population of New South Wales has increased from 13,000 in the year 1815, to 17,000 in the year 1817, and to 22,000 in the year 1818; and that, with the population of Van Diemen's Land, the total amount is 25,000. In spite of this increase of population, the cleared land has diminished from 95,000 acres in 1817, to 44,000 acres in 1818; while the total of land held has increased, in the same period, above 60,000 acres. We are totally unable to account for this diminution of the cultivated lands. The Colony possessed in the year 1813, 12,000 horned cattle; in 1817, 33,000 ditto; in 1818, 40,000 ditto. In the same periods, the horses were 1800, 2800, 3300. The sheep were 43,000, 66,000, 73,000. The number of sheep returned from Van Diemen's Land is 128,000; this is quite astonishing. The hogs are, in the same periods, 14,000, 15,000, 22,000.—So that every thing which cultivated land supports has increased: Cultivated land, however, is said to have diminished more than one-half. We suspect some false print—but we give the Tables as we find them; and there is no correction in the errata.

---

ART. IX. *The Bakerian Lecture. On the Composition and Analysis of the Inflammable Gaseous Compounds resulting from the Destructive Distillation of Coal and Oil; with some Remarks on their relative Heating and Illuminating Powers.* By W. T. BRANDE, Esq., Sec. R. S. Prof. Chem. R. I. From the Philosophical Transactions for 1820.

IT can hardly be laid to our charge, that a considerable period has elapsed since any thing relating to Chemical inquiry has appeared in this Journal: For in fact, the labours of persons learned in that department of science, have lately furnished but little matter for speculation. The discoveries of Sir Humphry Davy—splendid in every sense of the word, and not less remarkable for the brilliancy than for the rapidity with which they were produced—have made us perhaps too unreasonable; and caused us to form an estimate of the labours of those who have succeeded him, less favourable than they really deserve. We have been spoilt by plenty;—and because every year does not give birth to some great discovery, we exclaim that there is a famine in the land. Although Mr Brande, who succeeded Sir H. Davy in the Royal Institution, has been less successful than his great predecessor in the path of discovery, his researches, and, above all, his skill in analytical operations, have done much for Chemistry in general; and we willingly take this opportunity of bearing witness to the utility of labours which—however great their excellence and intrinsic value may be—are too apt to be passed over without due estimation, because they happen to be wanting in originality and invention.

The paper before us contains some observations and experiments made on the inflammable gases used for the purposes of illumination. The inquiry was undertaken, in the first instance, with a view of ascertaining the mixture and quality of the gases best suited for such purposes; and as some novelties relative to the constitution of the gaseous compounds presented themselves in the course of the investigation, Mr Brande conceived the matter to be of sufficient importance to form the subject of the Bakerian Lecture.

When pit-coal is distilled, and the products collected in proper vessels, they are found to contain, besides other substances, a highly elastic fluid, which was long supposed to consist of two gases, compounds of carbon and hydrogen;—the one called the *heavy hydrocarbonet*, or *olfiant gas*, the other, *light hydrocarbonet*. The *first* of these is composed of *equal* portions of carbon and hydrogen; the *second*, of one portion of

carbon and two of hydrogen. \*Now, if we take hydrogen to be as 1, the specific gravity of the heavy, or olefiant gas, is 13.4, and that of light hydrocarburet is 7.7, or as .57363, assuming atmospheric air for unity. Upon examining the mixed coal gas, Mr Brande found its specific gravity as low as .4430. This gas he had obtained from the Gas-light Company's works at Westminster; but being aware that the density of this gas is various, according to the coal from which it is made, he prepared some at the laboratory of the Royal Institution,—and the heaviest he met with was only .4940. He concluded then, that if coal gas were wholly composed of the two varieties of carburetted hydrogen, the specific gravity of the light hydrocarburet must have been estimated too high. To ascertain this, he procured some from acetate of potash, separated its carbonic acid by lime water, and found its specific gravity to be .687. It was therefore evident that the whole constituents of coal gas could not be the two hydrocarburets. Neither could a part of the mixture be the gaseous oxide of carbon, (which, according to Sir H. Davy is given out by coals in burning, and therefore might be introduced in the gas evolved during the distillation), because its specific gravity is .9834. Hence Mr Brande conjectured that coal gas must be a mixture of olefiant and hydrogen gases; and the experiments detailed in this paper are intended to confirm this opinion.

After detonating 100 measures of coal gas with 200 of oxygen by means of the electric spark over mercury, and absorbing the carbonic acid by liquid potassa, 36 measures of pure oxygen were found to remain in the tube. Hence 164 parts of oxygen were required for the complete combustion of 100 parts of coal gas. Now, 100 parts of olefiant gas require 300 of oxygen, and 100 of hydrogen 50, for their respective combustions; \* so that, if we suppose 100 parts of coal gas to be composed of 45 of olefiant, and 55 of hydrogen, the quantity of oxygen required for its perfect combustion will be very nearly 164 parts, and the mixture thus formed will have nearly the same specific gravity as the coal gas.

---

\* See Henry's Elements of Chemistry, Vol. I. p. 355.—Where he also states that it requires 190 volumes of oxygen for the perfect combustion of 100 of coal gas. The difference between this result, and that stated by Mr Brande, must be owing to the different qualities of the coal gases under examination. Yet the proportions of oxygen necessary for the saturation of 100 measures of olefiant and hydrogen gases, mentioned in Mr Brande's paper, are precisely the same as those given by Henry. We presume Mr Brande has offered them as the results of *his own* experiments.

Before noticing the next step in Mr Brande's inquiry, we must advert to an experiment of Berthollet, by which the decomposition of olefiant gas is effected in a very simple and beautiful manner. This is performed by passing the gas repeatedly through a tube heated to a very high temperature. In repeating the experiment, Mr Brande introduced 100 measures of olefiant gas—obtained by distilling alcohol and concentrated sulphuric acid—into a mercurial gasometer, connected with a second gasometer by means of a platinum tube, in which were placed some small crystals of quartz, previously heated to redness, for the purpose of increasing the heated surface over which the gas was to be passed. The tube was then heated to a very high degree of temperature, and the gas passed from one gasometer to the other, until it ceased to dilate. The apparatus was then allowed to cool, and the volume of gas was found to be exactly doubled. This was detonated with an equal volume of oxygen, and the remainder proved to be *half* the volume of pure oxygen; showing that the olefiant gas had been reduced by this simple process of decomposition, into double its bulk of *hydrogen*. It also appeared that it had almost entirely parted with its carbon; for the oxygen which remained, scarcely rendered lime water turbid, and was not apparently diminished by exposure to liquid potassa. In the heated part of the tube there was a considerable deposition of charcoal.

The apparatus remaining the same, 100 measures of coal gas were introduced into the gasometer, and underwent the same process. When cool, the gas was examined, and found to have increased 40 parts. It burned with a lambent flame, like hydrogen; and, when detonated over mercury, required very little more than half its volume of oxygen to render the combustion complete. Very little carbonic acid could be detected; and, as in the former experiment, the inside of the platinum tube was lined with charcoal. It appears, from this, very evident that, as the quantity of olefiant gas contained in the coal gas is measured by the increase in bulk, after the gas has undergone decomposition by heat; therefore, the 100 measures of coal gas contained 40 of olefiant gas; and if no foreign gases were present, the remaining 60 measures were hydrogen.

Upon the same principle, similar conclusions are drawn from another experiment, in which a glass tube containing a little sulphur and 100 measures of coal gas, is subjected to a red heat until the gas suffers no further dilatation. The volume, when cold, is found to have increased to 140 measures. Hence, if this increase is caused by the olefiant gas being changed by decomposition into double its bulk of hydrogen, it plainly fol-



lows, as in the last experiment, that the 100 measures of coal gas contained 40 of olefiant gas, and 60 of hydrogen.

Mr Brande found chlorine a very useful agent in analyzing the various compounds containing hydrocarburet. If chlorine and hydrogen are mixed together over water, and exposed to the action of common daylight, but kept out of sunshine, the gases do not act upon one another; and in the course of twenty-four hours, the chlorine will be found to be absorbed by the water, while the hydrogen remains. But if chlorine be mixed with olefiant gas, in the proportion of about three parts of chlorine to one of olefiant, and exposed to the action of daylight, the olefiant, if very pure, will be almost wholly absorbed. From this singular property of chlorine, it may be of great use in the analysis of any mixture of hydrogen hydrocarburet, carbonic oxide, and carbonic acid: for the carbonic acid may be absorbed by a solution of potassa. The remaining mixture being then united with thrice or four times its volume of pure chlorine, and exposed over water to daylight, the carburetted hydrogen, and any overplus of chlorine, will be absorbed: The remaining gas, consisting of hydrogen and carbonic oxide, may be mixed with oxygen, and detonated by the electric spark over mercury. The proportion of oxygen destroyed in the combustion being doubled, will give the hydrogen which was contained in the mixture; and the carbonic acid formed, will exactly measure the quantity of the carbonic oxide. The whole of this mode of analysis depends upon keeping the gas from the action of the solar rays, as it is only the absence of this agency that prevents a combination from taking place between the chlorine and the gases that compose the mixture.

We may mention here, by the way, a very curious effect produced by the action of electric light upon a mixture of chlorine and hydrogen. A tube containing the mixed gases was placed in a darkened room, within an inch of the charcoal points attached to the positive and negative wires of a very powerful Voltaic battery, highly charged. Upon making the circuit complete, the fumes of muriatic vapour were instantly produced; and in consequence of the production of muriatic acid, the water rose in the tube, and very soon the whole of the mixture was absorbed: the gases, too, exploded the moment they were affected by the electric light. These phenomena are similar to those observed in the combination which is produced between chlorine and hydrogen by the action of solar rays. And as the same effects have never yet been produced by the application of any other artificial light, it may fairly be concluded, that this singular agency of light in promoting chemical combination,

is peculiar to solar and electric rays. Mr Brande was induced to make this experiment, from having failed to produce the slightest effect upon the gases above mentioned, by any flame that could be engendered from the combustion of olefiant gas—although the light of an argand burner, which he concentrated by means of a lens, produced a heat which raised the mercury in a thermometer placed in the focus,  $4^{\circ}.5$  in five minutes.—To return to our subject.—

Most of the experiments we have detailed were performed upon the gas procured from the decomposition of whale oil. This gas is much heavier than that obtained by the distillation of coal. Its specific gravity is .7690; and 100 cubical inches weigh upwards of 23 grains. Now, 100 cubical inches of olefiant gas weigh 30.15 grains, and 100 of hydrogen 2.25 grains. Hence, if oil gas consist of these gases only, they will be nearly in the proportion of three volumes of olefiant to one of hydrogen. From these experiments Mr Brande concludes, that olefiant gas is the only definite compound of carbon and hydrogen; and that the various inflammable compounds produced by distillation from coal, oil, &c. consist *essentially* of a mixture of olefiant and hydrogen gases. We admit that this has so far been established;—although we might object to the *tentative* methods which Mr Brande has employed to confirm his conjectures, (pp. 18, 19, 20). A straight forward process would certainly have been preferable; and we are at a loss to understand how he should have omitted to state the result of a method which cannot possibly have escaped him, and which might, more than any other, have strengthened his hypothesis. We allude to the direct analysis of coal or oil gas, by subjecting them to the action of chlorine. By means of this, the olefiant gas being absorbed, the remaining part of the mixture might have been accurately ascertained, both as to quality and quantity. If discovered to be pure hydrogen, the inquiry is at once put at rest; and if mixed with any foreign gases, the presence of such might easily have been detected, either by detonation with oxygen, or by other methods. At all events, it would have been satisfactory to know what such an experiment produced. We are far from explaining Mr Brande's silence on this subject, by supposing that the trial did not prove satisfactory to his hypothesis; and yet it is difficult to conceive how it should not have been made.

We must also take leave to observe, that in some parts of his inquiry, Mr Brande's train of reasoning is a little fallacious. It is very like what mathematicians call, arguing in a circle. For example; he conjectures, from the specific gravity of oil gas, that it is composed of one volume of hydrogen and three of ole-

fiant. He then *makes* a mixture in this proportion, and exposes it to the action of heat till the olefiant gas is decomposed—and he finds, of course, that it has increased by the quantity of olefiant gas in the original mixture—which only proves, that the olefiant gas has changed, by decomposition, into double the quantity of hydrogen;—which he knew beforehand must be the case,—and that the remainder is the hydrogen which *he himself* put into the mixture, and the quantity of which he might, therefore, have guessed without this process. He goes on to expose the mixture with chlorine to the action of light—and finds, after the chlorine and olefiant gas have been absorbed, that the original quantity of hydrogen remains in the jar—thus demonstrating that there are six of the one and half a dozen of the other. It surely would have sufficed, if he had told us that, upon submitting chlorine and oil gas to the action of daylight, after the chlorine and olefiant gases were absorbed, the remainder proved, to be one-third of the original quantity of the oil gas of pure hydrogen—or of hydrogen mixed with other gases, as the case might be.

The latter part of Mr Brande's paper relates to the illuminating and heating powers of the olefiant, the coal, and the oil gases. As some of his results may prove useful in a practical point of view, we shall shortly detail them. The *first* point is to ascertain the quantity of gas consumed in a given time. For this purpose, a gasometer, with regulating weights which hang over pulleys on each side, was used. It contained about 5000 cubical inches of gas, and had jets of different dimensions attached to it, which were furnished in the usual way with stopcocks. The pressure was measured by the difference in the level of the water within and without the reservoir, to which a graduated scale was attached. The gasometer being first filled with olefiant gas, the stopcock of a jet having a single perforation of  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch diameter was turned, and the stream which issued from it inflamed;—the pressure was equal to a half-inch column of water. The light was so regulated as to be equal to that of one wax candle, the intensity being ascertained by a comparison of shadows. In these circumstances, the consumption of gas was found to be 640 cubical inches in an hour;—with oil gas, under the same circumstances, the consumption was 800 cubical inches in an hour. We are not informed how much coal gas was consumed by a single burner. The next burner employed was on the argand construction, being a circular plate, containing twelve holes, each  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch in diameter. The pressure was the same; and the flame regulated to burn with its full intensity, without producing smoke; and yet the consumption, instead of being twelve times as great as in the case where

one jet was used, was only 2600 cubical inches in the hour—the light being found equal to that of ten wax candles. We can easily comprehend that the *light* should be as much as this—because the quantity increases in proportion to the elevation of temperature. With an argand burner which gave the light of eight wax candles, the consumption of oil gas was found to be 3900 cubical inches in the hour. In the burner for coal gas, the apertures require to be larger. Those used by Mr Brande were  $\frac{3}{16}$ th of an inch in diameter: the light was found equal to five wax candles, and the consumption was 6560 cubical inches in an hour.

‘It appears from the above data,’ says Mr B, ‘that to produce the light of ten wax candles for one hour, there will be required 2600 cubical inches of olefiant gas, 4875 of oil, and 13120 of coal gas.’ Now, we profess ourselves totally unable to comprehend this arithmetic. We take the data for the olefiant and oil gases to be, that a burner giving a light equal to one wax candle consumes 640, and a burner giving a light equal to ten candles, consumes 2600 cubical inches of olefiant gas, in an hour; that is, to increase the light tenfold, the multiplier must be 4.0625. Now, with the *same orifice and pressure*, the consumption of oil gas in an hour is 800 cubical inches, to produce a light equal to one wax candle; therefore, it must be 3250 to produce a light ten times as great. Perhaps it may be, that the single burner did *not* produce a light equal to one wax candle when oil gas was used,—although the quantity of gas consumed was greater,—from the intensity of the light being less than in the olefiant gas: but if this be the case, Mr Brande should have so stated it,—as that is the only datum from which we can deduce the consumption when the greater light is produced. In the case of the coal gas, it is certainly erroneous to say, because the consumption in a light equal to five wax candles is 6560 cubical inches, that therefore double this consumption will be necessary to produce a light equal to ten candles. As well might we contend, that the consumption for a light of one candle being 640, *therefore* it requires  $640 \times 10 = 6400$  cubical inches, to give a light of ten candles with the olefiant gas, or 8000 cubical inches of oil gas to produce the same light. *It may be*, that Mr Brande has found by actual experiment,—by a proper adjustment of burners—by an adequate regulation of stopcocks—by a careful comparison of shadows,—that the numbers he has stated are the correct quantities consumed by these different gases in order to produce the same light;—and if so, we have nothing to say;—but, from the data before us, he has no right to draw these conclusions as matter of calculation.

One thing, however, may be safely gathered from this paper, that olefiant gas is by far the best for purposes of illumination; but unfortunately it is too expensive to be of much practical use. Oil gas is decidedly better than coal, although we apprehend, if our calculations are right, that it is not so superior to it as Mr Brande would make it appear. He says, that a gasometer containing 1000 cubical feet of oil gas, is adequate to furnish the same quantity of light as one containing 3000 of coal gas.

To ascertain the heating powers of these gases, Mr Brande boiled water over a burner of each, and found, that to raise a quart of water from 50° to 212°, it required 870 cubical inches of olefiant gas—1300 of oil, and 2190 of coal. Hence it is evident, that the air of a room *equally lighted* by oil and coal gas, will be much less heated by the former than by the latter; a very material consideration, when this species of illumination is introduced into houses.

In conclusion, we must call the reader's attention to the very curious analogy established in Mr Brande's experiments with the battery, between the operation of the solar and electric light; and we strongly recommend the subject also to the author, exhorting him to pursue this inquiry. In a subject where so little is known as that of Electricity, every new view that can be opened is a matter of high interest and importance; and no fact should be disregarded, which may give farther insight into a field still so imperfectly explored.

ART. X. *Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth. Delivered at the Surrey Institution.* By WILLIAM HAZLITT. London. Stodart. 1820.

**I**F Mr Hazlitt has not generally met with impartial justice from his contemporaries, we must say that he has himself partly to blame. Some of the attacks of which he has been the object, have no doubt been purely brutal and malignant; but others have, in a great measure, arisen from feelings of which he has himself set the example. His seeming carelessness of that public opinion which he would influence—his love of startling paradoxes—and his intrusion of political virulence, at seasons when the mind is prepared only for the delicate investigations of taste, have naturally provoked a good deal of asperity, and prevented the due appreciation of his powers. We shall strive, however, to divest ourselves of all prepossessions, and calmly to estimate those talents and feelings which he has here brought to

the contemplation of such beauty and grandeur, as none of the low passions of this 'ignorant present time' should ever be permitted to overcloud.

Those who regard Mr Hazlitt as an ordinary writer, have little right to accuse him of suffering antipathies in philosophy or politics to influence his critical decisions. He possesses one noble quality at least for the office which he has chosen, in the intense admiration and love which he feels for the great authors on whose excellences he chiefly dwells. His relish for their beauties is so keen, that while he describes them, the pleasures which they impart become almost palpable to the sense; and we seem, scarcely in a figure, to feast and banquet on their 'nectar'd sweets.' He introduces us almost corporally into the divine presence of the Great of old time—enables us to hear the living oracles of wisdom drop from their lips—and makes us partakers, not only of those joys which they diffused, but of those which they felt in the inmost recesses of their souls. He draws aside the veil of Time with a hand tremulous with mingled delight and reverence; and descants, with kindling enthusiasm, on all the delicacies of that picture of genius which he discloses. His intense admiration of intellectual beauty seems always to sharpen his critical faculties. He perceives it, by a kind of intuitive power, how deeply soever it may be buried in rubbish; and separates it, in a moment, from all that would encumber or deface it. At the same time, he exhibits to us those hidden sources of beauty, not like an anatomist, but like a lover: He does not coolly dissect the form to show the springs whence the blood flows all eloquent, and the divine expression is kindled; but makes us feel it in the sparkling or softened eye, the wreathed smile, and the tender bloom. In a word, he at once analyzes and describes,—so that our enjoyments of loveliness are not chilled, but brightened, by our acquaintance with their inward sources. The knowledge communicated in his Lectures, breaks no sweet enchantment, nor chills one feeling of youthful joy. His Criticisms, while they extend our insight into the causes of poetical excellence, teach us, at the same time, more keenly to enjoy, and more fondly to revere it.

It must seem, at first sight, strange, that powers like these should have failed to excite universal sympathy. Much, doubtless, of the coldness and misrepresentation cast on them has arisen from causes at which we have already hinted—from the apparent readiness of the author to 'give up to party what was meant for mankind'—and from the occasional breaking in of personal animosities on that deep harmony which should attend the reverent contemplation of genius. But we apprehend that

there are other causes which have diminished the influence of Mr Hazlitt's faculties, originating in his mind itself;—and these we shall endeavour briefly to specify.

The chief of these may, we think, be ascribed primarily to the want of proportion, of arrangement, and of harmony in his powers. His mind resembles the 'rich stronde' which Spencer has so nobly described, and to which he has himself likened the age of Elizabeth, where treasures of every description lie, without order, in inexhaustible profusion. Noble masses of exquisite marble are there, which might be fashioned to support a glorious temple; and gems of peerless lustre, which would adorn the holiest shrine. He has no lack of the deepest feelings, the profoundest sentiments of humanity, or the loftiest aspirations after ideal good. But there are no great leading principles of taste to give singleness to his aims, nor any central points in his mind, around which his feelings may revolve, and his imaginations cluster. There is no sufficient distinction between his intellectual and his imaginative faculties. He confounds the truths of imagination with those of fact—the processes of argument with those of feeling—the immunities of intellect with those of virtue. Hence the seeming inconsistency of many of his doctrines. Hence the want of all continuity in his style. Hence his failure in producing one single, harmonious, and lasting impression on the hearts of his hearers. He never waits to consider whether a sentiment or an image is in place—so it be in itself striking. That keen sense of pleasure in intellectual beauty which is the best charm of his writings, is also his chief deluder. He cannot resist a powerful image, an exquisite quotation, or a pregnant remark, however it may dissipate or even subvert the general feeling which his theme should inspire. Thus, on one occasion, in the midst of a violent political invective, he represents the objects of his scorn as 'having been beguiled, like Miss Clarissa Harlowe, into a house of ill-fame, and, like her, defending themselves to the last;'—as if the reader's whole current of feeling would not be diverted from all political disputes, by the remembrance thus awakened of one of the sublimest scenes of romance ever embodied by human power. He will never be contented to touch that most strange and curious instrument, the human heart, with a steady aim, but throws his hand rapidly over the chords, mingling strange discord with 'most eloquent music.' Instead of conducting us onward to a given object, he opens so many delicious prospects by the way-side, and suffers us to gaze at them so long, that we forget the end of our journey. He is perpetually dazzled among the sunbeams of his fancy, and plays with them

in elegant fantasy, when he should point them to the spots where they might fall on truth and beauty, and render them visible by a clearer and lovelier radiance than had yet revealed them.

The work before us is not the best verification of these remarks; for it has more of continuity and less of paradox than any of his previous writings. With the exception of some strong political allusions in the account of the Sejanus of Ben Jonson, it is entirely free from those expressions of party feeling which respect for an audience, consisting of men of all parties, and men of no party, ought always to restrain. There is also none of that personal bitterness towards Messrs Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, which disfigured his former lectures. His hostility towards these poets, the associates of his early days, has always indeed been mingled with some redeeming feelings which have heightened the regret occasioned by its public disclosure. While he has pursued them with all possible severity of invective, and acuteness of sarcasm, he has protected their intellectual character with a chivalrous zeal. He has spoken as if 'his only hate had sprung from his only love;' and his thoughts of its objects, deep rooted in old affection, could not lose all traces of their 'primal sympathy.' His bitterest language has had its dash of the early sweets, which no changes of opinion could entirely destroy. Still his audiences and his readers had ample ground of complaint for the intrusion of personal feelings, in inquiries which should be sacred from all discordant emotions. We rejoice to observe, that this blemish is now effaced; and that full and free course is at last given to that deep humanity which has ever held its current in his productions, sometimes in open day, and sometimes beneath the soil which it fertilized, though occasionally dashed and thrown back in its course by the obstacles of prejudice and of passion.

The first of these Lectures consists of a general view of the subject, expressed in terms of the deepest veneration and of the most passionate eulogy. After eloquently censuring the gross prejudice, that genius and beauty are things of modern discovery, or that in old time a few amazing spirits shone forth amidst general darkness, as the harbingers of brighter days, the author proceeds to combat the notion that Shakespeare was a sort of monster of poetical genius, and all his contemporaries of an order far below him.

'He, indeed, overlooks and commands the admiration of posterity; but he does it from the *table-land* of the age in which he lived. He towered above his fellows "in shape and gesture proudly eminent;" but he was but one of a race of giants,—the tallest, the strongest,



the most graceful and beautiful of them ;—but it was a common and a noble brood. He was not something sacred and aloof from the vulgar herd of men, but shook hands with Nature and the circumstances of the time ; and is distinguished from his immediate contemporaries, not in kind, but in degree, and greater variety of excellence. He did not form a class or species by himself, but belonged to a class or species. His age was necessary to him ; nor could he have been wrenched from his place in the edifice, of which he was so conspicuous a part, without equal injury to himself and it. Mr Wordsworth says of Milton, that “ his soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.” This cannot be said with any propriety of Shakespeare, who certainly moved in a constellation of bright luminaries, and “ drew after him the third part of the heavens.” pp. 12, 13.

The author then proceeds to investigate the general causes of that sudden and rich development of poetical feeling which forms his theme. He attributes it chiefly to the mighty impulse given to thought by the Reformation—to the disclosure of all the marvellous stores of sacred antiquity, by the translation of the Scriptures—and to the infinite sweetness, breathing from the divine character of the Messiah, with which he seems to imagine that the people were not familiar in darker ages. We are far from insensible to the exquisite beauty with which this last subject is treated ; and fully agree with our author, that ‘ there is something in the character of Christ, of more sweetness and majesty, and more likely to work a change in the mind of man, than any to be found in history, whether actual or feigned.’ But we cannot think that the gentle influences which that character shed upon the general heart, were weak or partial even before the translation of the Scriptures. The young had received it, not from books, but from the living voice of their parents, made softer in its tones by reverence and love. It had tempered early enthusiasm, and prompted visions of celestial beauty, in the souls even of the most low, before men had been taught to reason on their faith. The instances of the Saviour’s compassion—his wondrous and beneficent miracles—his agonies and death, did not lie forgotten during centuries, because the people could not read of them. They were written ‘ on the fleshly tables of the heart,’ and softened the tenor of humble existence, while superstition, ignorance and priestcraft held sway in high places.

These old feelings of love, however, tended greatly to sweeten and moderate the first excursions of the intellect, when released from its long thralldom. The new opening of the stores of Classic lore, of Ancient History, of Italian Poetry, and of Spanish Romance, contributed much, doubtless, to the incitement and the perfection of our national genius,

- The discovery of the New World, too, opened fresh fields for the imagination to revel in. 'Green islands, and golden sands,' says our author, 'seemed to arise as by enchantment out of the bosom of the watery waste, and invite the cupidity, or wing the imagination of the dreaming speculator. Fairy land was realized in new and unknown worlds.'—'Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales—thrice happy isles,' were found floating 'like those Hesperian gardens tamed of old,'—'beyond Atlantic seas, as dropped from the zenith.' Other manners might be said to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, and 'new mines of wealth were tumbled at our feet.' Ancient superstitions also still lingered among the people. The romance of human life had not then departed. It 'was more full of traps and pitfalls; of moving accidents by flood and field: more way-laid by sudden and startling evils, it stood on the brink of hope and fear, or stumbled upon fate unawares,—while imagination, close behind it, caught at and clung to the shape of danger, or snatched a wild and fearful joy from its escape.' The martial and heroic spirit was not dead. It was comparatively an age of peace, "Like Strength reposing on his own right arm;" but the sound of civil combat might still be heard in the distance,—the spear glittered to the eye of memory, or the clashing of armour struck on the imagination of the ardent and the young. The people of that day were borderers on the savage state, on the times of war and bigotry,—though themselves in the lap of arts, of luxury, and knowledge. They stood on the shore, and saw the billows rolling after the storm. They heard the tumult, and were still. Another source of imaginative feelings, which Mr Hazlitt quotes from Mr Lamb, is found in the distinctions of dress, and all the external symbols of trade, profession, and degree, by which 'the surface of society was embossed with hieroglyphics, and poetry existed in act and complement external.' Lastly, our author alludes to the first enjoyment and uncontrolled range of our old poets through Nature, whose fairest flowers were then uncropped,—and to the movements of the soul then laid open to their view, without disguise or control. All those causes Mr Hazlitt regards as directed, and their immediate effects as united by the genius of our country, native, unaffected, sturdy, and unyielding. His lecture concludes with a character, equally beautiful and just, of the Genius of our Poetry, with reference to the Classical models, as having more of Pan than of Apollo:—'but Pan is a God, Apollo is no more!'
- The five succeeding Lectures contain the opinions of the author on most of the celebrated works produced from the time of

the Reformation, until the death of Charles the First. The second comprises the characters of Lyly, Marlow, Heywood, Middleton, and Rowley. The account of Lyly's *Endymion* is worthy of that sweet but singular work. The address of Eumenides to Endymion, on his awaking from his long sleep, 'Behold the twig to which thou laidest down thy head is become a tree,' is indeed, as described by our author, 'an exquisitely chosen image, and dumb proof of the manner in which he has passed his life from youth to old age,—in a dream, a dream of love!' His description of Marlow's qualities, when he says 'there is a lust of power in his writings, a hunger and thirst after unrighteousness, a glow of the imagination unhallowed by any thing but its own energies,' is very striking. The characters of Middleton and Rowley in this Lecture, and those of Marston, Chapman, Decker, and Webster in the third, are sketched with great spirit; and the peculiar beauties of each are dwelt on in a style and with a sentiment congenial with the predominant feeling of the poet. At the close of the Lecture, the observation, that the old Dramatic writers have nothing theatrical about them, introduces the following eulogy on that fresh delight which books are ever ready to yield us.

'Here, on Salisbury Plain, where I write this, even here, with a few old authors, I can manage to get through the summer or the winter months, without ever knowing what it is to feel *ennui*. They sit with me at breakfast, they walk out with me before dinner. After a long walk through unfrequented tracts,—after starting the hare from the fern, or hearing the wing of the raven rustling above my head, or being greeted with the woodman's "stern goodnight" as he strikes into his narrow homeward path,—I can take "mine ease at mine inn" beside the blazing hearth, and shake hands with Signor Orlando Frescobaldo, as the oldest acquaintance I have. Ben Jonson, learned Chapman, Master Webster, and Master Heywood are there; and, seated round, discourse the silent hours away. Shakespeare is there himself, rich in Cibber's Manager's coat. Spenser is hardly returned from a ramble through the woods, or is concealed behind a group of nymphs, fawns, and satyrs. Milton lies on the table as on an altar, never taken up or laid down without reverence. Lyly's *Endymion* sleeps with the moon that shines in at the window; and a breath of wind stirring at a distance, seems a sigh from the tree under which he grew old. Faustus disputes in one corner of the room with fiendish faces, and reasons of divine astrology. Bellafrount soothes Mattheo, Vittoria triumphs over her Judges, and old Chapman repeats one of the hymns of Homer, in his own fine translation.' pp. 136-7.

The spirit of this passage is very deep and cordial; and the expression, for the most part, exquisite. But we wonder

that Mr Hazlitt should commit so great an incongruity, as to represent the other poets around him in person, while Milton, introduced among the rest, is used only as the title of a book.

Why are other authors to be 'seated round,' to cheer the critic's retirement as if living,—while Milton, like a petitioner in the House of Commons, is only ordered 'to lie upon the table'?

In the Fourth Lecture, ample justice is done to Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ben Jonson; but we think the same measure is not meted to Ford. We cannot regard the author of 'Tis Pity she's a Whore,' and 'the Broken Heart,' as 'finical and fastidious.' We are directly at issue, indeed, with our author on his opinions respecting the catastrophe of the latter tragedy. Calantha, Princess of Sparta, is celebrating the nuptials of a noble pair, with solemn dancing, when a messenger enters, and informs her that the King her father is dead;—she dances on. Another report is brought to her, that the sister of her betrothed husband is starved;—she calls for the other change. A third informs her that Ithocles, her lover, is cruelly murdered;—she complains that the music sounds dull, and orders sprightlier measures. The dance ended, she announces herself Queen, pronounces sentence on the murderer of Ithocles, and directs the ceremonials of her coronation to be immediately prepared. Her commands are obeyed. She enters the Temple in white, crowned, while the dead body of her husband is borne on a hearse, and placed beside the altar; at which she kneels in silent prayer. After her devotions, she addresses Nearchus, Prince of Argos, as though she would chuse him for her husband, and lays down all orders for the regulation of her kingdom, under the guise of proposals of marriage. This done, she turns to the body of Ithocles, 'the shadow of her contracted lord,' puts her mother's wedding ring on his finger, 'to new-marry him whose wife she is,' and from whom death shall not part her. She then kisses his cold lips, and dies smiling. This Mr Hazlitt calls 'tragedy in masquerade,' 'the true false gallop of sentiment;' and declares, that 'any thing more artificial and mechanical he cannot conceive.' He regards the whole scene as a forced transposition of one in Marston's *Malcontent*, where Aurelia dances on in defiance to the world, when she hears of the death of a detested husband. He observes, 'that a woman should call for music, and dance on in spite of the death of her husband whom she hates, without regard to common decency, is but too possible: that she should dance on with the same heroic perseverance, in spite of the death of her father, and of every one else whom she loves, from regard to common courtesy or appearance, is not surely natural. The

passions may silence the voice of humanity; but it is, I think, equally against probability and decorum, to make both the passions and the voice of humanity give way (as in the example of Calantha) to a mere form of outward behaviour. Such a suppression of the strongest and most uncontrollable feelings, can only be justified from necessity, for some great purpose,—which is not the case in Ford's play; or it must be done for the effect and eclat of the thing, which is not fortitude but affectation.' The fallacy of this criticism appears to us to lie in the assumption, that the violent suppression of her feelings by the heroine was a mere piece of court etiquette—a compliment to the ceremonies of a festival. Surely the object was noble, and the effort sublime. While the deadly force of sorrow oppressed her heart, she felt that she had solemn duties to discharge, and that, if she did not arm herself against affliction till they were finished, she could never perform them. She could seek temporary strength only by refusing to pause—by hurrying on to the final scene; and dared not to give the least vent to the tide of grief, which would at once have relieved her overcharged heart, and left her, exhausted, to die. Nothing less than the appearance of gaiety could hide or suppress the deep anguish of her soul. We agree with Mr Lamb, whose opinion is referred to by our author, that there is scarcely in any other play 'a catastrophe so grand, so solemn, and so surprising as this!'

The Fifth Lecture, on Single Plays and Poems, brings into view many curious specimens of old humour, hitherto little known, and which sparkle brightly in their new setting. The Sixth, on Miscellaneous Poems and Works, is chiefly remarkable for the admirable criticism on the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney, with which it closes. Here the critic separates with great skill the wheat from the chaff, showing at once the power of his author, and its perversion, and how images of touching beauty and everlasting truth are marred by 'the spirit of Gothic quaintness, criticism, and conceit.' The passage, which is far too long for quotation, makes us desire more earnestly than ever that an author, capable of so lucid and convincing a development of his critical doctrines, would less frequently content himself with giving the mere results of his thought, and even conveying these in the most abrupt and startling language. A remark uttered in the parenthesis of a sarcasm, or an image thrown in to heighten a piece of irony, might often furnish extended matter for the delight of those whom it now only disgusts or bewilders.

The Seventh Lecture, on the works of Lord Bacon, compared as to style with those of Sir Thomas Browne and of Jeremy Taylor, is very unequal. The character of Lord Bacon is elo-

quent, and the praise sufficiently lavish; but it does not show any proper knowledge of his works. That of Jeremy Taylor is somewhat more appropriate, but too full of gaudy images and mere pomp of words. The style of that delicious writer is ingeniously described as 'prismatic;' though there is too much of shadowy chillness in the phrase; adequately to represent the warm and tender bloom which he casts on all that he touches. And when we are afterwards told that it 'unfolds the colours of the rainbow; floats like a bubble through the air; or is like innumerable dew drops, that glitter on the face of morning, and twinkle as they glitter;'—we can only understand that the Critic means to represent it as variegated, light and sparkling: But it appears to us that the style of Jeremy Taylor is like nothing unsubstantial or airy. The blossoms put forth in his works spring from a deep and eternal stock, and have no similitude to any thing wavering or unstable. His account of Sir Thomas Browne, however, seems to us very characteristic, both of himself and of that most extraordinary of English writers. We can make room only for a part of it.

'As Bacon seemed to bend all his thoughts to the practice of life, and to bring home the light of science "to the bosoms and businesses of men," Sir Thomas Browne seemed to be of opinion, that the only business of life was to think; and that the proper object of speculation was, by darkening knowledge, to breed more speculation, and "find no end in wandering mazes lost." He chose the incomprehensible and the impracticable, as almost the only subjects fit for a lofty and lasting contemplation, or for the exercise of a solid faith. He cried out for an "*ah altitudo*" beyond the heights of revelation; and posed himself with apocryphal mysteries as the pastime of his leisure hours. He pushes a question to the utmost verge of conjecture, that he may repose on the certainty of doubt; and he removes an object to the greatest distance from him, that he may take a high and abstracted interest in it, consider it in relation to the sum of things, not to himself, and bewilder his understanding in the universality of its nature, and the inscrutableness of its origin. His is the sublime of indifference; a passion for the abstruse and imaginary. He turns the world round for his amusement, as if it was a globe of pasteboard. He looks down on sublunary affairs as if he had taken his station in one of the planets. The Antipodes are next door neighbours to him; and Doomsday is not far off. With a thought he embraces both the Poles; the march of his pen is over the great divisions of geography and chronology. Nothing touches him nearer than humanity. He feels that he is mortal only in the decay of Nature, and the dust of long-forgotten tombs. The finite is lost in the infinite. The orbits of the heavenly bodies, or the history of empires, are to him but a point in time, or a speck in the

universe. The great Platonic year revolves in one of his periods. Nature is too little for the grasp of his style. He scoops an antithesis out of fabulous antiquity, and rakes up an epithet from the sweepings of chaos. It is as if his books had dropped from the clouds, or as if Friar Bacon's head could speak. He stands on the edge of the world of sense and reason, and gets a vertigo by looking down at impossibilities and chimeras. Or he busies himself with the mysteries of the Cabbala, or the enclosed secrets of the heavenly quincunxes, as children are amused with tales of the nursery. The passion of curiosity (the only passion of childhood) had in him survived to old age, and had superannuated his other faculties. He moralizes and grows pathetic on a mere idle fancy of his own, as if thought and being were the same, or as if "all this world were one glorious lie." He had the most intense consciousness of contradictions and nonentities; and he decks them out in the pride and pedantry of words, as if they were the attire of his proper person. The categories hang about his neck like the gold chain of knighthood; and he "walks gowned" in the intricate folds and swelling drapery of dark sayings and impenetrable riddles.' pp. 292-295.

The Eighth and Last Lecture begins with a few words on the merits of Sheil, Tobin, Lamb, and Cornwall, who, in our own time, have written in the spirit of the elder dramatists. The observations in this Lecture, on the spirit of the romantic and classic literature, are followed by a striking development of the materials, and an examination of the success of the German Drama. Mr Hazlitt attributes the triumph of its monstrous paradoxes to those abuses and hypocrisies of society, those incoherences between its professions and its motives, which excite enthusiastic minds to seek for the opposite, at once, of its defects and blessings. His account of his own sensations on the first perusal of the *Robbers*, is one of the most striking passages in the work.

'I have half trifled with this subject; and I believe I have done so because I despaired of finding language for some old-rooted feelings I have about it, which a theory could neither give, nor can it take away. The *Robbers* was the first play I ever read; and the effect it produced upon me was the greatest. It stunned me like a blow; and I have not recovered enough from it to tell how it was. There are impressions which neither time nor circumstances can efface. Were I to live much longer than I have any chance of doing, the books I have read when I was young, I can never forget. Five-and-twenty years have elapsed since I first read the translation of the *Robbers*, but they have not blotted the impression from my mind; it is here still—an old dweller in the chambers of the brain. The scene, in particular, in which Moor looks through his tears at the evening sun from the mountain's brow, and says in his despair, "It was my wish like him to live, like him to die: it was an idle thought,

a boy's conceit," took first hold of my imagination,—and that sun has to me never set !'

While we sympathise in all Mr Hazlitt's sentiments of reverence for the mighty works of the older time, we must guard against that exclusive admiration of antiquity, rendered fashionable by some great critics, which would induce the belief that the age of genius is past, and the world grown too old to be romantic. We can observe in these Lectures, and in other works of their author, a jealousy of the advances of civilization as lessening the dominion of fancy. But this is, we think, a dangerous error; tending to chill the earliest aspirations after excellence, and to roll its rising energies back on the kindling soul. There remains yet abundant space for genius to possess; and science is rather the pioneer than the impedor of its progress. The level roads, indeed, which it cuts through unexplored regions, are, in themselves, less fitted for its wanderings, than the tangled ways through which it delights to stray; but they afford it new glimpses into the wild scenes and noble vistas which open near them, and enable it to deviate into fresh scenes of beauty, and hitherto unexplored fastnesses. The face of Nature changes not with the variations of fashion. One state of society may be somewhat more favourable to the development of genius than another; but wherever its divine seed is cast, there will it strike its roots far beneath the surface of artificial life, and rear its branches into the heavens, far above the busy haunts of common mortals.

ART. XI. *Marcian Colonna, an Italian Tale, with Three Dramatic Scenes, and other Poems.* By BARRY CORNWALL. 8vo. pp. 190. Warren, London, 1820.

IF it be the peculiar province of Poetry to give delight, this author should rank very high among our poets: And, in spite of his neglect of the terrible passions, he *does* rank very high in our estimation. He has a beautiful fancy and a beautiful diction—and a fine ear for the music of verse, and great tenderness and delicacy of feeling. He seems, moreover, to be altogether free from any tincture of bitterness, rancour or jealousy; and never shocks us with atrocity, or stiffens us with horror; or confounds us with the dreadful sublimities of demoniacal energy. His soul, on the contrary, seems filled to overflowing with images of love and beauty, and gentle sorrows, and tender pity, and mild and holy resignation. The character of his poetry is



to soothe and melt and delight: to make us kind and thoughtful and imaginative—to purge away the dregs of our earthly passions, by the refining fires of a pure imagination, and to lap us up from the eating cares of life, in visions so soft and bright, as to sink like morning dreams on our senses, and at the same time so distinct and truly fashioned upon the eternal patterns of nature, as to hold their place before our eyes long after they have again been opened on the dimmer scenes of the world.

Why this should not be thought the highest kind of poetry, we profess ourselves rather at a loss to explain;—and certainly are ourselves often in a mood to think that it is so; and to believe that the more tremendous agitations of the breast to which the art has so often been made subservient, have attracted more admiration, and engrossed more talent, than ought in justice to have been assigned them. The real lovers of poetry, we suspect, will generally incline their ears most willingly to its softer and more winning strains—nor can we believe that it was for them that its more tumultuous measures were invented. Men of delicate sensibility and inflammable imaginations, do not require the stronger excitement of those boisterous and agonizing emotions, without which it may be difficult to rouse the sympathies of more tardy and rugged natures. The poetical temperament is intrinsically dreamy and contemplative; and subsists in passionate imaginings, and beautiful presentments of the fancy. Wrath and scorn and misanthropy, are scarcely among its natural elements. It has but little legitimate affinity with horror and agony, and none at all with aversion and disgust; nor is it easy to conceive that it should very long maintain its attraction where the predominating feelings it excites are those of dread, astonishment, and disdain. Some strong and gloomy spirits there may be, that really enjoy the stormy trouble of the elements; but the greater and the better part of the lovers of poetry will always be happy to escape to milder and more temperate regions, and to pursue their meditations among enchantments of a more engaging character, and forms of a gentler aspect.

Of such enchantments Mr Cornwall is a great master; and we are happy to meet him again, with his train of attendant spirits. This volume is very like the two former; and we need not here repeat what we have so lately said of their general character. There is the same pervading sweetness—the same gentle pathos—the same delicacy of fancy, and the same fine finishing of verse and of diction—together with something of the same mannerism, and the same occasional weakness.

'*Marcian Colonna*,' which stands so conspicuously in the title-page, is the longest poem which the author has yet attempt-

ed—and perhaps shows, on the whole, more power than he has yet given proof of. But it is not very excellent as a story; and its great charm consists in the beauty of detached passages;—though the whole is very sweetly harmonized by a prevailing tone of tenderness and melancholy. The hero is the younger son of the proud Colonna family;—and being a little touched with insanity, is sent to the lonely convent of Laverna, that no gloom may rest on the happy walks and bright prospects of his elder brother—and there the forgotten youth pines and languishes for years. The following passages will show at once the spirit of poetry and beauty which breathes through even the least animated portions of the story.

‘ There is a lofty spot

Visible amongst the mountains Appennine,  
Where once a hermit dwelt, not yet forgot  
He or his famous miracles divine;  
And there the Convent of Laverna stands  
In solitude, built up by saintly hands,  
And deemed a wonder in the elder time;  
Chasms of the early world are yawning there,  
And rocks are seen, craggy, and vast, and bare  
And many a dizzy precipice sublime,  
And caverns dark as Death, where the wild air  
Rushes from all the quarters of the sky:  
Above, in all his old regality,  
The monarch eagle sits upon his throne,  
Or floats upon the desert winds, alone.  
There, belted 'round and 'round by forests drear,  
Black pine, and giant beech, and oaks that rear  
Their brown diminished heads like shrubs between,  
And guarded by a river that is seen  
Flashing and wandering thro' the dell below,  
Laverna stands.—It is a place of woe,  
And, 'midst its cold dim aisles and cells of gloom,  
The pale Franciscan meditates his doom.’ pp. 7, 8.

‘ But in his gentler moments he would gaze,  
With something of the love of earlier days,  
On the far prospects, and on summer morns  
Would wander to a high and distant peak,  
Against whose rocky bosom the clouds break  
In showers upon the forests. It adorns  
The landscape, and from out a pine-wood high,  
Springs like a craggy giant to the sky.  
Here, on this summit of the hills, he loved  
To lie and look upon the world below;  
And almost did he wish at times to know  
How in that busy world man could be moved

To live for ever—what delights were there  
 To equal the fresh sward and odorous air,  
 The valleys and green slopes, and the sweet call  
 Of bird to bird, what time the shadows fall  
 Toward the west :—he thought and thought,  
 'Till in his brain a busier spirit wrought,  
 And Nature then unlocked with her sweet smile  
 The icy barrier of his heart, and he  
 Returned unto his first humanity.  
 He felt a void, and much he grieved the while,  
 Within his heart, as tho' he wished to share  
 A joy he knew not with another mind ;  
 Wild were his thoughts, but every wish refined,  
 And pure as waters of the mountain spring :  
 Was it the birth of Love?—did he unbind  
 (Like the far scent of wild flowers blossoming)  
 His perfumed pinions in that rocky lair,

To save a heart so young from perishing there? ' pp. 16–18.

In the mean time, all is mirth and joy in the Colonna palace,  
 now delivered from this gloomy inmate—and the happy heiress is  
 destined to the lovely Julia.

' On that same night of mirth Vitelli came.  
 With his fair child, sole heiress of his name,—  
 She came amidst the lovely and the proud,  
 Peerless ; and when she moved, the gallant crowd  
 Divided, as the obsequious vapours light  
 Divide to let the queen-moon pass by night :  
 Then looks of love were seen, and many a sigh  
 Was wasted on the air, and some aloud  
 Talked of the pangs they felt and swore to die :—  
 She, like the solitary rose that springs  
 In the first warmth of summer days, and flings  
 A perfume the more sweet because alone—  
 Just bursting into beauty, with a zone  
 Half girl's half woman's, smiled and then forgot  
 Those gentle things to which she answered not.' pp. 13, 14.

The fortunate youth, however, is killed in a duel—the fair  
 Julia is married to an unsuitable husband, and Marcian is re-  
 called, though still a little strange and moody, to carry on the  
 representation of the family. Julia's husband is providentially  
 drowned, and she returns to the home of her fathers, very pale  
 and lovely. Marcian and she had seen each other in early  
 youth, and he had had dreams and visions of her in his convent  
 retreat—and they are now troubled in each other's presence ;  
 but part without speaking. The following account of this se-  
 cond meeting is very sweet and beautiful.

' One night—one summer night he wandered far  
 Into the Roman suburbs ; Many a star

Shone out above upon the silent hours,  
 Save when, awakening the sweet infant flowers,  
 The breezes travell'd from the west, and then  
 A small cloud came abroad and fled again.  
 The red rose was in blossom, and the fair  
 And bending lily to the wanton air  
 Bared her white breast, and the voluptuous lime  
 Cast out his perfumes, and the wilding thyme  
 Mingled his mountain sweets, transplanted low  
 'Midst all the flowers that in those regions blow.  
 —He wandered on: At last, his spirit subdued  
 By the deep influence of that hour, partook  
 E'en of its nature, and he felt imbued  
 With a more gentle love, and he did look  
 At times amongst the stars, as on a book  
 Where he might read his destiny. How bright  
 Heaven's many constellations shone that night!  
 And from the distant river a gentle tune,  
 Such as is uttered in the month of June,  
 By brooks, whose scanty streams have languished long  
 For rain, was heard;—a tender, lapsing song,  
 Sent up in homage to the quiet moon.

'He mused, 'till from a garden, near whose wall  
 He leant, a melancholy voice was heard  
 Singing alone, like some poor widow bird  
 That casts unto the woods her desert call.  
 It was the voice—the very voice that rung  
 Long in his brain that now so sweetly sung.  
 He passed the garden bounds and lightly trod,  
 Checking his breath, along the grassy sod,  
 (By buds and blooms half-hidden, which the breeze  
 Had ravished from the clustering orange trees,)  
 Until he reached a low pavilion, where  
 He saw a lady pale, with radiant hair  
 Over her forehead, and in garments white;  
 A harp was by her, and her fingers light  
 Carelessly o'er the golden strings were flung;  
 Then, shaking back her locks, with upward eye,  
 And lips that dumbly moved, she seemed to try  
 To catch an old disused melody—' pp. 34–36.

He finds, by her song, that he is remembered and beloved—  
 and he tells his love, and is accepted—and, after some alarms  
 about his malady, they are united in fullness of bliss and in-  
 nocence.

'Sleep softly, on your bridal pillows, sleep,  
 Excellent pair! happy and young and true;  
 And o'er your days, and o'er your slumbers deep  
 And airy dreams, may Love's divinest dew

Be scatter'd like the April rains of Heaven :  
 And may your tender words, whispered at even,  
 Be woven into music ; and, as the wind  
 Leaves when it flies a sweetness still behind,  
 When distant, may each silver sounding tone  
 Weigh on the other's heart, and bring (tho' gone)  
 The absent back ; and may no envy sever  
 Your joys, but may each love—be loved for ever.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, as I write, lo ! thro' my window streams  
 The midnight moon—crescented Dian, who  
 'Tis said once wandered from her wastes of blue,  
 And all for love ; filling a shepherd's dreams  
 With beauty and delight. He slept, he slept,  
 And on his eyelids white the huntress wept  
 Till morning ; and looked thro', on nights like this,  
 His lashes dark, and left her dewy kiss.—  
 But never more upon the Latmos hill  
 May she descend to kiss that forest boy,  
 And give—receive gentle and innocent joy,  
 When clouds are distant far, and winds are still :  
 Her bound is circumscribed, and curbed her will.  
 —Those were immortal stories :—are they gone ?  
 The pale queen is dethroned. Endymion  
 Hath vanished ; and the worship of this earth  
 Is bowed to golden gods of vulgar birth.' pp. 58–59.

The succeeding and tragical part of the story is perhaps the least skilfully managed. Marcian, wandering one day, in his bridal joy, is appalled by the sudden apparition of Julia's first husband, who turns out not to have been effectually drowned—and instantly flies with her in distraction from the Italian shore. The following description of their disastrous voyage is the most powerful piece of poetry that has yet proceeded from Mr Cornwall's pen—and might do honour to any name that now graces our literature.

—The day-light sank, and the winds wailed about  
 The barque wherein the luckless couple lay,  
 And from the distant cloud came scattering out  
 Rivers of fire : it seemed as though the day  
 Had burst from out the billows, far away.  
 No pilot had they their small boat to steer  
 Aside from rocks, no sea-worn mariner  
 Who knew each creek and bay and sheltering steep.  
 —The storm continued, and no voice was heard,  
 Save that of some poor solitary bird,  
 Which sought a shelter on the quivering mast,  
 But soon borne off by the tremendous blast  
 Sank in the waters screaming. The great sea

Bared like a grave its bosom silently ;  
 Then sank and panted like an angry thing,  
 With its own strength at war : The vessel flew  
 Towards the land, and then the billows grew  
 Larger and white, and roared as triumphing,  
 Scattering afar and wide the heavy spray  
 That shone like loose snow as it passed away.  
 —At first the dolphin and the porpoise dark  
 Came rolling by them, and the hungry shark  
 Followed the boat, patient and eager-eyed,  
 And the gray curlew slanting dipped her side  
 And the hoarse gull his wing within the foam ;  
 But some had sank, the rest had hurried home.  
 And there pale Julia and her husband, clasped  
 Each in the other's arms, sate viewing Death :  
 She for his sake at times in terror gasped,  
 But he to cheer her kept his steady breath,  
 Talking of hope, and smiled like morning—There  
 They sate together in their sweet despair :  
 At times upon his breast she laid her head,  
 And he upon her silent beauty fed,  
 Hushing her fears—and 'tween her and the storm  
 Drew his embroidered cloak to keep her warm :  
 She thanked him with a look upturned to his,  
 The which he answered with a gentle kiss  
 Pressed and prolonged to pain. Her lip was cold ;  
 And all her love and terror mutely told.—

O thou vast Ocean ! Ever sounding Sea !  
 Thou symbol of a drear immensity !  
 Thou thing that windest round the solid world  
 Like a huge animal, which, downward hurl'd  
 From the black clouds, lies weltering and alone,  
 Lashing and writhing till its strength be gone.  
 Thy voice is like the thunder, and thy sleep  
 Is as a giant's slumber, loud and deep.  
 Thou speakest in the East and in the West  
 At once, and on thy heavily laden breast  
 Fleets come and go, and shapes that have no life  
 Or motion yet are moved and meet in strife.  
 The earth hath nought of this : no chance nor change  
 Ruffles its surface, and no spirits dare  
 Give answer to the tempest-waken air ;  
 But o'er its wastes the weakly tenants range  
 At will, and wound its bosom as they go :  
 Ever the same, it hath no ebb, no flow ;  
 But in their stated rounds the seasons come,  
 And pass like visions to their viewless home,  
 And come again, and vanish : the young Spring

Looks ever bright with leaves and blossoming,  
 And Winter always winds his sullen horn,  
 When the wild Autumn with a look forlorn  
 Dies in his stormy manhood ; and the skies  
 Weep and flowers sicken when the Summer flies.  
 Oh ! wonderful thou art, great clement :  
 And fearful in thy spleeny humours bent,  
 And lovely in repose : thy summer form  
 Is beautiful, and when thy silver waves  
 Make music in earth's dark and winding caves,  
 I love to wander on thy pebbled beach,  
 Marking the sunlight at the evening hour,  
 And harken to the thoughts thy waters teach—  
 ' Eternity, Eternity, and Power.'

And now—whither are gone the lovers now ?  
 Colonna, wearest thou anguish on thy brow,  
 And is the valour of the moment gone ?  
 Fair Julia, thou art smiling now alone :  
 The hero and the husband weeps at last—  
 Alas, alas ! and lo ! he stands aghast,  
 Bankrupt in every hope, and silently gasps  
 Like one who maddens. Hark ! the timbers part  
 And the sea-billows come, and still he clasps  
 His pale pale beauty, closer to his heart,  
 The ship has struck. One kiss—the last—Love's own.  
 —They plunge into the waters and are gone.  
 The vessel sinks,—'tis vanished, and the sea  
 Rolls boiling o'er the wreck triumphantly,  
 And shrieks are heard and cries, and then short groans,  
 Which the waves stifle quick, and doubtful tones  
 Like the faint moanings of the wind pass by,  
 And horrid gurgling sounds rise up and die,  
 And noises like the choaking of man's breath—  
 —But why prolong the tale—it is of death.' pp. 70-76.

But they do not die.—They are succoured on the beach by fishermen—and Marcian becomes a fisherman himself, and lives for some time in happy lowliness, till a second vision of the former husband drives them again to an inland retreat near his old prison of Laverna. There poor Julia learns, somehow, for the first time, that this ill-sorted mate is still alive, and that she cannot be the lawful wife of Marcian ; and rejects his society, and prays to be allowed to retire to a nunnery and die ;—but he, inflamed with love and madness and despair, administers poison to her, and watches her placid end, and then disappears, like the Corsair, for ever.

This longer poem is followed by three Dramatic Scenes—the first of which, on the death of Julian the Apostate, is the most dignified ;—the second, called ' Amelia Wentworth,' the most

pathetic and poetical;—and the last, entitled ‘The Rape of Proserpine,’ a very spirited and beautiful imitation of the higher and more fanciful strains of the antient drama. Of this, as the more rare and difficult attempt, we shall give a short specimen. Proserpine is distributing her flowers very poetically to her attendant nymphs, in the florid vale of Enna, when the chariot of the grisly king comes rolling from the earth. The Semichorus then sings—

‘Mark him as he moves along  
 Drawn by horses black and strong,  
 Such as may belong to Night  
 ‘Ere she takes her morning flight.  
 Now the chariot stops: the god  
 On our grassy world hath trod:  
 Like a Titan steppeth he,  
 Yet full of his divinity.  
 On his mighty shoulders lie  
 Raven locks, and in his eye  
 A cruel beauty, such as none  
 Of us may wisely look upon.

*Proser.* He comes indeed. How like a god he looks!  
 Terribly lovely—Shall I shun his eye  
 Which even here looks brightly beautiful?  
 What a wild leopard glance he has.—I am  
 Jove’s daughter, and shall I then deign to fly?  
 I will not: yet, methinks, I fear to stay.  
 Come, let us go, Cyane.

[*Pluto enters.*]

*Pluto.* Stay, oh! stay.  
 Proserpina, Proserpina, I come  
 From my Tartarean kingdom to behold you.  
 The brother of Jove am I. I come to say  
 Gently, beside this blue Sicilian stream,  
 How much I love you, fair Proserpina.  
 Think me not rude that thus at once I tell  
 My passion. I disarm me of all power;  
 And in the accents of a man I sue,  
 Bowing before your beauty. Brightest maid!  
 Let me—still unassuming—say I have  
 Roamed through the earth, where many an eye hath smiled  
 In love upon me, tho’ it knew me not;  
 But I have passed free from amongst them all,  
 To gaze on you alone. I might have clasped  
 Lovely and royal maids, and throned queens,  
 Sea nymphs, and airy shapes, that glide along  
 Like light across the hills, or those that make  
 Mysterious music in the desert woods,



Or lend a voice to fountains; or to caves,  
 Or answering hush the river's sweet reproach—  
 Oh! I've escaped from all, to come and tell  
 How much I love you, sweet Proserpina.

SEMICHORUS, (*Cyane*.)

Come with me, away, away,  
 Fair and young Proserpina.  
 You will die unless you flee,  
 Child of crowned Cybele.—  
 Think not of his eyes of fire,  
 Nor his wily heart's desire,  
 Nor the locks that round his head  
 Run like wreathed snakes, and fling  
 A shadow o'er his eyes glancing;  
 Nor, the dangerous whispers hanging,  
 Like honey, roofing o'er his tongue.  
 But think of all thy Mother's glory—  
 Of her love—of every story  
 Of the cruel Pluto told,  
 And which grey Tradition old,  
 With all its weight of grief and crime,  
 Hath plucked from out the grave of Time.  
 Once again I bid thee flee,  
 Daughter of great Cybele.' pp. 150–153.

The Miscellaneous Poems are full of beauty and feeling; and we should be tempted, if we had room, to extract the most of them. The following lines, on a remembered Voice, are very sweet and fanciful.

' Oh! what a voice is silent. It was soft  
 As mountain-echoes, when the winds aloft—  
 The gentle winds of summer meet in caves;  
 Or when in sheltered places the white waves  
 Are 'wakened into music, as the breeze  
 Dimples and stems the current: or as trees  
 Shaking their green locks in the days of June:  
 Or Delphic girls when to the maiden moon  
 They sang harmonious pray'rs: or sounds that come  
 (However near) like a faint distant hum  
 Out of the grass, from which mysterious birth  
 We guess the busy secrets of the earth.  
 —Like the low voice of Syrinx, when she ran  
 Into the forests from Arcadian Pan:  
 Or sad CEnone's, when she pined away  
 For Paris, or (and yet 'twas not so gay)  
 As Helen's whisper when she came to Troy,  
 Half sham'd to wander with that blooming boy:  
 Like air-touch'd harps in flowery casements hung;  
 Like unto lovers' ears the wild words sung

In garden bowers at twilight : like the sound  
 Of Zephyr when he takes his nightly round,  
 In May, to see the roses all asleep :  
 Or like the dim strain which along the deep  
 The sea-maid utters to the sailors' ear,  
 Telling of tempests, or of dangers near :  
 Like Desdemona, who (when fear was strong  
 Upon her soul) chanted the willow song,  
 Swan-like before she perished : or the tone  
 Of flutes upon the waters heard alone :  
 Like words that come upon the memory  
 Spoken by friends departed ; or the sigh  
 A gentle girl breathes when she tries to hide  
 The love her eyes betray to all the world beside.' pp. 169-70.

This picture of youthful and extinguished beauty has the same characteristic eloquence.

' A word—a breath revives her ! and she stands  
 As beautiful, and young, and free from care,  
 As when upon the Tyber's yellow sands  
 She loosened to the winds her golden hair,  
 In almost childhood ; and in pastime run  
 Like young Aurora from the morning sun.  
 Oh ! never was a form so delicate  
 Fashioned in dream or story, to create  
 Wonder or love in man. She was fair,  
 And young, I said ; and her thick tresses were  
 Of the bright colour of the light of day :  
 Her eyes were like the dove's—like Hebe's—or  
 The maiden moon, or starlight seen afar,  
 Or like—some eyes I know but may not say.  
 Never were kisses gathered from such lips,  
 And not the honey which the wild bee sips  
 From flowers that on the thymy mountains grow  
 Hard by Ilissus, half so rich :—Her brow  
 Was darker than her hair and arched and fine,  
 And sunny smiles would often often shine  
 Over a mouth from which came sounds more sweet  
 Than dying winds, or waters when they meet  
 Gently, and seem telling and talking o'er  
 The silence they so long had kept before.' pp. 181, 182.

But the most pathetic and delicate of these smaller pieces, in our estimation, is one entitled ' The Last Song,' supposed to be sung by a young and innocent girl, who feels herself dying of long cherished and undisclosed love. The sentiments and the diction appear to us to be equally exquisite—and the measure, though rather uncommon, to be eminently beautiful. It runs as follows.

' Must it be ?—Then farewell,  
 Thou whom my woman's heart cherished so long :

Farewell! and be this song  
 The last, wherein I say "I loved thee well."  
 Many a weary strain  
 (Never yet heard by thee)-hath this poor breath  
 Uttered, of Love and Death,  
 And maiden grief, hidden and chid in vain.  
 Oh! if in after years  
 The tale that I am dead shall touch thy heart,  
 Bid not the pain depart;  
 But shed, over my grave, a few sad tears.  
 Think of me—still so young,  
 Silent, tho' fond, who cast my life away,  
 Daring to disobey  
 The passionate Spirit that around me clung.  
 Farewell again! and yet,  
 Must it indeed be so—and on this shore  
 Shall you and I no more  
 Together see the sun of the Summer set?  
 For me, my days are gone!  
 No more shall I, in vintage times, prepare  
 Chaplets to bind my hair,  
 As I was wont: oh 'twas for you alone!  
 But on my bier I'll lay  
 Me down in frozen beauty, pale and wan,  
 Martyr of love to man,  
 And, like a broken flower, gently decay.' pp. 183, 184.

All this seems to us very delightful; and we are almost ashamed to say—hoary sages as we now are—how completely we have abandoned ourselves to the fascination of strains that may appear suited only to the ears of youths and virgins. But the heart, if well managed, does not grow soon old;—and we hope always to be young enough to dwell with delight on such verses as Mr Cornwall's, and to feel a very lively interest in their multiplication and success.

We hear that he is now engaged on an entire tragedy,—for the appearance of which we shall watch with some impatience. The diction, we are quite confident, will be more truly dramatic than any thing our age has yet seen;—and of the pathos and poetry we feel almost equally secure. But we have some fears for the fable;—and are not without our misgivings as to his management of the bolder characters and more rapid scenes, without which the business of representation cannot well be got over. But, on the whole, we think he has a better chance of success than any one who has adventured in this way in the memory of the existing generation.

---

ART. XII. *Speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, on the 14th December 1819, for transferring the Elective Franchise from Corrupt Boroughs to Unrepresented Great Towns.* 8vo. Longman & Co. London, 1820.

IT is now two years since we promised to lay before the public such thoughts as had occurred to us 'on those plans of Constitutional Reform which might gradually unite the most reasonable friends of Liberty, and of which we should not despair to see some part adopted under the guidance of a liberal and firm government.'\* However uncertain the accomplishment of our hopes may now appear, the circumstances of the times will no longer allow us to delay the performance of this promise. The establishment of new constitutions in foreign countries, increases the general importance of this subject: But the progress of discontent and agitation at home, renders its consideration a matter of immediate and paramount urgency.

It would be a fatal error to suppose that the destruction of despotism is necessarily attended by the establishment of liberty. Revolutions do not bestow liberty. They only give a chance for it;—a great indeed and unspeakable blessing, worthy of being pursued at every hazard; but not to be confounded with the institution of a free government. It is easy to burn a bad house, but sometimes difficult to build a good one in its stead: And the difference between destroying and constructing, is immeasurably greater in the case of government, than in that from which we have borrowed our illustration. It was long ago justly observed,† by a writer of equal sense and wit, 'that it is impossible to settle any government by a model that shall hold, as men contrive ships and buildings: for governments are made, like natural productions, by degrees, according as their materials are brought in by time, and those parts that are unagreeable to their nature, cast off.'† A living writer, distinguished by a like union of eminent faculties, remarks, that 'Constitutions are in fact productions that can neither be created nor transplanted. They are the growth of time, not the invention of ingenuity; and to frame a complete system of government, depending on habits of reverence and experience, is an attempt as absurd as to build a tree, or manufac-

\* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxi. p. 199.

† The Remains of Samuel Butler, vol. ii. p. 481.

‘ture an opinion.’ ‡ These just and striking observations are not quoted to dishearten enslaved nations in the pursuit of liberty. We would not, if it depended upon us, repress their zeal; but we would, if it were possible, contribute somewhat to enlighten their judgment. We would earnestly exhort them, in their first attempts at legislation, to aim only at a sketch of those institutions, without which Liberty cannot exist,—to connect them, wherever it is possible, with the ancient fabric of their societies,—and to leave the outline to be gradually filled up by their successors. When experience has ascertained the effects of their first legislation, and when generally acknowledged inconveniences require to be remedied by new laws,—without observing such principles, they are likely, in flying from an old despotism, to fall into the arms of some of those new tyrannies, which, under a thousand forms, lie in wait for all communities, but especially for those who are engaged in the enterprise of laying the first foundations of Liberty.

A difference of opinion may be entertained on the expediency of some civil institutions, and the importance of others; but that no nation can be free, without some Representation of the people, is one of the very few positions, in which all men who pretend to a love of liberty are agreed. Nothing then can be of more importance than the prevalence of right opinions on the mode of amending such a representation where it is thought defective, or of establishing it where it did not exist before. By such opinions only can free states be saved from convulsion; and by them alone, can revolution in absolute monarchies be rendered productive of permanent freedom.

Deeply, however, as we are interested in the fortune of foreign nations struggling for liberty, the condition of our own country has, at the present moment, still stronger claims on our consideration. The extent of the evils which at present threaten us is not denied by any party; and, least of all, by the adherents of the present administration: They are the foremost to tell us that our situation is more perilous than it has been at any period since the Revolution. It is said, on the one hand, that the proprietary and educated classes are the oppressors of the people. It is asserted with equal exaggeration on the other, that the body of the people are become determined enemies not only of the English constitution, but of all property, law and

---

‡ Letter to a Neapolitan from an Englishman, 1815, printed in 1818; but unpublished, though peculiarly worthy, at the present crisis, of being considered by those Neapolitans who aim at establishing their liberties on a solid foundation.

religion. The most dispassionate observers cannot deny, that the bonds which hold together the various orders of society, have for the last six years been rapidly loosening; that many of the higher classes betray a dread of liberty, and many of the more numerous show an impatience of authority; and that it is the natural tendency of such a state of things, to terminate in a mortal combat between extreme and irreconcilable factions. Whatever supposition we may adopt respecting the origin of these evils,—whether we ascribe them, with some, to the sins of the people, or with others to the faults of the government, or with a third party to the distresses of the times, cooperating with either or both of the foregoing causes;—on all suppositions the evils themselves continue the same, and their probable termination remains equally uncertain and alarming. It is impossible to calculate either the time in which the causes of civil confusion grow to maturity, or the chances that, if that time be long, unforeseen circumstances may check their progress. But if they should now proceed to their natural close, we may continue to assert that there is much in the present structure and circumstances of our society to aggravate the common evils of political contention; and that, whoever may be the conqueror, the British Constitution must perish in the contest. What successive systems of liberty or tyranny may rise hereafter from its ruins, will depend on events which are beyond the reach of our controul, and even of our conjectures.

It cannot be denied, that one of the two expedients for suppressing national discontent has been fully tried. A fair experiment has been made on the force of arms and of laws. Prosecutions and punishments have not been wanting. New penalties have been annexed to political offences. New restrictions have been imposed on the exercise of political rights. It may be safely stated, that coercion and restraint cannot be carried much further, without openly renouncing the forms of the constitution, or adopting new institutions for administering the law. And even if such new institutions could be adopted, it would be difficult to find men educated under the British Constitution who would be well qualified to take a part in those arbitrary and summary measures, which form the whole policy of the admirers of what is called vigorous government. With the best inclinations in the world for their new task, most of them would prove mere novices in oppression, and very clumsy instruments of tyranny. The old and deep-rooted feelings created by a system of law and liberty, like that of England, will occasion frequent misgivings in the minds of those who are called upon to execute new plans for restriction; while, on the other hand,

resistance to such measures will never be considered in the same light, as if it were pointed against our long tried and justly revered institutions. The British Constitution, in short, cannot maintain itself by jealousy and coercion:—for, being formed to protect the rights of the people, it is not fortified against their hostility.

In point of fact, we take it to be undeniably certain, that the public discontent has increased with the progress of those measures of restraint which have been contrived to quell it. It might be contended, that they have aggravated the distemper: it is certain, at least, that they have proved utterly unavailing. What a frightful progress the general discontent has made, in the short time between 1817 and 1820! \* Are we then to persist in the exclusive use of restriction and coercion, after experience has proved them to be ineffectual, and when we have nearly reached their farthest limit? Are we supinely to wait the approaches of civil war? Is no other system of policy to be even tried? Is conciliation so manifestly impracticable, that it is not worth even the most cautious experiment?

When we see two factions arrayed in order of battle, and ready to take the field against each other, with every badge of irreconcilable difference, and implacable animosity, the one demanding the surrender of the Constitution, the other declaring against the most cautious reformation, we are apt at first to conclude, that every effort to negotiate a peace between such parties, must be vain:—We are led to despair of any compromise, between those who petition for universal suffrage, and those who refuse to disfranchise Grampound! A closer inspection, however, somewhat lessens the difficulty. We soon discover that every numerous party, under the appearance of unanimity, contains great diversities of sentiment:—that many of those who, on the whole, prefer one side, are by no means pre-

---

\* We have made no remark here on the fatal policy of the prosecution of the Queen, which, in the year 1820, has so powerfully contributed to the diffusion and increase of discontent. Had a Cabinet of Revolutionists deliberated on the best means of spreading dispositions favourable to their cause, to the lowest villages—to the quietest provinces—to districts where the sound of our political divisions had never before penetrated;—had they been desirous of securing a long impunity to libels, and an unrestrained license to popular meetings—had they been devising the most effectual expedients for at once inflaming and emboldening the populace of great cities,—they could not have imagined any measures more suitable to their purpose, than the proceedings of the first Session of the first Parliament of a new reign.

pared to plunge into the excesses of the noisiest and most conspicuous leaders; and that, in process of time, great changes of opinion take place in the interior of every party, before any open division is apparent among its members. After civil confusion has once begun, the current in every party long sets towards violence; but before that unhappy period, the effect of time is always to recruit and strengthen the more moderate. Such dispositions have already begun in some degree to manifest themselves in this country. Many of the Reformers are weary of some of their associates, and begin to recoil from measures, of which they have had leisure to contemplate the consequences. But these divisions cannot be made useful to the country, unless the judgment of the better part of such men be satisfied, and their honour preserved by some substantial concession. If we turn our eyes to the opposite party, we can still more clearly see, that a great change of opinion has taken place among the most considerable supporters of Government. Many of them are heartily sick of the measures of the last four years, and are well disposed to put an end to these disgraceful scuffles between the Government and the populace. They are not disinclined to try the experiment, whether a change of measures would not contribute to satisfy and tranquillize the nation. If the removal of the present Ministers be necessary to the success of the experiment, it is pretty certain that many of their principal supporters will witness the sacrifice with little regret. The hopes of restoring harmony between the different classes in our community, depend chiefly on the possibility of uniting the more moderate of both parties. The differences between them are probably very far from being so wide as they seem. They differ more in language than in opinion, and more in opinion than in feeling. Many, on both sides, who still adhere with the utmost bigotry to their systems, have already begun to shrink with horror from the means by which they must be established, and the effects by which they may be followed. It is not, however, to be expected, that such men on either side will begin the negotiation; nor should we despair, if they were for a time to resist all pacific propositions. The animosity of old political antagonists, the pride of consistency, even the mere force of habit, are passions which would require great skill and patience to surmount. But we are not to suppose that the desire of peace may not daily gain strength in the hearts of those who are most actively engaged in war.

To pave the way for better understanding on this subject, let us temperately inquire, whether some of the demands of the people be not reasonable in themselves, and may not be safely,



as well as justly granted. These demands relate to an alteration, or Reform, in the constitution of the House of Commons. On this subject, we may lay aside, for the present, the two extreme opinions, one of which demands universal suffrage, and the other refuses all reformation. They cannot be the means of that accommodation of which we are here in search—they are obstacles to its accomplishment. Those who obstinately adhere to them, do in effect profess, that they trust only to superior force, and rely, for the adoption of their system, on victory over their fellow-citizens. Every reasonable expectation of preserving liberty and peace, must point therefore between these extremes: and in this wide range, there is ample scope for great diversities of opinion. It comprehends all those who can, by any latitude of expression, be called *Moderate Reformers*, from those who would throw the votes of the delinquent Borough into the neighbouring Hundreds, to those who would newly divide the kingdom into elective districts, and substitute the single qualification of a householder for all the present rights of suffrage.

It is peculiarly difficult to make the supporters of Moderate Reform act as one body: for, from the very nature of their opinions, they are subject to great divisions. This has been always the main source of their weakness, and the standing reproach of their opponents on both sides. While one of the extreme factions see, in every form of the Constitution, the sacredness of an article of faith, and the other ascribe to every visionary project of change the certainty of a proposition in geometry,—the Moderate Reformers, who pretend only to seek for probable means of quiet improvement, are exposed, by the very reasonableness of their principles, to that disunion, from which both classes of their enemies are secured by absurdity and arrogance. It would, however, be a gross deviation from those principles of prudence and expediency on which Moderate Reform is founded, if its partisans were unwilling, at a crisis like the present, to make some mutual sacrifices of opinion. Most of them agree in thinking, that the direct power of the people in the House of Commons is too small; that the right of suffrage ought to be extended, and the duration of Parliament shortened. A plan which promises substantial improvement in these respects, however it may be the object of the opinion of some, or go somewhat beyond that of others, ought to be supported by the main body. The great strength of the cause of Moderate Reform, lies in the middle classes, who at the present moment have a strong feeling that there are serious defects and abuses in the Government, and a warm de-

sire of reformation, without any very distinct notion of its particular nature. It seems extremely desirable to present a Scheme of Reform to these important classes, in order to fix their opinions, to form a point of union between themselves, and to guard them against the contagion of extravagant projects. The main benefit, however, to be expected from such a plan, would be the probability of its gradually reconciling the prudent friends of the Establishment, with the better, and perhaps, at last, the larger part of the more zealous Reformers. We are not so ignorant of human nature, as to consider the success of such an attempt as certain, or in any case as easy or speedy. If it be accomplished at all, it can only be by those who have the patience to bear disappointments, and the spirit to rally, after successive defeats.

The conditions, to be exacted from the proposer of a pacific plan of reformation, seem to be the following.

*First*, It ought to provide for a real and considerable increase of the direct power of the body of the people, in the Commons' House of Parliament.

A plan, which did not fulfil this condition, would neither unite moderate Reformers, nor detach sensible and reputable men from more extensive plans of change. It would be of little value, therefore, in the eyes of those who might be persuaded to employ Reform as an instrument of *conciliation*.

*Secondly*, It ought to furnish a reasonable security, that it will not be the source of new dangers to the other institutions and establishments of the kingdom.

Without this condition, it would be treachery to propose it to those who at present have the chief influence on public affairs. They have unquestionably a right to such a security; and it would be folly to expect that they would not demand it. No reform which does not satisfy this condition, can be a *pacific measure*.

*Thirdly*, It ought to be founded not only on general reasons of political expediency, but in the acknowledged principles, such as are at present in the established, and even technical forms of the British Constitution.

The condition is a strong preservative against dissension among the reformers, and the best, if not the only security, which can be offered, that its adoption will lead to the measures, not those which are contemplated and avowed by the reformers.

It should, if possible, be peculiarly founded on such constitutional principles as present a distinct and visible limit to its operation, so as to lead, by no necessary consequence, to the adoption of great measures, and to leave all fu-

ture questions of that nature to be discussed on their own intrinsic merits.

It is obvious, that a plan of peace ought not to be embroiled by the demand of any sacrifices of opinion respecting future controversies; but justice requires, that it should be so framed, that the party which yields should, at the time of the transaction, clearly see all the consequences of his concession.

*Fifthly*, As a consequence of the previous conditions, the plan should be such as may be reasonably expected to be proposed and carried, by an administration friendly to Reform, but inviolably attached to the Constitution.

All the previous conditions are general, and some of them perhaps rather abstract. This last divests them of their generality, and brings them into the light of practice:—no Reform can ever be peaceably carried, otherwise than by a friendly administration:—all plans which will not bear the test of this condition, are either delusions or instruments of revolution. Whoever seriously intends Reform, and sincerely designs nothing more, ought constantly to bear in mind, in framing his plan, how a minister could propose it in the Cabinet, or move it in the House of Commons.

The foundations of such a Reform as might fulfil all these conditions, may be found, we think, in the two General Resolutions, moved by Lord John Russell, on the 14th of December 1819, after a speech, which combined the prudence of a Statesman with the enlarged views of a Philosopher. These Resolutions are as follows—

1. That it is expedient that all Boroughs, in which gross and notorious bribery and corruption shall be found to prevail, shall cease to return Members to serve in Parliament.

2. That it is expedient that the right of returning Members to serve in Parliament, so taken from any borough which shall have been proved to have been guilty of bribery and corruption, should be given to some great towns, the population of which shall not be less than 15,000 souls; or to some of the largest counties.

The debates on these Resolutions, and on the measure which followed them, are remarkable, as the first occasion on which a majority of the House of Commons showed a willingness to listen favourably to a proposal of Parliamentary Reform. The object of Lord John was twofold:—to redress a particular grievance, and to take that opportunity of introducing a reformatory principle into the Constitution. The nature of his measure, and the conditions under which the principle was to be applied, were well suited to the attainment of these objects. The most material change which we should propose in his plan, would be an inversion of the order of time in which the two Resolutions are to be carried into effect.

I. The first article in a wise plan of reformation, would, in our opinion, be the immediate addition of twenty Members to the House of Commons, to be chosen by the most opulent and populous of the communities which are at present without direct representation; with such varieties, in the right of suffrage, as the local circumstances of each community might suggest, but in all of them on the principle of a widely diffused franchise. In Scotland, Glasgow ought to be included; in Ireland we think there are no unrepresented communities to which the principle could be applied.

In endeavouring to show that this proposal is strictly constitutional, according to the narrowest and most cautious use of that term—that it requires only the exercise of an *acknowledged* right, and the revival of a practice observed for several ages, we shall abstain from those controverted questions which relate to the obscure and legendary part of our Parliamentary history. A very cursory review of the authentic annals of the House of Commons, is sufficient for the present purpose. In the writs of summons of the 11th of Edward I., the Sheriffs were directed (as they are by the present writ) to send two Members from each city and borough within their respective bailiwicks. The letter of this injunction appears, from the beginning, to have been disobeyed. The Crown was indeed desirous of a full attendance of citizens and burgesses, a class of men then subservient to the royal pleasure, and who, it was expected, would reconcile their neighbours in the provinces to the burthen of Parliamentary grants. But to many boroughs, the wages of burgesses in Parliament were a heavy and sometimes an insupportable burthen: and this struggle between the policy of the Crown and the poverty of the boroughs, occasioned great fluctuation in the towns who sent Members to the House of Commons, in the course of the 14th century. Small boroughs were often excused by the Sheriff on account of their poverty, and at other times neglected or disobeyed his order. When he persisted, petitions were presented to the King in Parliament, and perpetual or temporary charters of exemption were obtained by the petitioning boroughs. In the 1st of Edward III. the county of Northumberland, and the town of Newcastle, were exempted, on account of the devastations of the Scotch war. The boroughs in Lancashire sent no Members from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VI.; the Sheriff stating, in his returns, that there was no borough in his bailiwick able to bear the expense. Of 184 cities and boroughs, summoned to Parliament in the reign of the three first Edwards, only 91 continued to send Members in the reign of Richard II. In the midst of this great irregularity in the composition of the House

of Commons, we still see a manifest, though irregular, tendency to the establishment of a constitutional principle,—viz. that deputies from all the most important communities, with palpably distinct interests, should form part of a national assembly. The separate and sometimes clashing interests of the town and the country, were not entrusted to the same guardians. The Knights of the Shire were not considered as sufficient representatives even of the rude industry and infant commerce of that age.

The dangerous discretion of the Sheriffs was taken away by the statutes for the regulation of elections, passed under the princes of the House of Lancaster. A seat in the House of Commons had now begun to be an object of general ambition. Landed gentlemen, lawyers, even courtiers, served as burgesses, instead of those traders—sometimes, if we may judge from their names, of humble occupation—who filled that station in former times. Boroughs had already fallen under the influence of neighbouring proprietors; and, from a curious passage in the Paston Letters,\* we find, that in the middle of the fifteenth century, the nomination of a young gentleman to serve for a borough, by the proprietor, or by a great man of the Court, was spoken of as not an unusual transaction. From this time the power of the Crown, of granting representation to new boroughs, formed a part of the regular practice of the Government, and was exercised without interruption for two hundred years. In the cases of Wales, Chester, and long after of Durham, representation was bestowed by statute, probably because it was thought that no inferior authority could have admitted Members from those territories, long subject to a distinct government, into the Parliament of England. In these ancient grants of representation, whether made by the King or by Par-

---

\* In October 1455, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, very openly, and in somewhat strong terms, recommended two gentlemen to be elected Members for the county of Norfolk.—*Paston Letters*. I. pp. 96–99.

In 1472, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk agreed on the Members for the county of Norfolk. In that year also the Ditchess of Norfolk's steward procures the returns for Yarmouth, and recommends Sir John Paston for Malden.—*Paston Letters*, II. pp. 99–107.

The following short extract shows how much a seat in Parliament had become an object of ambition,—what part the Court took in elections—and how they obtained seats for their adherents.

‘ If ye miss to be burgess of Malden, and My Lord Chamberlain will ye may be in another place; there be a dozen towne in Eng-land that chuse no burgess which ought to do it; ye may be set in for one of those towns, if ye be friended.’

liament, we discover a great uniformity of principle, and an approach to the maxims of our present constitution. In Wales and Chester, as well as in England, the counties were distinguished from the towns, and the protection of their separate interests was committed to different representatives: the rights of election were diversified, according to the local interests and municipal constitution of the several towns.

In the preamble of the Chester Act, representation is stated to be the means of securing the county from the wrong which it had suffered while it was unrepresented. It was bestowed on Wales with the other parts of the laws of England, of which it was thought the necessary companion; and the exercise of popular privileges is distinctly held out as one of the means which were to quiet and civilize that principality. In the cases of Calais and Berwick, the frontier fortresses against France and Scotland, where modern politicians would have been fearful of introducing the disorders of elections, Henry the VIIIth granted the elective franchise, apparently for the purpose of strengthening the attachment, and securing the fidelity of their inhabitants.—The Knights of the shire for Northumberland were not then thought to represent Berwick sufficiently.

While we thus find in these ancient examples so much solicitude for an adequate representation of the separate interests of classes and districts, it is particularly worthy of remark, that we find no trace in any of them of a representation founded merely on numbers. The statute which gave representatives to Wales, was within a century of the act of Henry VI. for regulating the qualifications for the voters in counties; and, on that subject, as well as others, may be regarded as no inconsiderable evidence on the ancient state of the Constitution. Had universal suffrage prevailed till the 15th century, it seems wholly incredible, that no trace of it should be found in the numerous royal and parliamentary grants of representation, which occur in the early part of the 16th. More accident must have revived it in some instances; for it certainly had not *then* become an argument of jealousy or apprehension.

In the reigns of Edward the VIth, Mary and Elizabeth, the struggles between the Catholic and Protestant parties, occasioned a great and sudden increase of the House of Commons. Fourteen boroughs were thus privileged by the first of these Sovereigns, ten by the second, and twenty-four by Elizabeth. The choice, in the reign of Edward and Elizabeth, was chiefly in the western and southern counties, where the adherents of the Reformation were most numerous, and the towns were most

under the influence of the Crown. \* By this extraordinary exertion of prerogative, a permanent addition of 94 members was made to the House of Commons in little more than fifty years. James and Charles, perhaps dreading the accession of strength which a more numerous House of Commons might give to the popular cause, made a more sparing use of this power. But the popular party in the House of Commons, imitating the policy of the ministers of Elizabeth, began to strengthen their parliamentary influence by a similar expedient. That House had indeed no pretensions to the power of making new Parliamentary boroughs; but the same purpose was answered, by the revival of those which had long disused their privilege. Petitions were obtained from many towns well affected to the popular cause, alleging that they had, in ancient times, sent members to Parliament, and had not legally lost the right. These petitions were referred to the Committee of Privileges; and, on a favourable report, the Speaker was directed to issue his warrant for new writs. Six towns, of which Mr Hampden's borough of Wendover was one, were in this manner impowered to send members to Parliament in the reign of James. Two were added in 1628 by like means, and six more by the Long Parliament on the very eve of the civil war.

No further addition was made to the representation of England, except the Borough of Newark, on which Charles II., in 1672, bestowed the privilege of sending Burgesses to the House of Commons, as a reward for the fidelity of the inhabitants to his father. The right of the first burgesses returned by this borough in 1673 was questioned,—though on what ground our scanty and confused accounts of the Parliamentary transactions of that period do not enable us to determine. The question was suspended for about three years; and at last, on the 26th day of March 1676, it was determined, by a majority of 125 against 73, that the town had a right to send Burgesses: But on a second division, it was resolved, by a majority of one, that the members returned were not duly elected. And thus suddenly, and somewhat unaccountably, ceased the exercise of a prerogative which, for several centuries, had continued to augment, and, in some measure, to regulate the English representation.

Neither this, nor any other constitutional power, originated in foresight and contrivance. Occasional convenience gave rise to its first exercise; the course of time gave it a sanction of law. It was more often exercised for purposes of tem-

---

\* Browne Willis, *Notiæ Parliamentariæ*, II. p. 102. Borlase's Hist. of Cornwall, and Whitelocke's *Notes on the Writ of Summons*.

porary policy, or of personal favour, than with any regard to the interest of the Constitution. Its entire cessation is, however, to be considered as forming an epoch in the progress of our government. However abusively it might often be exercised, its existence might be defended, on the ground that it was the constitutional means of remedying the defects of the representation. It was a tacit acknowledgment that a representative system must, from time to time, require amendment. Every constitutional reasoner must have admitted, that it was rightly exercised only in those cases where it contributed to the ends for the sake of which alone it could be justified. Its abuse consisted much more in granting the suffrage to insignificant villages, than in withholding it from large towns. The cases of the latter sort are very few, and may be imputed to accident and negligence, which would probably have been corrected in process of time. No such instance occurs with respect to any town of the first, or even of the second class. And indeed it cannot be supposed, that, before the disuse of that prerogative, four or five of the principal towns in the kingdom should have continued without representatives for more than a century. Whatever the *motive* might have been for granting representatives to Westminster by Edward VI., no *reason* could have been assigned for the grant, but the growing importance of that city. Lord Clarendon's commendation of the constitution of Cromwell's parliament, to which Manchester, Leeds and Halifax, then towns of moderate size, sent representatives, may be considered as an indication of the general opinion on this subject.

In confirmation of these remarks, we shall close this short review of the progress of representation before the Revolution, by an appeal to two legislative declarations of the principles by which it ought to be governed. The first is the Chester Act,\* of which the preamble is so well known as the basis of Mr Burke's plan for conciliation with America. It was used against him, to show that Parliament might legislate for unrepresented counties; but it was retorted by him, with much greater force, as a proof from experience, and an acknowledgment of the Legislature, that counties in that situation had no security against misrule. The petition of the inhabitants of Cheshire, which was adopted as the preamble of the act, complained that they had neither knight nor burgess in Parliament for the said county-palatine; and that the said inhabitants, 'for lack thereof, have been oftentimes touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the said Court.' On this recital the statute proceeds—

---

\* 34. and 35. of Hen. VIII. c. 13.



‘ *For remedy thereof*, it may please your Highness, that it may be enacted, that, from the end of this present session, the said county-palatine shall have two Knights for the said county-palatine, and likewise two Citizens to be burgesses for the city of Chester.

The statute enabling Durham to send knights and burgesses to Parliament, which has been less frequently quoted, is still more explicit on the purposes of the present argument.

‘ Whereas the inhabitants of the said county-palatine of Durham have not hitherto had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses to the High Court of Parliament, although the inhabitants of the said county-palatine are liable to all payments, rates and subsidies granted by Parliament, equally with the inhabitants of other counties, cities and boroughs in this kingdom, who have their knights and burgesses in the Parliament, and are therefore concerned equally with others the inhabitants of this kingdom to have knights and burgesses in the said High Court of Parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their county, as the inhabitants of other counties, cities and boroughs of this kingdom have . . . . Wherefore, be it enacted, that the said county-palatine of Durham may have two knights for the same county, and the city of Durham two citizens to be burgesses for the same city, for ever hereafter, to serve in the High Court of Parliament . . . . The elections of the knights to serve for the said county, from time to time hereafter, to be made by the greater number of freeholders of the said county-palatine, which from time to time shall be present at such elections, accordingly as is used in other counties in this your Majesty’s kingdom; and that the election of the said burgesses for the city of Durham, to be made from time to time by the the major part of the mayor, aldermen, and freemen of the said city of Durham, which from time to time shall be present at such elections.

This statute does not, like the Chester Act, allege, that any specific evil had arisen from the previous want of representatives: But it recognises, as a general principle of the English constitution, that the interests of every unrepresented district are in danger of being overlooked or sacrificed; and that the inhabitants of such districts are therefore interested to have knights and burgesses in Parliament, of their own election, to represent the condition of their county.

This principle is, in effect, as applicable to towns as to counties. The town of Newcastle had then as evident an interest in the welfare of the county of Durham, as the county of Warwick can now have in the prosperity of the town of Birmingham; but

the members for Newcastle were not considered, by this statute, as sufficient guardians of the prosperity of the county of Durham. Even the knights who were to serve for the county, were not thought to dispense with the burgesses to serve for the city. As we have before observed, the distinct interests of country and town were always, on such occasions, provided for by our ancestors; and a *principle* was thereby established, that every great community, with distinct interests, ought to have separate representatives.

It is also observable, that the right of 'suffrage' is not given to all the inhabitants, nor even to all the taxable inhabitants, but to the freeholders of the county, and freemen of the city,—who have a common interest and fellow-feeling with the whole. As these electors were likely to partake the sentiments of the rest of the inhabitants, and as every public measure must affect both classes alike, the members chosen by such a part of the people were considered as virtually representing all. The claim to representation is acknowledged as belonging to all districts and communities, to all classes and interests,—but not to all men. Some degree of actual election was held necessary to virtual representation. The guardians of the interest of the county were to be, to use the language of the Preamble, 'of their own election;' though it evidently appears from the enactments, that these words imported only an election by a considerable portion of them. It is also to be observed, that there is no trace in this act, of a care to proportion the number of the new representatives to the *population* of the district, though a very gross deviation on either side would probably have been avoided.

When we speak of *principles* on this subject, we are not to be understood as ascribing to them the character of rules of law, or of axioms of science. They were maxims of constitutional policy, to which there is a visible, though not a uniform reference in the acts of our forefathers. They were more or less regarded, according to the character of those who directed the public councils. The wisest and most generous men made the nearest approaches to their observance; but in the application of these, as well as of all other political maxims, it was often necessary to yield to circumstances, to watch for opportunities, to consult the temper of the people, the condition of the country, and the dispositions of powerful leaders. It is from want of due regard to considerations like these, that the theory of the English representation has, of late years, been disfigured by various and opposite kinds of reasons. Some refuse to acknowledge any principles on this subject, but those most general considerations of expediency and

abstract justico, which are applicable to all governments, and to every situation of mankind. But these remote principles shed too faint a light to guide us on our path; and can seldom be directly applied with any advantage to human affairs. Others represent the whole Constitution, as contained in the written laws; and treat every principle as vague or visionary, which is not sanctioned by some legal authority. A third class, considering (rightly) the representation as originating only in usage, and incessantly though insensibly altered in the course of time; erroneously infer, that it is altogether a matter of coarse and confused practice, incapable of being reduced to any theory. The truth is, however, that out of the best parts of that practice have gradually arisen ~~many~~ a body of maxims, which guide ~~our~~ judgment in each particular case; and which, though beyond the letter of the law, are better defined, and more near the course of business, than general notions of expediency or justice. They are often disregarded, and never rigorously adhered to. They have no support but a general conviction, growing with experience, of their fitness and value. The mere speculator disdains them as beggarly details—the mere lawyer asks for the statute or case on which they rest—the mere practical politician scorns them as airy visions. But these intermediate maxims constitute the principles of the British constitution, as distinguished, on the one hand, from abstract notions of government, and, on the other, from the provisions of law, or the course of practice. ‘Civil knowledge,’ says Lord Bacon, ‘is, of all others, the most immersed in matter, and the hardest reduced to axioms.’ Politics, therefore, if it should ever be reduced to a science, will require the greatest number of intermediate laws, to connect its most general principles with the variety and intricacy of the public concerns; but in every branch of knowledge, we are told by the same great master, \* that while generalities ‘are barren, and the multiplicity of single facts present nothing but confusion, the middle principles alone are solid, orderly, and fruitful.’

The nature of virtual representation may be illustrated by the original controversy between Great Britain and America. The Americans alleged, perhaps antruly, that being unrepresented, they could not legally be taxed. They added, with truth, that being unrepresented, they ought not constitutionally to be taxed: But they defended this true position, on a ground unobjectionable in argument. They sought for the Constitution in the works of abstract reasoners, instead of searching for it in its own ancient and uniform practice. They were told, that virtual, not

---

\* *Novum Organum.*

actual representation, was the principle of the constitution; and that they were as much virtually represented as the majority of the people of England: And in answer to this, they denied that virtual representation was a constitutional principle, instead of denying the *fact*, that they were virtually represented. Had they chosen the latter ground, their case would have been unanswerable. The unrepresented part of England could not be taxed, without taxing the represented. The laws affected alike the Members who passed them, their constituents, and the rest of the people. On the contrary, separate laws might be, and were made for America; separate taxes might be, and were laid on her. The case of that country, therefore, was the very reverse of virtual representation. Instead of identity, there was a contrariety of apparent interest. The English landholder was to be relieved by an American revenue. The prosperity of the English manufacturer was supposed to depend on a monopoly of the American market. Such a system of governing a great nation, was repugnant to the principles of a constitution which had solemnly pronounced, that the people of the small territories of Chester and Durham, could not be virtually represented without some share of actual representation.

It may be doubted, whether the common opinion that the Treaty of Union took away the ancient prerogative of granting the elective franchise, can be maintained on grounds of law. The letter of the Treaty is silent. The Crown could hardly be deprived of such a prerogative by mere implication; and it might as well perhaps be inferred, from its provisions, that it restrained the King from adding to the number of British Peers, as that it disabled him from adding new members to the House of Commons. It may be doubted, whether the power is legally abolished; But the attempt to resume the exercise of so great and dangerous a power, otherwise than by consent of Parliament, would undoubtedly be unconstitutional; and the minister who advised it would deserve to be impeached. Since its disuse, the Constitution has in other modes shown its tendency, on fit occasions, to promote the ascendant of the more important interests in the House of Commons. When it became necessary, at the treaty of Union, to reduce the number of Scotch members in the Parliament of Great Britain, the representatives of the boroughs were reduced from sixty-six to fifteen. The principal towns were unfortunately not selected (as afterwards in Ireland); but the whole were divided into districts, according to the example of Cromwell's parliaments. When the like necessity arose in the case of Ireland, a similar regard was shown to the representation, both of property and numbers.

Sixty-four knights of the shire remained as before. The cities of Dublin and Cork continued to elect two citizens for each. Thirty-one towns next in importance, and the University of Dublin, were each reduced from two members to one; and the remaining one hundred boroughs were entirely deprived of their parliamentary franchise. This measure, combined with the grant of the elective franchise to Catholics in 1793, introduced a Parliamentary Reform into Ireland which wants little to be complete, except the admissibility of Catholics to Parliament, and to the higher offices of the State.

This rare exercise of the power of reformation, was, however, more valuable as a declaration of constitutional principle, than as a substitute for the ancient prerogative. The period of the disuse of that prerogative was in one respect singularly remarkable. The want of it would have been little felt in ancient times: for few changes then occurred which called for its exercise. The progress of the nation in numbers and wealth was then extremely slow; the establishment of industry in new seats was a rare occurrence; the change in the condition and importance of various classes of men was so gradual as scarcely to be remarked by contemporary observers. Had no such prerogative existed, the only consequence, as far as relates to the present view of the subject, would have been, that five or six considerable towns, not of the first class, would have been without representatives. Since the disuse of the prerogative, on the contrary, the progress of population and riches has been more rapid, and the change in the relative importance of different classes of society greater than during any equal period in the history of the world. Villages have since sprung up into immense cities; great manufactures have spread over wastes and mountains; ease, comfort and leisure, have introduced, among the middling classes of society, their natural companions, curiosity, intelligence, boldness, and activity of mind. A much greater proportion of the collective knowledge and wealth of the nation has thus fallen to their lot. But the power of establishing some proportion between political rights and social importance, was no longer exercised. Their constitutional privileges were not increased with their consequence in the community. The Constitution no longer opened her arms to receive rising classes and communities into her bosom, as she might have done in preceding ages. The regulator dropt from the representative system, at the very moment when its action was most necessary to make the frame of the government conform to the changes in society.

The struggles of the Commons of England to possess a share of political power, proportioned to their share of property and

knowledge, was the principal cause of the civil wars between Charles I. and his Parliament. The Court, blind to the changes which had been produced on public opinion, laid claims to higher authority, at the time when the people were eagerly desirous of a better secured liberty. We are told by Lord Clarendon, that ' Lord Keeper Coventry knew the temper, genius, ' and disposition of the country most exactly, and saw their ' spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient, and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations ' (on the side of the Crown), ' which he foresaw would produce ruinous ' effects.' Since the Revolution, a far greater diffusion of property and intelligence has produced a new struggle. Class after class, as they rise to consequence, become ambitious of a larger share of that collective power which the body of the Commons gained from the Crown. While the political public was thus augmenting, the Constitution was confined to its former dimensions. It was not, however, till the great impulse given to English industry, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that the disparity between the old system of representation, and the new state of society, became very remarkable. This was very soon followed by the sudden and enormous growth of the manufacturing towns. Then, for the first time, were seen several of the most important places in the kingdom, without any direct share in the national assembly. The new manufacturing interest itself was left without any additional provision for its adequate representation. The original defect of our representative system, which, while it provided for the influence of great property, and secured a regard to the voice of the multitude, did not allot a sufficient share of power to the middle class, became, in this state of things, more apparent and more humiliating.

It has been the object of this deduction to show, that the proposed reform is agreeable to the ancient practice of the Constitution; that the evil has arisen from the rapid progress of society since the interruption of that practice; and that its revival, under wise regulations, would be a sufficient remedy. If these conclusions be just, the *safety* of this reform cannot be denied. No man who adopts it is bound, by just inference, to support other changes not warranted by the practice of the Constitution. He is not to seek that practice in dark or fabulous periods: he is bound to no principle, but that which has been explicitly and frequently declared by the Legislature itself,—that it is expedient to connect all our great communities with the national representation. In paying up the arrears of a representation, unrevised for a century and a half, it is not proposed

to make a greater addition to the House of Commons, than Mary Tudor made by her prerogative in five years. A small part of what Edward and Elizabeth did to strengthen the Protestant interest is suggested as expedient for healing the wounds of the community, and binding numerous classes of men more firmly to the Constitution. It may indeed be objected, under this head of safety, that popular elections would introduce into these towns the usual consequences of mobs and riots. This apprehension of some of the more opulent inhabitants, might formerly have been excusable; but the experience of the last three years may convince them, that the absence of elections has no tendency to preserve their quiet. At any time, indeed, such objections show either weak nerves, or obstinate prejudices against the popular parts of the Constitution. There cannot be a more unreasonable apprehension, than that an elective system, which has for ages been used with advantage and safety in most parts of the kingdom, should suddenly prove dangerous and destructive on its extension to a few more towns.

But though few, who are not determined enemies to all Reform, will deny the safety of the alteration here proposed, (though it be obvious that it has fixed and visible boundaries, and is wholly unconnected with all projects of indefinite change), it may, and doubtless will be, rejected by many opponents of innovation as *unnecessary*, and by many zealous reformers as *inadequate*.

It is said, that the local interests of the unrepresented towns are as fully made known, and as uniformly protected in the House of Commons, as those of other places; that due weight has always been allowed to their sentiments on national questions; and that the prodigious increase of the power of public opinion, has procured, for every portion of the people, that degree of influence on Parliamentary proceedings, which, in former ages, they could have obtained only through the channel of direct representation. The petitions of Birmingham and Manchester, it is contended, are as warmly supported, and as fully considered, as those of Liverpool and Bristol: and the political sentiments of Yorkshire have always been more regarded than those of Cornwall.—Although the representation has continued unchanged, the course of circumstances has given a share of influence on the measures of Parliament, to each class and district, proportioned to its relative importance.

In answer to these arguments, it is not necessary to deny that they have a foundation in truth. It must be admitted, that the habitual regard necessarily paid by the Body of the House of Commons to the whole people, has, in practice, corrected many of the defects of inadequate representation. The influence

which the collected opinion of an enlightened nation must possess over a legislative assembly of sufficient numbers, deliberating in public, and originating in any degree from the people, is no doubt a considerable substitute for popular election. It may be added, that opinion is a flexible instrument, which ascertains the real value of the sentiments of each class, according to the nature of the question, and the circumstances of the time, with an exactness and delicacy not to be attained by any permanent distribution of representatives.

These observations are sufficient to show, that the members of a legislative assembly ought not to consider themselves, as delegates from districts, bound by the instructions of their own constituents. They show also the convenience of so framing the election of a certain portion of the members, as to render them less susceptible of local influence, more impartial, more in fact, what all are in law, the representatives of the whole people.

But the useful influence of public opinion, will not be weaker under the amended representation than it is at present. There will still remain many defects for it to supply, and many irregularities to correct. Can a prudent friend of the Establishment really think that it is consistent with wise policy, to exclude men from the appearance of power, because they have gained a great deal of the reality? Democratical ascendancy exists in its most dangerous form, when numerous bodies have acquired great strength from circumstances, and derived no political power from the Constitution. The holder of a legal franchise becomes attached to the Government. A man who possesses importance, without a franchise, is apt to imagine that he has grown strong, in spite of adverse laws. Our ancient policy did not trust the preservation of order and liberty to these general principles of morality which, in all countries, influence the conduct of good citizens; it bound all classes, by ties of pride and attachment, to a system which bestowed important privileges on all. As every new class arose, it was fastened to the Government by these constitutional links. This policy left no class politically powerful, who did not visibly draw their power from the Constitution.

The elective franchise, when considered with respect to the whole community, is indeed chiefly valuable, as a security for good government. But, in relation to individuals, it may be regarded as an honorary distinction,—the object of their natural and legitimate ambition, which they pursue with eagerness, and exercise with pleasure. Its refusal without necessity mortifies or irritates. Those feelings are still more natural, to intelligent



and wealthy communities, than to individuals,—and the politician must not censure them. In their natural state, and under skilful management, they are among the strongest holds of a political system on the affections of a people. In a great represented town, almost every man may reasonably expect to be an elector: many may hold office in their town—some may hope to represent it in Parliament. In the lowest of these stations, there is room for the display of talent, for the acquirement of popularity;—there is scope for fair ambition. At the return of an election, almost every man becomes of some importance. It may to some sound trifling to observe, that all these exertions and pursuits are attended with pleasure, and that the whole of those pleasures are far from an imperceptible item in the account of national enjoyment.

But it ought, at least, to be remembered, that the holders of such privileges are attached to them, zealous in their defence, and not fond of sharing them with new partners. They all, therefore, feel an interest in preserving the Government, on which their privileges depend;—they are garrisons, placed by the Constitution in these towns, to preserve their quiet and ensure their fidelity. The unrepresented towns are destitute of these advantages.—There, there are no regular channels into which political activity may flow,—no lawful objects of local ambition. There are no gradations of employment, through which the humble politician may be raised by the good will of his neighbours. His ambition is driven to seek illicit enjoyments by the severity of hostile laws. There is no ward-mote, or common council, in which he can seek distinction—no election, in the tumults of which his turbulence has a periodical vent. The poor have nothing to bestow by their suffrages, so that the rich are not obliged to pay them even occasional court. That Bristol and Liverpool have of late been more quiet than Manchester and Leeds, may indeed be ascribed as much to the nature of their industry, as to their political situation. Something, however, must be attributed to the latter cause. The represented towns were better secured against turbulence, and the unrepresented were more exposed to it. In manufacturing towns, the want of representation is attended with another great evil, very much connected with the former. The same causes which foster a dangerous disposition to disorder and violence, prevent the formation of a magistracy which might restrain them. In the country of England, where the legal power of Justices of the Peace is usually engrafted on the natural authority of a landholder, and where, though an officer of the Crown nominates them, character and property generally direct his nomination, the administra-

tion of the ordinary magistracy is peculiarly easy and happy. In the manufacturing districts, there are few resident landholders. The master manufacturers employ such multitudes of workmen as no longer to retain that influence which they possess where manufactures subsist on a smaller scale. The frequency of the disputes between them and their workmen, has in some places excluded the masters from the commission of the peace. There are no means of governing such towns but a municipal constitution, by which they may elect their own magistrates. They are in circumstances in which there is no natural source of authority but popular election. But such a municipal constitution cannot be well disjoined from Parliamentary representation. They are successfully combined in the ordinary course of our Government; and a little reflexion will discover, that the connexion is not casual. Men of ability and activity undertake the laborious office of magistrates, in order to recommend themselves to the favour of their fellow-citizens, and to obtain objects of political ambition. They are paid in importance, instead of being lowered in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, by receiving salaries. Their political consequence, and the dignity of some of the objects to which they may aspire, insensibly strengthen the authority of their magistracies; and the mayor or alderman is more easily obeyed, because he may rise to represent his town in Parliament.

But the main ground of political expediency for this change is, that it furnishes the only means of counteracting the growing influence of the Crown in the House of Commons. This influence may indeed be directly reduced; but it arises out of a great variety of offices and establishments, of which the abolition or reduction may sometimes be difficult, and the reestablishment, or even increase of which, may under other circumstances become necessary. Direct reduction, therefore, is not alone sufficient: and the only simple and permanent means of balancing the Parliamentary influence of the Crown, is to increase that of the people. Formerly, the great proprietors were able to keep the Monarchy in check; but the increasing influence of the Crown on one hand, and the growing independence of the people on the other, have in this important particular materially changed the state of our society. The Crown and the multitude have risen—the influence of the great proprietors has sunk. They are no longer sure of being followed by the people, or capable of making head against the Crown, without popular support.

If the influence of the Crown were conducive to the safety of the Monarchy, it might be doubted whether this be the moment for reducing that influence, or providing securities against

it. But the excess of this ministerial influence endangers, instead of securing the Monarchy. The only danger to which that form of government can ever be exposed among us, is its becoming unpopular, and being thought inconsistent with liberty.

The House of Commons itself has also need of being strengthened by popularity. The ascendant which that assembly has acquired since the Revolution, has been attended with one change, which may ultimately prove fatal to its power. In becoming a governing senate, it necessarily lost much of the character of a popular representative. That national support which rendered it irresistible in all the struggles of the last century, was gradually withdrawn, and at length converted into a jealousy; of which, power, wherever it is seated, is the proper object. To be a part of a government, and a check on it, are things which it is very difficult to reconcile. That assembly, as exercising their power, and as a political council, early and often forgot their old province as a House of Commons. Fifty years ago it was said by Mr Burke, that 'it could not then, to any popular purpose, be called a House of Commons.'\* In succeeding times, the deviations from their original character became greater and more frequent; and of late years, whether from their own fault, or from the skill and malice of their enemies, it can no longer be asserted that their power is founded on the confidence and attachment of the people. If this state of things should continue, their apparent strength will not long conceal their real weakness. The decay of their power will soon become visible, and it will perish in the first struggle. It will prove alike incapable of controlling the Crown, or of protecting it against the violence of the multitude. A House of Commons from which the people is long detached, cannot ultimately preserve even its existence. Against these dangers, the House of Commons can have no safety but from a new infusion of that popular spirit which once enabled them to resist and depose kings, and call new royal families to the Throne. In losing popular attachment, they have lost the only solid foundation of their power: They can recover their strength only by renewing their alliance with the nation, and multiplying the ties that connect them with the people at large.

Many of the zealous reformers will doubtless consider this addition to the popular representation as inconsiderable, and inadequate to the correction of the evils which they discover in our government. In point of mere numbers, it is certainly not very considerable; but other circumstances are, in these cases;

---

\* Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 464, quarto Ed.

more important than numbers. Twenty members, of popular talents and character, representing the most populous districts in England, and depending for their seats on popular favour, would greatly strengthen the democratical principles in the House of Commons. It would be a substantial addition to the power of the people. Whoever considers the talent, zeal and activity, which must belong to these new members, will soon discover that their number would form a most inadequate measure of their strength.

Those who would undervalue this concession, would do well to consider how much more they are likely to gain, without paying too high a price for it. Do they expect that much more will be granted, under the auspices of a constitutional administration,—with the acquiescence of the proprietary classes,—and by the lawful authority of Parliament? Can they hope to obtain more at the present time, consistently with public quiet, the maintenance of the Constitution, the execution of the Laws, and the security of Property and Life?

The *Second* part of our Plan, would be the adoption of more effectual means for the disfranchisement of delinquent boroughs. This is a part of the subject, on which the principles are very evident; but the means of carrying them into effect are not so clear. The elective franchise is a political right, conferred on individuals for the public advantage: As such, it may be withdrawn for adequate reasons of general interest. But it is also a privilege and advantage to the holder; of which, without strong reasons, he is not to be deprived. It holds a middle station between office and property:—like the former, it is a trust; but it is one which ought not easily or often to be withdrawn. On the other hand, as the advantage of the holder is only one of its secondary objects, it has not the sacred and inviolable nature of Property. The supreme power which gave it, may withdraw it,—not indeed on light grounds, but without either that degree of delinquency, or that sort of evidence, which might be required in the forfeiture of a purely private right. It is not, either in principle or prudence, variable at will; nor is the Legislature bound, in its abrogation, to observe the rules of courts of judicature.

The disfranchisement of those boroughs which have been proved to abuse their franchise, is therefore founded on constitutional principles, as well as warranted by modern practice. Where corruption has prevailed to such an extent, and under such circumstances, as to render it possible that its prevalence would be permanent, Parliament has in recent times adopted measures, which produced practical effects nearly similar to

those of actual disfranchisement. The first corrective statute, passed for this purpose, was that relating to New Shoreham (11 of Geo. III. c. 55.), in which the individual voters, proved to be guilty of bribery, were disfranchised by name, and the right of voting at future elections for that borough was bestowed on the surrounding district, called the Rape of Bramber. In the cases of Cricklade and Aylesbury (22 Geo. III. c. 31, and 44 Geo. III. c. 50.), the former part of the precedent was not followed. No offenders were disqualified by name; but the right of voting for these boroughs was extended to the freeholders of the adjacent Hundreds. The object of these acts was chiefly remedial;—to substitute a pure constituent body, for one that had been found corrupt. It may also be considered as in some measure penal; inasmuch as, in the two smaller boroughs at least, the addition of so large a body of voters took away the whole value and efficacy of the franchise in the hands of the old electors. In effect, the right of voting was transferred from Shoreham and Cricklade to the surrounding country. Had the proceedings on which these acts were founded been considered as of a criminal, or even of a judicial nature, it would have been impossible to justify their provisions. If they had been viewed in that light, it must at once have been seen that they inflicted punishment on the pure voters for the offences of the impure, and on succeeding generations for the faults of the present. But they were measures of local reform; and the evidence necessary for them was, not that which justifies a conviction for a crime, but that which is sufficient to show the propriety of an act of legislation. Other notions, however, prevailed under the patronage of lawyers, who carried the narrowest habits of their profession into legislative discussions, who opposed the above measures, and defeated others equally necessary of a like nature, with the force of great ability, and the authority of high station. The utmost subtlety of the rules of evidence was enforced; objections, merely technical, were allowed to exclude satisfactory information. The English law of evidence, singularly, and perhaps excessively narrow and exclusive in its rules, was permitted to control the inquiries of a Legislative Assembly. By these arts of Parliamentary pettifoggery, corrupt boroughs have been so frequently rescued from the grasp of the law, that it now requires great zeal and patience to undertake the seemingly hopeless enterprise of assailing them: And it is apparent, that unless there be some material reformation in the law, or, at least, in the practice of Parliament, on this subject, it will be in vain to expect success even for these very limited reforms. The interest of many individuals is always engaged in the delinquent borough. The electors in the town—

Some of the proprietors in the neighbourhood—the jobbers who sell the burgesses—the candidates who have bought, or hope to buy them, supported by the fellow-feeling of those who have the like interest in other towns,—are a powerful and permanent phalanx, with whom it is very difficult for the zeal of a few volunteer reformers to cope. The jobbers are well versed in all the stratagems of political chicane. They know how to raise a clamour in one House, or to split hairs in another; they harass their adversaries by vexatious cavils, and tire them by protracted discussions; and they generally end in wearing out, if they cannot defeat, the most active and able reformers. The success of these low expedients, and the countenance shown them by the highest and gravest authorities, have done more, perhaps, than most modern proceedings, to lower Parliament in the general estimation—to disgust the faithful friends of the Constitution—to persuade many moderate reformers, that cautious improvement is as really, though less openly, resisted, than the wildest innovation—and to drive virtuous men, despairing of constitutional remedies, to the perilous experiments of indefinite change.

It must be allowed, that it is easier to state the mischiefs of the present mode of proceeding on this subject, than to suggest an unexceptionable and efficacious remedy. Several plans have, at different times, been the subject of consideration. It has been proposed, that in all cases where the Committee for the trial of a controverted election, shall report the existence of corruption, ~~after the~~ notice given to the voters, the Report shall be referred to another Committee, chosen in the same manner, who, after hearing evidence on both sides, shall have the power to decide, whether the franchise of the borough shall not be transferred to some other community. The decision of this second Committee might be made final; or, if that were thought too much, the evidence taken before the Committee might be made the only proof which either House of Parliament were to receive, on the case. If either of these proceedings were thought too great a departure from former practice, they might be moderated in more than one way. The concurrence of two-thirds of the Committee, for instance, might be made necessary to the determination. The Report might be referred to a Committee of the Lords, constituted in the same manner as the Election Committees of the Commons; and their assent might be made necessary to the transfer.—But *this is not the time, or the place,* for the discussion of particular remedies. It perhaps deserves consideration, whether, if any change were to be made, it would ~~not~~ be convenient to introduce a scale of proceedings suited to the various degrees of corruption discovered in different cases.

In the least degree, a *suspension* of the franchise might be sufficient; in a higher, the delinquent borough might be deprived of *one* of its members; the strongest remedy being reserved for the most aggravated cases.

Our principles would naturally lead to a transfer of the forfeited franchises, as the cases arose, to unrepresented towns, of a population of 15,000 and upwards, till all these communities were fully and directly represented. But as the increase of the number of the House of Commons is a great inconvenience, it would probably be more expedient, to employ the first ten forfeitures in reducing that Assembly to its present number; to which twenty would be added, if the first article of the plan were adopted.

There is no doubt that if the power of disfranchisement were vigorously exercised, it would not only speedily reduce this excess, but would regularly continue to recruit the popular representation. It would also, in no very long time, greatly abate, at least, that venality which, having become more notorious, and being more skillfully displayed in modern times, has deeply impaired the general reverence for the Constitution.

However admirable the result of a political system may be, it is a great misfortune that the means by which its institutions are executed should be strongly disapproved by the plain sense and natural feelings of men. A scandal is always a great source of weakness. It lessens the attachment, and alienates the opinion of the majority; and may ultimately undermine the foundations of any Government. The removal of a scandal is itself a sufficient reason for reform.

Some may perhaps wonder, that disfranchisement is so strictly limited to the cases in which corruption has been proved. Many of the moderate reformers have proposed to extend it much farther, and to apply it to all cases where there was no likelihood of a pure or independent exercise of the right of election. The plan of Mr Pitt, proposed to purchase the elective privilege from fifty of the more inconsiderable boroughs who should be willing to part with it. Mr Lambton, a gentleman equally respectable for character, talents and public principle, proposes to abolish all corrupt, decayed, and dependent boroughs. It will be sufficient, for the present purpose, very shortly to state one or two of the numerous objections which present themselves to these more extensive plans. In the *first* place, no such disfranchisement is known to the practice, or even the principles, of the British Constitution. It has often *bestowed* the elective franchise on grounds of general utility; but it has never, on such grounds alone, taken that franchise away. All political questions, indeed, are to be determined on

the principles of *utility*: But it is very useful to a free commonwealth to adhere to its fundamental institutions; and whenever a substantial reform can be effected agreeably to their principles, it is generally unwise, for the sake of quicker reformation, to act on maxims hitherto untried. The Reform here proposed is limited by the practice of the English Constitution. It proposes nothing unauthorized by that practice; and it offers that security to all who adopt it against its leading to consequences which cannot be foreseen or conjectured. The more extensive plan, on the other hand, quits the solid ground of the practice of the Constitution, and ventures on the slippery path of general speculation. It necessarily appeals to principles, which, in the hands of other men, may become instruments of further, and of boundless alteration. *Secondly*, We doubt whether the caution, hitherto observed in this respect, be not founded on true wisdom. It is the policy of a free state to keep up the importance and dignity of popular privileges. The right of election, the first of them all, ought to be held high. The Body of Electors ought to be considered as a sort of nobility, from which the members are not to be too easily degraded. As a Monarchy and Aristocracy have their splendour, so Democracy has its own peculiar dignity, which is chiefly displayed in the exercise of this great right. There is something, in our opinion, truly republican in the policy which places the elective franchise and the royal dignity on the same footing—which secures both from being destroyed on mere speculations of general convenience, and which pronounces the forfeiture of both, only where there is a gross and flagrant violation of the trust from which they are derived. *Thirdly*, It must be observed, that the power of disfranchisement is capable of great and dangerous abuse. The majority of a legislative body might employ it to perpetuate their own superiority, and to destroy every power that could withstand them. If the example were once set, of using it on mere grounds of convenience, it would be easy to find, on every occasion, plausible pretexts of that nature. As long as it is confined to cases of delinquency, it cannot be so abused; but if it were once freed from that restraint, it would become unlimited, or, in other words, despotic.

The transfer of forfeited franchise to populous communities affords a most convenient means of quietly widening the basis of Representation. It bestows the privilege on every numerous body, in proportion as they are ambitious to acquire it, and well qualified to exercise it. Political power is thus made to follow in the train of knowledge and wealth; and the Constitution perpetually, but insensibly, adapts itself to the progress of civilization. A representative system thus restored to its origi-



nal flexibility, may, like the works of nature, perpetuate itself by constant change, and always yield some ground to progressive opinion without struggle or conflict, without humiliation or defeat.

Besides these great ends, it might, in process of time, be subservient to other purposes. A Colonial Representation may one day be considered as a probable means of preserving the unity of the empire.—Such a representation, combined with other means, might also open honourable seats for the monied interest, if measures of reform should be found to have too much narrowed their access to Parliament. If some representatives were in time to be allowed to learned societies, it would not be a greater novelty than the grant of that privilege to the two Universities by James I. If occasion were taken to give an additional member to the University of Dublin, one member to that of Edinburgh, and one to the other Scotch Universities, (the votes of each being proportioned to the number of students), the direct share of science in the national representation would not be enormous. It would be easy to show, by other examples, the use to which the ample fund of forfeited franchise might in time be turned; but the above are perhaps more than enough, where the object is to suggest illustrations of a principle, not parts of a plan.

Our *Third* head will comprehend a few observations on the representation of Scotland; which, being of a nature quite unlike that of England, requires a separate consideration. The reader will observe, that this question is perfectly distinct from that of a *Reform of the Scotch Boroughs*, which has been prosecuted by Lord Archibald Hamilton with so much ability and perseverance. The object of the latter is only such an improvement in the election of the Magistrates and Town Councils of the boroughs, as may ensure a right administration of their revenue and police, in which scandalous abuses have been proved to be generally prevalent. It would be a strange objection to such an alteration to say, that it may incidentally, and in a small degree, affect the election of the fifteen Commissioners for Scotch Boroughs. That man must indeed be a sturdy rascal on the side of abuse, who should object to the correction of such acknowledged corruptions, merely because it gave a little influence to the people of these towns in the choice of their members.

In Scotland, there is no popular election: All the Boroughs are in the hands of what would in England be called Close Corporations. The whole number of voters for the thirty-three Counties of Scotland is about 2700; the greatest number in any

A single county does not exceed 300; and in some, they are we believe less than thirty. This is not the Constitution of England.—The English representation is a combination of Aristocracy and Democracy, in almost all their possible forms and degrees: to which the Scotch mode of election is as opposite as Universal Suffrage itself. The freedom of England is the security for the good government of Scotland; but the English Constitution, in its highest sense, has not been communicated to the Scottish nation. We are not so sunk in Toryism as to imagine that it is possible to have the English Constitution without popular election. Of all the practical irregularities in our Government, perhaps, the condition of the people of Scotland is the most striking. The most timid reasoners have generally confessed, that political privileges may be diffused in proportion to the diffusion of morality and knowledge: Yet the body of the people of Scotland, celebrated throughout Europe for intelligence, for virtue, for a sober and considerate character, are rigorously excluded from all direct influence on the National Councils.

The right of election in Scotch counties is so foreign to the present usages of England, that it may be difficult to give an account of it, in few words, to an English reader. It is confined to those who hold land to a certain extent directly of the King. 'Hence,' says Mr Wight, whose work is an authority on Scotch Election Law, 'many persons are possessed of large estates, who are incapable to elect or be elected commissioners to Parliament, because they only hold them of subjects superiors; while, on the other hand, many, by holding immediately of the Crown, are entitled to that privilege, although their estates (consisting of a bare superiority) do not perhaps yield them a penny in the year.'\* By the original constitution of the Scottish Parliament, no landholders were required to be present, except those who were called by the ancient statutes 'Freeholders of the King;' that is, tenants in chief of the Crown. When the representation of counties was introduced by James the First in 1427, the right to elect representatives was of course confined to these tenants in chief, who, amidst all successive changes of the law, have continued exclusively to possess it. If A, being a tenant of the Crown *in capite*, conveys all his land to B, *to be holden of himself*; A remains the tenant of the Crown, and retains, as such, a right to vote for the land, though the use and profit of it be completely transferred to B. B, the proprietor, has no vote; while A, who continues to be his

---

\* Wight on Parliament, Book III. ch. 2.

superior, is the voter. Superiority to which the right of suffrage is annexed, may be entirely separated from any beneficial interest in the land. Votes, in right of land, may thus be possessed by those who are not landholders. Many voters in most counties in Scotland are in this predicament; and there does not seem to be any legal impediment, except in the case of entailed estates, to the universal separation of the right of suffrage from the property of the soil. In proposing a remedy for this case, it would be wise to give no disturbance to established rights, and to allow the present Freeholders to retain their suffrage. It would be perhaps sufficient, in addition to them, to give the right of voting to all proprietors of land of a certain value, whatever their tenure might be. The present qualification of commissioners of supply, (*i. e.* commissioners of the land tax), which is about 10*l.* Sterling a year, might be adopted, in the case of the new freeholders.

In the boroughs, it might be sufficient, if the right of voting at the election of the town-council were, in towns above a certain population, to be vested in those burgesses who occupy tenements of a yearly rent to be specially fixed. In that case, the right of chusing delegates to elect the members, might continue as at present; and provision might be made to give that permanency to the power of the magistrates, which the duties of that office require. In those inconsiderable villages, which form the majority of the Scotch boroughs, it may be doubted, whether the resident burgesses could be moulded into a good constituent body. In great cities, such for example as Edinburgh, where the more considerable inhabitants are seldom burgesses, some share of privilege might be bestowed on such householders as occupied tenements of double or treble the yearly rent, which should be fixed on as the qualification of burgesses.

In returning to English representation, the means of reducing the expense of elections, form a separate and very important branch of the subject. In all elections, great expense aids the natural power of the highest wealth; and in the same proportion, lessens both the importance of the smaller proprietors, and the efficacy of public opinion. The power of great property is indeed a principle of liberty, as well as of order. It opposes a sort of hereditary tribuneship to the Crown, and it furnishes a body of mild magistrates, whose natural and almost unfelt authority often prevents the necessity of legal restraint, or military interference. But this useful power, which must always be strong, in proportion as liberty is secure, may be car-

tied to an excess. The great expenses of county elections, which deter men of moderate fortune from competition for a seat, are justly complained of. Something might be done to abate this inconvenience, by authorizing the Sheriff, in the greatest counties, to take the poll at different places in succession. The laws against treating, and the payment of expenses, have hitherto been always either inactive or vexatious. They have in general been disregarded; and in the few instances in which they have been enforced, it has been either as an election manœuvre, or for the gratification of personal malice.

After all, however, the power of great wealth in counties, exercised quietly in the form of permanent influence, and blended with feelings of respect and attachment towards the hereditary owners of the soil, is not to be regarded as altogether an unmixed evil. It is in the elections for towns, that the action of wealth is most undisguised and odious: and the most inconvenient instances of it arise, perhaps, from the right of non-resident freemen to vote for great towns. These non-residents, now spread in great numbers over the country, are in general of the lowest condition, unable to defray the charge of going to the place of election, and willing to vote for any candidate who will pay for the pleasures of their journey. They are often numerous enough to decide the election; so that the chance of success may be exactly determined, by knowing how much each candidate can afford to spend. Venality has here no decent disguise. The power of wealth is not purified by association with better feelings. There are not here, as in cases of the permanent influence of property, any long habits of respect for superiority, or any sentiments of gratitude for kindness. The effect of this is an undisguised triumph of money alone over every sort of natural influence. The manufacturer, the trader, the landholder of the neighbouring county, are put to flight by an adventurer, who need not possess even wealth, if he can dispose of a sum large enough to purchase the votes of non-resident voters. The obvious remedy for this grievance would be, to require every freeman to be resident in the borough for which he claims to vote, for six months previous to the day of election,—according to the present law, in those rights of voting which depend on inhabitancy. \*

*Fifthly*, It is to be observed, that a repeal of the disabilities which affect the Catholics, may, in one point of view, be considered as a measure of Reform. It is in itself just and wise: the

majority of its friends are not reformers; and its necessity is demonstrated by arguments which are wholly unconnected with any change in the frame of Parliament. But it is also a consequence from the principles of representation which we have been endeavouring to establish. The English Catholics are a large and respectable body of men, who do not possess the elective franchise. The class is ~~unrepresented~~, and possesses no political security for its common interest, which is the enjoyment of religious liberty. The Irish Catholics, indeed, possess the elective franchise; but they are inadequately represented, because they cannot chuse members who, being of the same faith with themselves, have a like interest in defending the free exercise of their religious worship. The Catholics probably form a fifth part of the inhabitants of the ~~British~~ islands. That so great a body should be left without representatives, or restricted from chusing those who are best qualified to guard their highest interest, is not a casual or trivial irregularity, but a great practical evil, and a gross departure from all our ancient principles of representation.

The only matter which remains for consideration, is, whether any change should be made in the Duration of Parliaments. It is here placed last, because it seems to be the Reform which ought to be last in the order of time. As long as every other part of the elective system continues, it is doubtful whether more frequent elections would not rather increase, than diminish, both the power of wealth and the influence of the Crown. It is true, that, on the eve of a general election, a septennial Parliament has commonly shown more deference for the opinions of their constituents, than on other occasions. But, on the other hand, the more frequent occurrence of a ruinous expence, would deter prudent and respectable men from offering themselves; and might thus throw a greater number of seats into the hands of adventurers, or of the Court. When the expense of elections, however, is reduced, and the basis of representation widened, we are clearly of opinion that it will be also proper to shorten the duration of Parliament.

The principle of short Parliaments was solemnly declared at the Revolution. On the 29th of January 1689, seven days after the Convention was assembled, the following Resolution was adopted by the House of Commons. ‘Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to bring in general heads of such things as are absolutely necessary to be considered, for the better securing our Religion, Laws, and Liberties.’ Of this Committee Mr Somers was one. On the 2d of February, Sir George

Treby, from the Committee thus appointed, reported the general heads on which they had agreed. The 11th article of these general heads was as follows. 'That the too long continuance of the same Parliament be prevented.' On the 4th of February it was ordered, 'That it be referred to the Committee to distinguish such general heads as are introductive of new laws, from those that are declaratory of ancient rights.' On the 7th of the same month, the Committee made their Second Report; and, after going through the declaratory part, which constitutes the Bill of Rights as it now stands, proposed the following, among other clauses, relating to the introduction of new laws, 'towards the making a more firm and perfect settlement of the said Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and for removing several defects and inconveniences; It is proposed and advised by the Committee, that there be provision, by new laws, made in such manner, and with such limitations, as by the wisdom and justice of Parliament shall be considered and ordained in the particular, and to the purposes following, viz. for preventing the too long continuance of the same Parliament.' The articles which required to be thus distinguished, It was resolved, on the 11th of February, on the motion of Mr Somers, 'That it hath been agreed by the said Committee, to connect, to the vote of the Lords, such part of the heads passed this House yesterday, as are declaratory of ancient rights; leaving out such parts as are introductive of new laws.' The declaratory articles were accordingly formed into the Declaration of Rights; and in that state were, by both Houses, presented to the Prince of Wales, and George, and accepted by them, with the Crown of England. But the articles introductive of new laws, though necessarily omitted in a Declaration of Rights, had been adopted without a division by the House of Commons; who thus, at the very moment of the Revolution, determined, that a firm and perfect settlement of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties, required provision by a new law, 'for preventing the too long continuance of the same Parliament.'

But though the principle of New Parliaments was thus solemnly recognised at the Revolution, the time of introducing the new law, the means by which its object was to be attained, and the precise term to be fixed for the Duration of Parliament, were reserved for subsequent deliberation. Attempts were made to give effect to the principle in 1692 and 1693, by a Triennial

\* This blank is left for 'the Lords,' in case of the concurrence of that House.

Bill. In the former year, it passed both Houses, but did not receive the Royal assent. In the latter, it was rejected by the House of Commons. In 1694, after Sir John Somers was raised to the office of Lord Keeper, the Triennial Bill passed into a law. It was not confined, like the bills under the same title, in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., (and with which it is too frequently confounded) to provisions for securing the frequent sitting of Parliament. It for the first time limited their duration. Till the passing of this bill, Parliament, unless dissolved by the King, might legally have continued till the demise of the Crown, its only natural and necessary termination.

The Preamble\* is deserving of serious consideration. 'Whereas, by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent Parliaments ought to be held; and whereas frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the King and People,' The act then proceeds, in the first section, to provide for the frequent holding of Parliaments, according to the former laws; and in the second and third sections, by enactments which were before unknown to our laws, to direct, that there shall be a new Parliament every three years, and that no Parliament shall have continuance longer than three years. Here, as at the time of the Declaration of Rights, the holding of Parliaments is carefully distinguished from their election: The two parts of the Preamble refer separately to each of these objects: The frequent holding of Parliaments is declared to be conformable to the ancient laws, but the frequent election of Parliament is considered only as a measure highly expedient on account of its tendency to preserve Harmony between the Government and the People.

The principle of the Triennial Act, therefore, seems to be of as high constitutional authority as if it had been inserted in the Bill of Rights itself, from which it was separated only that it might be afterwards carried into effect in a more convenient manner. The particular term of three years is an arrangement of expediency, to which it would be folly to ascribe any great importance. This act continued in force only for twenty years. Its opponents have often expatiated on the corruption and disorder in elections, and the instability in the national councils which prevailed during that period. But the country was then so much disturbed by the weakness of a new government, and the agitation of a disputed succession, that it is impossible to ascertain whether more frequent elections had any share in augmenting the disorder. At the accession of George I. the duration of Parliament was extended to seven years, by the famous

\* W. & M. VI. c. 2.

statute called the Septennial Act,\* of which the preamble asserts, that the last provision of the Triennial Act "if it should continue, may probably, at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the Government." This allegation is now ascertained to have been perfectly true. There is the most complete historical evidence that all the Tories of the kingdom were then engaged in a conspiracy to effect a counter revolution; to wrest from the people all the securities which they had obtained for liberty; to brand them as rebels, and to stigmatise their rulers as usurpers; and to reestablish the principles of slavery, by the restoration of a family, whose claim to power was founded on their pretended authority. It is beyond all doubt, that a general election at that period would have endangered all these objects. In these circumstances the Septennial Act was passed, because it was necessary to secure Liberty. But it was undoubtedly one of the most dangerous deviations of the legislative authority. It was a deviation from the course of the Constitution too extensive in its effects, and too dangerous in its example, to be warranted by any political expediency. It could be justified only by the necessity of preserving liberty. The Revolution itself, was a breach of the laws; and it was as great a deviation from the principles of the Monarchy, as the Septennial Act could be from the Constitution of the House of Commons;—and the latter can only be justified by the same ground of necessity, with that glorious Revolution of which it probably contributed to preserve—(would to God we could say to perpetuate) the inestimable blessings.

It has been said by some, that as the danger was temporary, the law ought to have been passed only for a time, and that it should have been delayed till the approach of a general election should ascertain, whether a change in the temper of the people had not rendered it unnecessary. But it was necessary, at the instant, to confound the hopes of conspirators, who were then supported and animated by the prospect of a general election; and if any period had been fixed for its duration, it might have weakened its effect, as a declaration of the determined resolution of Parliament to stand or fall with the Revolution.

It is now certain, that the conspiracy of the Tories against the House of Hanover, continued till the last years of the reign of George II. The Whigs, who had preserved the fruits of the Revolution, and upheld the tottering Throne of the Hanoverian Family during half a century, were, in this state of things, un-

\* 1 Geo. I. st. 2. c. 38.



willing to repeal a law, for which the reasons had not entirely ceased. The hostility of the Tories to the Protestant succession was not extinguished, till the appearance of their leaders at the Court of King George the Third, proclaimed to the world their hope, that Jacobite principles might reascend the Throne of England with a Monarch of the House of Brunswick.

The effects of the Septennial Act on the Constitution, were materially altered in the late reign, by an innovation in the exercise of the prerogative of dissolution. This important prerogative is the bulwark of the Monarchy—it is intended for great emergencies, when its exercise may be the only means of averting immediate danger from the Throne,—it is strictly a defensive right. As no necessity arose, under the two first Georges, for its defensive exercise, it lay, during that period, in a state of almost total inactivity. It was exercised without any political object, and, as it seems, merely for the purpose of selecting the most convenient seasons for election. Under the Parliament, under these two Kings, the dissolved state lasted, seventh year. The same inoffensive manner was pursued, during the early part of the reign of George the Third. For the first time, in the year 1784, the power of dissolution, hitherto reserved for the defence of the Monarchy, was employed to support the power of an Administration. The majority of the House of Commons had, in 1782, driven an Administration from office, and compelled another to retire. The right of the House of Commons to interpose, with decisive weight, in the choice of Ministers, as well as the adoption of measures, seemed by these vigorous exertions to be finally established. George the Second had, indeed, often been compelled to select Ministers whom he hated; but his successor, more conscious of his prerogative, and more inflexible in his consent, did not so easily brook the subjection to which he thought himself about to be reduced. In 1784, he again saw his Ministers threatened with expulsion by a majority of the House of Commons. He found a Prime Minister who, trusting to his popularity, ventured to make common cause with the King, and to brave the Parliamentary disapprobation to which the pretence or principle of both his predecessors had induced them to yield. Mr. Pitt persisted in holding office, in defiance of the opinions of a majority of the House of Commons. He thus established a precedent, which, if followed, would have deprived that body of the advantages it had gained in the two preceding reigns. Not content with this great victory, he proceeded, by a dissolution of Parliament, to inflict such an exemplary punishment on the same majority, as might deter all future majorities from following their dangerous example.

The Ministers of 1806 gave some countenance to Mr Pitt's

precedent, by a very reprehensible dissolution: But in 1807, its full consequences were unfolded. The House of Commons was then openly threatened with dissolution, if a majority should vote against Ministers; and in pursuance of this threat, the Parliament was actually dissolved. From that moment, the new prerogative of penal dissolution was added to all the other means of Ministerial influence: Every man who votes against Ministers, endangers his seat by his vote. Ministers have acquired a power, in many cases more important than that of bestowing honours or rewards. It now rests with them to determine, whether Members shall sit securely for four or five years longer, or be instantly sent to their constituents, at the moment when the most violent, and perhaps, the most unjust prejudice has been excited against them. The security of seats in Parliament is made to depend on the subservience of majorities.

Of all the silent revolutions which have materially changed the English Government, without any alteration in the letter of the law, there is, perhaps, none more dangerous than this power of penal dissolution, first introduced by Mr Pitt, and strengthened by his followers. And it is more dangerous, because it is hardly capable of being counteracted by direct laws. The prerogative of dissolution, being a mean of defence on sudden emergencies, is scarcely to be limited by law. There is, however, an indirect but effectual method of meeting its abuse. By shortening the duration of Parliaments, the punishment of dissolution will be removed off its terrors. While its defensive power will be unimpaired, its offensive as a means of influence, will be nearly destroyed. The attempt to reduce Parliament to a greater degree of dependence, will thus be defeated; due reparation be made to the Constitution; and future Ministers taught, by a well-deserved example of just retaliation, that the Crown is not likely to be enabled, by any struggles to convert a necessary prerogative into a means of constitutional influence.

We endeavoured, on a former occasion, \* to prove by arguments, of which we have yet seen no refutation, that Universal Suffrage would be an insupportable assault on liberty; that lawgivers chosen by all might naturally disregard important interests of society, or oppress great classes of men; while a representative assembly, elected by considerable bodies of *well-to-do* men, must generally prove a faithful and equal guardian of the rights and interests of all men. We have now endeavoured to show, that the English representation was actually founded on these first principles of political theory. That the tendency of that

\* Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXVIII. p. 165.

representation has always been, to make as near approaches towards reducing them to practice, as the irregularity and coarseness of human affairs would allow :—And that the unrepresented state of great communities in the present age, has sprung from the disuse, and may be remedied by the revival, of our ancient constitutional principles. Having, in the *first* place, resisted plans of change, which could neither be attempted without civil war, nor accomplished without paving the way for tyranny, we have now presumed to propose a scheme of reformation, which would immediately infuse a new popular spirit into the House of Commons, and provide means for gradually correcting every real inadequacy of representation in future times; which would be carried on, solely by the principles, and within the pale of the Constitution; where the repair would be in the style of the building, and contribute to strengthen, without disfiguring, an edifice still solid and commodious, as well as magnificent and venerable.

Moderate Reformers have been asked, by the most formidable of their opponents, at what period of history was the House of Commons in the state to which you wish to restore it? \* An answer may now be given to that triumphant question. Had the object of the moderate reformer been total change, he might be called upon to point out some former state of the representation, which he would in all respects prefer to the present. But it is a part of his principle, that the institutions of one age can never be entirely suitable to the condition of another. It was well said by an English politician of keen and brilliant wit, that 'neither king nor people would now like just the original Constitution, without any varyings.' † It is sufficient for the 'Whig, or Moderate Reformer' (for Mr Canning has joined them, and we do not wish to put them asunder) to point out a period when the Constitution was in one respect better, inasmuch as it possessed the means of regulating and equalizing the representation. Its return to the former state, in that particular only, would be sufficient for the attainment of all his objects.

If no conciliatory measures on this subject be adopted, there is great reason to apprehend that the country will be reduced to the necessity of choosing between different forms of Despotism. For it is certain, that the habit of maintaining the forms of the Constitution by a long system of coercion and terror, must convert it into an absolute monarchy. It is equally evident, from history and experience, that revolutions effected by

\* Mr Canning's Speech at Liverpool, p. 45.

† Political Thoughts, &c. by the Marquis of Halifax, p. 69.

violence, and attended by a total change in the fundamental laws of a commonwealth, have a natural tendency to throw a power into the hands of their leaders, which, however disguised, must in truth be unlimited and dictatorial. The restraints of law and usage necessarily cease. The factions among the partisans of the revolution, and the animosity of those whom it has degraded or despoiled, can seldom be curbed by a gentler hand than that of absolute power; and there is no situation of human affairs, in which there are stronger temptations to those arbitrary measures of which the habit alike unfits rulers and nations from performing their parts in the system of liberty.

If, on the other hand, a plan of Constitutional Reform were heartily adopted by an Administration, it might reasonably be hoped that the benefits of such an adoption would extend beyond the immediate effects of the Reform itself. It would be a pledge that the Ministers who adopted it, would carry a liberal, popular, and reforming spirit into every branch of their Administration; that they would not only practice economy and retrenchment, and observe moderation in enforcing, as well as lenity in executing the laws, but employ the utmost zeal in all subordinate, though important improvements; that they would undertake the reform of the Criminal, and, where necessary, of the Civil Code; that they would begin the gradual abolition of restraints on Industry and Commerce; and complete the still unfinished fabric of Religious Liberty. Such a Government, which must derive its chief hopes of strength from popular support, would honestly desire to consult the opinions, and, as far as possible, to satisfy the wishes of the people. A fair trial would then be made, whether the people could be conciliated by confidence, and would support a Government that put its trust in them. On the issue of the experiment, the existence of such an Administration must depend. By its failure, the situation of the country could hardly be made worse than it now is. By its success, the King of England, reinstated in the hearts of his people, at the head of a contented and united nation, would resume his high station in the system of Europe, and, as became a Constitutional Monarch, mediate with decisive effect between the contending powers of Revolution and Despotism; instead of beholding, as at present, the strength of this great nation palsied by internal distractions; his Ministers, despised by his Royal Allies for inability to aid them; and their professions of neutrality scorned by those nations struggling for liberty, who see English Councils still directed by members of the Congress of Vienna.

# QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

*From August to November, 1820.*

## AGRICULTURE.

**The Farmer's Magazine**, No. 81. 3s.

**An Essay on the Uses of Salt for Agricultural Purposes, and in Horticulture.** By C. W. Johnson. 8s.

## ANTIQUITIES, ARCHITECTURE, AND MINERALS.

**The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy**, in a Series of 100 Etchings, representing exterior and interior Views, Elevations, and Details of the most celebrated and most curious remains of Antiquity in that Country. By John Sell Cotman. Part II. 3l. 3s.

**The Heraldic Origin of Gothic Architecture**, in answer to all foregoing Systems. By Royley Lascells. Royal 8vo. 7s.

**The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick, near Dublin**, from its foundation in 1190, to the year 1819. By W. M. Mason. 4to. 3l. 3s.

No. V. of **Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video**; containing four coloured Engravings. Elephant 4to. 14s.

No. VI. and VI. of the **English Lakes**; containing four coloured Engravings. Demy 4to. 6s.; elephant, 10s. 6d. each.

**A Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan, by way of the Simplon**, 38 coloured Plates, and a Map. 2l. 12s. 6d.

No. LVII. of the **Repository of Arts**, containing five coloured, and one plain Engraving. Royal 8vo. 4s.

No. I. of **Views in Savoy, Switzerland, and on the Rhine**, from Drawings made on the spot by John Dennis. 16s.

No. IX. of the **History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster**. By J. P. Neale. Royal 4to. 16s.

**Illustrations of the Novels and Tales, entitled Waverley, Guy Mannering, the Antiquary, Rob Roy, the Black Dwarf, Old Mortality, the Heart of Mid-Lothian, the Bride of Lammermoor, and a Legend of Montrose**; engraved after original designs, of William Allan, by Heath, Warren, Engleheart, Romney, Meyer, Lasars, &c. Duodecimo, R. 4s.; medium 8vo, 1l. 11s. 6d.; imperial 4to, 2l. 12s. 6d.; colobnier 4to, 3l. 3s.

**Picturesque Scenery on the River Meuse and its Banks**, from Drawings made on the spot in 1818. By G. Arnold, A. R. A. No. II., containing 6 Plates. 1l. 1s.

**Sketches representing the Native Tribes, Animals, and Scenery of Southern Africa**. By William Daniell, Esq. 4to. 3l. 3s.; proofs on India paper, 4l. 4s. boards.

No. VI. of the **English Lakes**, containing four highly coloured Engravings, with descriptive Letter-press. Demy 4to. 6s.

No. XXII. of the Cabinet of Arts. Royal 4to. 3s.

Characteristic Portraits of the various Tribes of Cossacks attached to the Allied Armies in 1815, taken from life, accompanied by historical particulars of their Manners, Costumes, &c. 4to. 1*l*. 5s.

Pyne's History of the Royal Residences, with 100 coloured Engravings, representing the State Apartments. 3 vols. 4to. 24 guineas boards, or 36 guineas large paper.

No. I. Zoological Illustrations; or, Original Figures and Descriptions of New, Rare, or otherwise interesting Animals, selected principally from the classes of Ornithology, Entomology, and Conchology. By William Swainson, F. L. S. M. W. S. &c. 4s. 6d.

#### ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PHILOSOPHY.

A Treatise on Heat, Flame, and Combustion. By T. H. Pasley. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

An Analytical Calculation of the Solar Eclipse of the 7th of September, 1820. By D. M'Griggr. 8vo. 3s.

A Guide to the Stars, being an easy method of knowing the relative Position of all the principal fixed Stars. By Henry Brooke. 4to. 15s. boards.

Elements of Chemistry, with its application to explain the Phenomena of Nature, and the Processes of Arts and Manufactures. By James Millar, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians, and Lecturer on Natural History and Chemistry. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Illustrations of Phrenology. By Sir George Mackenzie, Bart., with eighteen Engravings. 8vo. 15s. boards.

Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind. By the late Thomas Brown, M. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. 4 vols. 8vo. 2*l*. 12s. 6d. boards.

Description of Instruments designed for improving and extending Meteorological Observations. By John Leslie, Esq. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. 2s.

The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, conducted by Dr Brewster and Professor Jameson, (published quarterly). No. VII. with Engravings. Price 7s. 6d. sewed.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bibliotheca Rara et Curiosa; or, a Catalogue of a highly curious Collection of Books lately formed on the Continent. By Boosey & Sons. 1s. 6d.

Hurst, Robinson, and Co.'s Catalogue of Engraved Copper-Plates, by the most esteemed Artists. Also an Index of the Subjects. 2s.

A Catalogue of Books in Anatomy, Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Chemistry, Botany, &c. &c. &c., which, with Books in every other department of Literature, are on sale at John Anderson's Medical Library, 40, West Smithfield. 1s. 6d.

Simco's Catalogue for 1820; consisting of Illuminated Books, Prints, and Portraits, Manuscripts, Guillim's Heraldry, Arms, Colours, Radenaper's Views, Portraits of Kings of Scotland and Denmark, &c. 2s. 6d.

Richard Baynes's Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Ancient and Modern Books. 3s.

## BIOGRAPHY.

Impartial Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of her Majesty Queen Caroline, from her earliest infancy. By J. Nightingale. Part I. 2s. 6d.

The Life of Queen Anne Bullen, with Notes, forming No. 2. of Smeaton's Tracts. 5s. 6d.

Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Religious Connexions of John Owen, D. D. Vice Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church, during the Commonwealth. By the Rev. Wm. Orme. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Biographical Illustrations of Worcester. By John Chalmers, Esq. 8vo. 15s. boards.

Memoirs of the Life of Andrew Hofer; containing an Account of the Transactions in the Tyrol, during the year 1809, taken from the German. By Charles Henry Hall. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Memoirs of the late Rev. James Scott, one of the Ministers of Perth, containing Extracts from his Diary. By the Rev. W. A. Thomson, one of the Ministers of that City.

Trial of the Queen, Nos. 1. to 23. 8vo. 1s. each.

The Life of the late George Hill, D. D. Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews. By George Cook, D. D. with Portrait. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

## CLASSICS.

Exercises for Greek Verse; consisting of extremely literal Translations from the Anthologia, &c. By the Rev. Edmund Squire. 7s. boards.

Aristarchus Anti-Bloomfieldianus; or, a Reply to the Notice of the New Greek Thesaurus, inserted in the 44th Number of the Quarterly Review. By E. H. Barker. To which are added, the *Jena* Reviews of Mr Bloomfield's Edition of Callimachus and Æschylus, translated from the German. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Translation of Homer's Iliad. By William Cowper. 6s. boards.

Carmina Homerica, Iliad and Odyssea by Knight. 4to. 1l. 5s. boards.

## DRAMA.

Edda; or, the Hermit of Warkworth; a Melo-drama. By Edw Ball. 2s

Dramatic Synopsis; containing an Essay on the Political and Moral Use of Theatres. 5s.

The Persian Heroine; or, Downfall of ———.

Tyranny. By Bonnell Thornton, Esq. 2s.

Exchange no Robbery. 8s. 6d.

Pro metheus Unbound; a lyrical drama, in four acts, with other Poems. By Percy Bysshe Shelley. 8vo. 9s.

## EDUCATION.

The New System of Musical Education, as announced and ex-

plained in his public Lectures, in reference to Teaching in Classes, &c. By Joseph Kemp.

The Theory of Elocution, exhibited in connexion with a New and Philosophical Account of the Nature of Instituted Language. By B. H. Smart. 8vo. 7s. boards.

A Selection of Greek Sentences, with an Index and Lexicon, in Greek and English. By the Rev. G. N. Wright. 12mo. 4s. bds.

The Greek Primer; or, a Praxis on the various terminations and formations of Nouns and Verbs, with copious lists of examples, Greek and English. By D. B. Hickie. 12mo. 4s. 6d. boards.

The Establishments of Immanuel de Fellenberg, at Hoffwyl, considered with reference to their claims upon the attention of men in public stations. By the Count Louis de Villeveille. 2s.

A Series of Latin Exercises, selected from the best Roman Writers, and adapted to the Rules of Syntax. By Nathaniel Howard. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

English Stories, Second Series. By Maria Haack. 12mo. 7s.

A Key to Howard's Latin Exercises. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

A French Grammar. By W. S. Kenny. 12mo. 3s. boards.

French Exercises. By W. S. Kenny. 12mo. 3s. boards.

A Grammatical Dictionary. By G. Picard. 2s. 6d.

Early Education; or, the Management of Children considered, with a view to their future character. By Miss Appleton. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Select Fables; with Cuts, designed and engraved by Thomas and John Bewick and others, previous to the year 1784, together with a Memoir, and a Descriptive Catalogue of the works of Messrs Bewick. 8vo. 15s. boards.

Irving's Catechism of Mythology, Roman Antiquities, Grecian Antiquities, Jewish Antiquities, England and Wales, British Constitution. 1s. each.

#### HISTORY.

The History of the Jews; from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the present time. By Hannah Adams. 12s. boards.

A Political History of the City of Carlisle, from the year 1700 to the present time. To which is added, full and correct Lists of the Poll in 1816, and in May 1820. 2s. boards.

A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, with 4 Maps. 8vo. 12s.

Recollections of the Reign of George III. By John Nichols. 8vo. 12s. boards.

An Historical and Critical Account of a grand series of National Medals, published under the direction of James Mudie. 4to.

Memorials of the Reformation under the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary; with the Original Papers, Records, &c. By John Strype, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. With new Indexes. 5l. 5s.



## LAW (ENGLISH.)

A Treatise on the Law of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the relative Duties and Rights of the Subject. By Joseph Chitty, jun. Esq. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

A Treatise on the Law of Property, arising from the relation between Husband and Wife. By R. S. D. Roper. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

A Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant. By P. Bingham. 8vo. 19s. boards.

A Treatise on the Law between Debtor and Creditor. By John Dufrene. 3s. 6d.

Original Precedents in Conveyancing; with Notes, critical and explanatory, and concise Directions for drawing or settling Conveyances. By J. H. Prince. 12s. 6d.

A System of the Shipping and Navigation Laws of Great Britain; and of the Laws relative to Merchant Ships and Seamen, and Maritime Contracts. By Francis Ludlow Holt. 2 vols. 2l. boards.

An Abridgement of the New Insolvent Debtors' Act, with a Copious Index. By G. Andrews. 9d.

The Trial of Charles C. Delano, and others, the Crew of the Brig William of Liverpool, for Piracy, before Sir Thomas Maitland, &c. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, with a Preface. 8vo. 12s.

The Annals of Gallantry; being a Collection of curious and important Trials for Divorces, and Actions of Crim. Con. during the late Reign. 3 vols. 8vo. With numerous Illustrations. 2l. 5s. boards.

A Practical Abridgement of the Laws of Customs and Excise, corrected to August 1820. By Charles Pope, controlling Surveyor at Bristol. 8vo. 1l. 15s.

## LAW (SCOTS.)

A Treatise on Leases, explaining the Nature and Effect of the Contract of Lease, and the Legal Rights enjoyed by the Parties. By Robert Bell Esq., Advocate. Third Edition, considerably enlarged, in 8vo. 18s.

A Translation and Explanation of the principal Technical Terms used in Mr Erskine's Institutes of the Law of Scotland. By Peter Halkerston, A. M. S. S. C.

An Address to the People of Scotland, on the Nature, Powers, and Privileges of Juries. A New Edition. By William Smellie, F. R. S. & F. A. S. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

An Essay on the Principles of Evidence, and their Application to Subjects of Judicial Inquiry. By James Glassford Esq., Advocate. 8vo. 18s.

## MEDICINE, SURGERY, ANATOMY.

A Synopsis of the various Kinds of Difficult Parturition, with Practical Remarks on the Management of Labours. By S. Merriman. 12s. boards.

Researches into the Nature and Causes of Epilepsy, as connected with the Physiology of Animal Life and Muscular Motion. By J. G. Mansford. 7s. boards.

A Chemical and Medical Report of the Properties of the Mineral Waters of Buxton, Matlock, Bath, &c. By Charles Scuddamore.

Vol. VIII. of Medical Transactions, published by the College of Physicians in London, with coloured Plates. 12s. boards.

A Toxicological Chart, in which are exhibited, at one view, the Symptoms, Treatment, and Modes of detecting the various Poisons, Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal, according to the latest Experiments and Observations (most respectfully dedicated to the Royal Humane Society), by a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 2s. 6d.

Observations on Variolous Inoculation and Vaccination, in a Letter to a Friend; with an Appendix, containing some Remarks on the Extension of Small-pox in the town of Melksham and its Vicinity. By J. F. Hulbert.

Le Dentiste de la Jeunesse, or the Way to have sound and beautiful Teeth. By J. R. Duval. 8vo. 7s. boards.

The Hunterian Oration, delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons in London, on Monday, February 21st, 1820. By A. Carlisle. 4to. 4s. sewed.

Popular Observations on Regimen and Diet, with Rules and Regulations in regard to Health. By John Tweed. Crown 8vo. 5s. boards.

An Essay on Mercury; wherein are presented Formulæ for some Preparations of this Metal. By David Davies. 2s. 6d.

A Sketch of the History and Cure of Febrile Diseases, more particularly as they appear in the West Indies amongst the Soldiers of the British Army. By Robert Jackson, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

Vol. XI. Part I. of Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, published by the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London. 8vo. Plates. 9s. boards.

A Treatise on the Plague, designed to prove it Contagious, from Facts. By Sir Arthur Brooke Faulkner, M. D. 8vo. 12s. boards.

A Treatise on Dyspepsia, or Indigestion. By J. Woodforde, M. D. 2s. 6d.

A Short Description of the Human Muscles, arranged as they appear on Dissection. By John Innes. New Edition, with seventeen Engravings. 12mo. 5s. boards.

The Medical and Surgical Journal (published quarterly,) No. LXVI. 4s.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Vol. XXXIX., being the concluding Part of the New Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature. By Abraham Rees. 3/.

An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquis of Stafford, with Remarks. By James Loch. 8vo. 12s. boards.

**The Shooter's Companion.** By T. B. Johnson. 5s. 6d. boards.

**The Improvement of English Roads urged, during the existing Dearth of Employment for the Poor.** 2s.

**The Athenian Oracle Abridged; containing the most valuable Questions and Answers in the Volumes of the Original Work,—on History, Philosophy, Divinity, Love, and Marriage.** 8vo. 10s. 6d.

No. XXXI. of the *British Review*. 8vo.

No. II. of *Annals of Oriental Literature*. 8vo. 5s.

**Aphorisms, or a Glance at Human Nature.** 3s. 6d. boards.

**Claims at the Coronation.** 8vo. 5s. boards.

**Vol. XXII. of the Encyclopædia Londinensis, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature.**

**A Letter to the Right Hon.<sup>d</sup> the Lord Provost, from Captain Brown, Superintendant of the Edinburgh Police, on the Subject of the late Investigation.** 8vo. 2s. sewed.

**The Edinburgh Encyclopædia, conducted by David Brewster, LL.D. Vol. XIV. Part II.** 1l. 1s. boards

**A Manual of Foreign Exchanges, Weights, and Monies, containing on Account of the Exchanges, Monies, Weights and Measures of the principal Cities and Ports in Europe, with Examples at length of the Calculations of Exchange, compiled chiefly from real business.** 12mo. Half-bound. 4s.

**The Incomparable Game of Chess, developed after a new Method of the greatest facility, translated from the Italian.** By J. S. Bingham Esq.

**A Treatise on Domestic Wine-making, calculated for making excellent Wine from all the various Fruits of this United Country.** 8vo. 7s.

**The New Practical Gauger.** By M. Hely. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

No. XIX. of the *Quarterly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Arts.* Plates, &c. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**A History of New York, from the beginning of the World to the end of the Dutch Dynasty.** By Didrick Knickerbocker. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

No. I. of *Life in London, or the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn Esq.* By Pierce Egan; with coloured Plates. 8vo. 3s.

**Zoophilos, or Considerations on the Moral Treatment of Inferior Animals.** By Henry Crow, M. A.

#### NATURAL HISTORY, BOTANY, &c.

**Botanical Dictionary, or Universal Herbal.** 2 vols. 4to. Plates.

**A Compendium of the Ornithology of Great Britain; with a Reference to the Anatomy and Physiology of Birds.** By John Atkinson. 8s.

**Parts I. & II. of the Horticultural Repository.** By George Brook Shaw. Royal 8vo. 5s. each

**The Characters of the Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species; or the Characteristicks of the Natural History System of Mineralogy.** By Frederick Mohs, Professor of Mineralogy, Freiburgh. 8vo. 6s. 6d. boards.

An Introduction to the Knowledge of Fungusses. 12mo. With coloured Engravings. 2s.

The Botanist's Companion, or an Introduction to the Knowledge of Practical Botany, and the Uses of Plants. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s.

The British Botanist, 16 Plates. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

A select Cabinet of Natural History, with an Historical Account of the Silk Worm, and an elegant method of obtaining very exact and pleasing representations of Plants. By the late George Shaw, M. D. F. R. S : to which are added, The Gardener's Calendar, and Ladies' Flower Garden. 6s.

#### NOVELS.

Melmoth the Wanderer, a Tale. By the author of "Bertram." 4 vols. 1l. 8s. boards.

The Wharbroke Legend ; a Tale of the Dead. 14s.

Baldwin ; or, the Miser's Heir ; a Serio-Comic Tale. By an Old Bachelor. 11s.

Sir Francis Darrell ; or, the Vortex. By R. C. Dallas. 4 vols. 12mo. 1l. 8s.

The Hermit in the Country. 3 vols. 18s.

The West Indian. 3 vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Valdimar ; or, the Career of Falsehood. 12mo. 4s. 6d. boards.

Variety. By Princeps. 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s.

Tales, founded on Facts. By M. A. Grant. 12mo. boards.

St Kathleen ; or, the Rock of Dunnismoyle. 4 vols. 12mo. 1l. 2s. boards.

Supreme Bon Ton. 3 vols. 12mo. 18s.

The Chieftain of the Vale. By George West. 8s.

Hulme Abbey. By Mrs Frederick Leyter, (late Miss Plumptre.) 3 vols.

The Contested Election. By A. M. Ennis. 3 vols. 18s.

Eccentricity. By Mrs MacNally, daughter of the late Rev. R. Edgeworth, of Lissard, Ireland. 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 11s.

Eleanor ; or, the Spectre of St Michael's ; a Romantic Tale. By Miss C. D. Haynes. 5 vols. 12mo. 1l. 7s. 6d.

#### POETRY.

Tabella Cibaria, the Bill of Fare ; implicitly translated from the Latin, and fully explained in copious Notes. Small 4to. 10s. 6d.

The Angel of the World, an Arabian Tale ; Sebastian, a Spanish Tale ; with other Poems. By the Rev. George Croly. 8s. 6d.

The Brothers, a Monody, and other Poems. By C. Elton. 5s. boards.

Immortality, a Poem, in two Parts. 12mo. 4s. boards.

The Poetical Works complete of Sir Walter Scott, Baronet ; new edition in 10 vols. 8vo. with vignette title-pages. 6l.

Dr Syntax's Second Tour in Search of Consolation. Coloured Plates. Royal 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Vol V. of the English Poets. 5s. 6d. boards.

Britannia's Cypress, a Poem on the lamented Death of his late Majesty George III. foolscap 12mo. 5s.

## PHILOLOGY.

An Arabic Vocabulary and Index for Richardson's Arabic Grammar, in which the Words are explained according to the Parts of Speech, and the Derivations are traced to their Originals in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Languages; with Tables of Oriental Alphabets, Points, and Affixes. By James Noble, Teacher of Languages in Edinburgh. 10s. 6d.

## POLITICAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Speech of Thomas Lord Erskine, on moving that a List of Witnesses, in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, be forthwith delivered to the Queen. 1s.

The Cheltenham Mail Bag; or, Letters from Gloucestershire. Edited by Peter Quince the younger.

Letters from Mrs Delany (widow of Dr P. Delany) to Mrs Frances Hamilton, from the year 1779 to 1788; comprising many unpublished and interesting Anecdotes of their late Majesties and the Royal Family. 8vo. 6s. 6d. boards.

Collections relative to the Claims at the Coronations of several of the Kings of England, beginning with Richard II., being curious and interesting Documents, derived from authentic Sources. 8vo. 5s.

The Political Quixote; or, the Adventures of the renowned Don Blackibo Dwarfino and his trusty Squire Seditiono, in quest of the Penny Subscription. 4s. boards.

An Epistle from William Lord Russell to William Lord Cavendish, supposed to have been written the evening before his Execution: By the Right Hon. George Canning. 4s.

An Analysis of the True Principles of Security against Forgery, exemplified by an Inquiry into the sufficiency of the American Plan for a New Bank Note. By Sir William Congreve. 8vo. 12 Plates. 17. 1s. boards.

The Grounds and Danger of Restrictions on the Corn Trade considered. 8vo. 4s.

A Report of the Proceedings in the House of Peers, on the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen. 8vo. No. 1, 2, and 3. 1s. each sewed.

Reflexions on the present Difficulties of the Country, and on relieving them by opening new Markets to our Commerce, and removing all injurious Restrictions. 3s.

The Naval and Military Exploits which have distinguished the Reign of George III., accurately described, and methodically arranged. By J. Aspin. Coloured Plates. 14s. boards; 15s. bound.  
\* Vol. I. of a New Series of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Royal 8vo. 17. 11s. 6d.

A View of the present Order of Succession to the British Throne, exhibited in a Genealogical Table of Descendants from George II. By Edward Baker. On a sheet of double elephant, and coloured, 10s. 6d.; on canvass and rollers, 15s. 6d.

A Catechism of Political Economy. By Jean Baptiste Say, Pro-

fessor of Political Economy at the Royal Athenæum of Paris. Translated by John Richter. 6s. boards.

The Report presented to the Magistrates and Town of Dundee, on 21st September, 1820, by the Committee appointed by them for examining the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. 1s. 6d. sewed.

## THEOLOGY.

Discourses, illustrative of the Designs of Christianity, and of some parts of its Internal Evidence. By Daniel Dewar. 8vo. 12s.

The School Prayerbook; being a Week's course of Prayers. 2s. boards.

Lyric Hymns. By Edward Atkyns Bray. 2s.

Further Correspondence in the Matter between the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Vicar and Curate of Frome. 8s. 6d. sewed.

Sermons, Explanatory of the Gospels. By H. Hughes. 2 vols. 8vo. 17. 1s. boards.

Sacred Lectures. By J. Hodgson. 12mo. 6s. boards.

Sacred Literature; comprising a Review of the Principles of Composition laid down by the late Robert Lowth, in his Prelections on Isaiah, and an application of the principles so received, to the Illustration of the New Testament; in a series of Critical Observations on the Style and Structure of that Sacred Volume. By the Rev. John Jebb. 8vo. 15s. boards.

Sermons; Doctrinal, Practical, and Occasional. By the Rev. Wm. Snowden. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Lectures on the Temper and Spirit of the Christian Religion. By M. Allen. Crown 8vo. 9s. boards.

Lectures on the Holy Trinity. By E. Andrews. 7s. boards.

Vol. I. of Sketches of Sermons. 12mo. 4s. boards.

Vols. III. and IV. of Scripture Portraits. By the Rev. R. Stevenson. 12mo. 10s.

Dialogues on Pure Religion. By J. Thornton. 5s. boards.

A Discourse of the Creatures, designed to magnify the Supercreation Grace of God in Election. By Thomas Goodwin. 6s. 6d. bds.

A Series of Sermons on various Subjects of Doctrine and Practice. By the Rev. G. Matthew. 2 vols. 8vo. 17. 1s. boards.

The History of Religious Liberty, from the earliest period to the Death of George III. By the Rev. R. Brook. In 2 vols. 8vo. To subscribers, 47. 1s.

Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of the Revealed Religion. By Thomas Erskine, Esq. Advocate. 12mo. 2s. stitched.

The Christian's Annual Journal and Record of Literature for 1821; with a portrait of the Rev. G. Burder. 2s. 3d.

The Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life, in a Series of Discourses. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Minister of St John's Church, Glasgow. 8vo. 8s. boards.

The Sermons of Dr Isaac Barrow. 5 vols. 8vo. 27. 12s. 6d. boards

Letters to a Young Clergyman. By Stevenson M'Gill, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. 12mo. 6s. boards.

#### TOPOGRAPHY.

A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, and its Dependent Settlements of Van Diemen's Land. By W. C. Wentworth. 8vo. 16s. boards.

A New and Improved Map of India, on one large Sheet; compiled from the latest Documents, and engraved by John Walker. 16s.; or, on cloth bound in a case, or with rollers, 1*l.* 1s.

An Appendix to the Description of Paris. By Madame Domeier. f. c. 4s. boards.

Part III. of a General History of Yorkshire. By Thomas Dunham Whittaker, LL D. &c. Folio. 2*l.* 2s.

Notes on Rio de Janeiro, and the southern parts of Brazil, taken during a residence of Ten Years in that country, from 1808 to 1818; with an Appendix, describing the Signals by which Vessels enter the Port of Rio Grande do Sul: together with numerous Tahces of Commerce and a Glossary of Tupi Words. By John Luccock; with two Maps and a Plan. 4to. 2*l.* 12s. 6d. boards.

The New Picture of Edinburgh, in which the History and Improvements are brought down to the present time; beautifully printed in 18mo. 5s.

A Treatise on Topography; in which the Science and practical detail of Trigonometrical Surveying are explained, together with their applications to Surveying in general. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 6s. bds.

Topographical Description of Ayrshire, more particularly of Cunninghamham: with a Geological Account of the principal Families in that Bailiwick. By George Robertson, Esq. 4to. bds. royal paper, 1*l.* 10s.; demy, 1*l.*

#### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Journal of Voyages and Travels.—No. 6. completing Vol. III. contains Brackenridge's Voyage to Buenos Ayres. 8vo. 4s. 6d. sewed; 4s. bds.

No. 1. Vol. IV. containing Pertusier's Promenades in and near Constantinople, with numerous Engravings. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed; 4s. bds.

No. 2. Vol. IV. containing Gourbillon's Travels in Sicily and to Mount Etna, in 1819. with Plates. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed; 4s. bds.

A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada, in 1819. By James Strachan. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome, during the year 1819. By Maria Graham. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Classical Excursions from Rome to Arpino. By Charles Kelsall. 8vo. 12s. sewed.

A Journal of Two successive Tours upon the Continent, performed in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818. By James Wilson. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16s. bds.

Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816. By Dr S. H. Spiker, translated from the German. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s. bds.

A Tour through a part of the Netherlands, France, and Switzerland, in the year 1817. By Thomas Heger. 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

A Tour in Normandy, undertaken chiefly for the purpose of Investigating the Architectural Antiquities of the Dutchy, with Observations on its History, on the Country, and its Inhabitants. By D. Turner, Esq. 2 vols. Royal 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. bds.

*Works Imported by ROOSEY & SON, Broad Street.*

Dictionnaire des Monogrammes, Chiffres, Lettres initiales, et Marques figurées, sous lesquels les plus célèbres Peintres, Dessinateurs, et Graveurs, ont désigné leur Noms, &c. &c. Par M. F. Bruillot, employé au Cabinet d'Estampes de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière. 4to. sewed, 2l. 10s.

Lucas Cranach's Prayerbook, beautifully engraved on Stone, after the Original Drawings in the Royal Academy at Munich; with descriptive Text in German. Folio. sewed, 14s.

Views of the principal Greek Monuments in Sicily, drawn from Nature, and on Stone, in a highly finished style. By F. Gürtner. Two Parts, large folio, with 16 Plates, and French and German text. 7l. 10s.

Martini's New Systematic Cabinet of Conchology, in Latin and German. 11 vols. 4to, with 215 coloured Plates. 35l.

Drouville's Voyage en Perse pendant les Années 1812-1813. 2 vols. 4to. Illustrated by upwards of 60 Lithographic Prints. 46 of which are executed by the celebrated Russian artist, Orlovsky. 11l. 11s.; coloured, 13l. 13s.



## INDEX.

- Abbé Haüy*, 395.
- Act*, the Chester, 473—Durham, 474—Triennial, 495—Septennial, enacted to preserve liberty, 496—effects of, on the Constitution, altered, 497.
- Ambrose Paré*, father of improved French surgery, his successors, 397.
- Anecdotes* of Ramsden, 130—of Day, *ib.*—of the two lovers, 133—of Louis XVI., 420.
- Aristophanes*, Comedies of, by Mr T. Mitchell, 271—powers of, 274 and 280—monstrous position of Plutarch respecting, ungrounded, *ib.*—satire of, 284—monstrous criticism of, by Plutarch, 285—not the bent of the mind of, to be immoral, 288—various translations of several of the comedies of, 289—motives of, not justified by Cumberland for his attack upon Socrates, nor by the Messrs Schlegel, 292—a bolder stand made for him by Mr Mitchell, *ib.*—the object of, in writing the *Clouds*, 297—defended, *ib.*—every trait of the Socrates of, may be traced to the Platonic Socrates, 299—wrote from intimate acquaintance with Socrates, and selected him as of dangerous principles, *ib.*
- Athens*, audiences of, described, 275—a few words further in vindication of their rank and of the comic poet of, 278, 9—comic poet of, public satirist, state journalist, periodical critic, and prize competitor, 280—passion for disputation in the young men of, described by Plato, 293.
- Banks*, Sir Joseph, late President of the Royal Society, all must regret the loss of, 371.
- Batoni Pompeo*, a celebrated artist, character of his paintings, 96.
- Bernard Barton's* poems, 348—character of, 350—specimens, 351—capable of affording delight to a large class of readers, must be a most acceptable present to the Society of Friends, 356.
- Boulter's*, Primate, letter of, to Sir Robert Walpole, respecting the origin of tithes in Ireland, 73.
- Brande*, W. T. Esq., Bakerian lecture by, on inflammable gases, 431—experiments by, to show that coal gas must be a mixture of olefiant and hydrogen gases, 432—found chlorine a useful agent in analyzing compounds containing hydrocarburet, 434—a curious effect produced by the action of electric light upon a mixture of chlorine and hydrogen, *ib.*—the tentative methods Mr P. employs might be objected to, 435—his train of reasoning in some parts, a little fallacious, *ib.*—the quantity of gas consumed in a given time, 436—an erroneous calculation as to coal gas, 437—Mr B. exhorted to pursue his inquiry respecting solar and electric light, 438.

*Britain*, the evils that at present threaten in, not denied by any party, 462—the probable termination of these, whatever be their origin, is equally uncertain and alarming, 463—measures of restraint fully tried to quell the public discontent in, *ib.*—and have increased, 464.

*Brougham's plan of education* described, 239—1st, the establishment of schools, 340—2nd, the appointment, visitation, and removal of masters, 241—3rd, the admission and tuition of scholars, 242—4th, the improvement of old endowments, 243.

*Burchhardt, Mr.* employed by the African Association to make discoveries in that country, his skill in Oriental languages and manners, 109—translates *Robinson Crusoe* into Arabic, cruel treatment he receives from the inhabitants of these regions, 110—his visit to the peninsula of Mount Sinai, 111—of the Bedouin Arabs, 112—his allusion to published and unpublished travels, 113—present state of Egypt, 115—his travels through Nubia how divided, law of paying money for blood established in Nubia, 116—his journey from Daraou to Jidda, and manner in which he travels, 117—account of the disgust his appearance universally excited in all the towns of Africa, 118—his description of the Eastern character, 119—number of slaves in Egypt, and their cruel treatment, 120—dreadful picture of the Africans, *ib.*

*Canning, Mr.* and Lord Castlereagh, their apparent professions respecting their native country, widely different from their practice towards it, 337.

*Characters*, curious combination of, which we had not expected to see imitated by any assembly of the present day, 315.

*Civil and Christian economy* of large towns commended and quoted, 236.

*Constitution*, an innovation in dissolving Parliaments altered the effect of the Septennial act on the, 497.

*Cornwall's Marcan Colonna*, 449—qualifications of the author, and character of his poetry, *ib.*—the highest kind of poetry and the poetical temperament, 450—this volume like the two former, *ib.*—passages showing the spirit of poetry and beauty that breathes through the story, 451—the description of the disastrous voyage of Marcan and Julia, which might do honour to any name that now graces our literature, 454—conclusion of the story, 456—specimen of the 'Rape of Proserpine,' 457—miscellaneous poems full of beauty and feeling, 458—the most pathetic and delicate is 'The Last Song' by a girl who feels herself dying of love, 459—anticipations respecting the tragedy Mr C. is now engaged on, 460.

*Curwen's observations* on the state of Ireland, 320—description of Irish cottages, 331.

*Cartes*, plagiarism of, 393 and 394.

*Destiny*, the Fates and the Furies resorted to by the ancient tragic poet, 272.

*Solfa*, frontier of, agriculture and manners of its inhabitants, 116.

*Edgeworth, Richard Lovel*, memoirs of, 121—character of the work, 122—interesting extracts from, 123—death of his wife, and second marriage, 134—his kind treatment of a Scotch girl, 135—his taste for mechanics, 136—his speculations on the Telegraph, 137—mode of educating his children, 138—obtained a seat in Parliament, *ib.*—makes his debut in Parliament, 140—goes with his family to Paris, and result of his comparison of the old and the new state of that city, 141—account of the change of society in Ireland, 142—his studies on Education in general, 144.

*Education*, New Plan of, in England,—the importance of the subject, 214—the inquiries of the Education Committee laid the foundation of this plan, 215—the information of great value—construction of the work described, 216—table of the state of education in England 217—in Scotland, 219—an absurd statement in the newspapers, *ib.*—the benefits of education admitted, *ib.*—two objections to the interference of Government in the instruction of the people, founded on fallacious grounds, 220—the principle of leaving things to themselves, ignorantly urged, 222—extended to an absurd length, 223—applies only to the education of the rich, 224—country districts not populous nor rich enough to maintain a teacher, *ib.*—even in towns a difficulty occurs, 225—the objectors say, again, trust to private beneficence, if not to the poor themselves—a most fallacious argument, 226—facts, then, are appealed to, and decide the question, 227—the Tables show the want of education in England, *ib.*—state of education in other countries, 228—the labours of the British and Foreign School Society, and of the National Society, more particularly referred to, 229—their labours subject to fluctuation, and limited in extent, 230—in what their usefulness consists, 232—their operations ought to be confined to the metropolis, 233—especially of the British and Foreign School Society, *ib.*—a symptom of the aversion of the British Society to any Parliamentary proceedings connected with education, 235—preceding arguments illustrated in a quotation from 'Civil and Christian Economy,' 236—Mr Brougham's new plan described, 239—strong reasons for its connexion with the Church Establishment, 246—the Dissenter objects to the increased power it will give to the Church, greatly overrated, 247—fears that all children will be made Churchmen, 249—contends that the priests and the bishops have too great sway in it, 250—other objections considered, 251—confidence in the liberality of Dissenters in general, expressed, 253—the interference of the parson and the bishop recognised in our Scotch scheme, 254.

*Farington* Mr, his Memoirs of the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 79—fallacy of his maxims, 80—his account of the state of art in this country about half a century ago, 88—chief object of his book, 93.

*France*, difficulty of tracing the causes of the change, 61, 2—division of property in, and exclusive privileges abolished at the Revolution, 3—establishments of education in, abolished at the Revolution, and what afterwards substituted in its place, 4—taxable

perties in, 5—number of trials, condemnations and acquittals for the whole kingdom of, from 1818 to 1818. with a similar statement for the same years in England, 9—judicial organization of, 10—love of equality in, 11—of whom the army was composed till the Revolution in, 15—nobility of, how discredited, 16—finance of, a profound mystery, 17—Hotel Dieu in, description of, 18—state of, under Louis XVI., 19—character of the Revolution in, 20—sentiments of M. de Pradt concerning, 22—Chamber of Deputies in. of whom it consists, and how often renewed, 21—amount of the Civil list in, 24—violent controversies in, 25—amount of voting proprietors in, paying 300 francs, and great preponderance of political power in great proprietors, 26—a republic, how it would end in, 27—declaration of General Foy respecting, 23—prejudices in, against the noblesse, *ib.*—unfavourable results of the late elections in, to what imputed, 30—immense number of paupers on the high roads of, 32—dwellings of the agricultural labourers in, compared with those of the English, 34—who regarded as the aristocracy in, 34—liberal institutions by what means to be encouraged in, 36—doctrinaires in, opinions of, 38—patrimonial property, how disposed of in, 39—upon whom the establishment of a good government now depends, *ib.*

*French Novels*, 372.

*Gases*, (inflammable), two, the one called *olefiant*, and the other *light hydrocarbonet*, are contained, besides other substances, in the products of pit-coal distilled, 431—olefiant gas decomposed in a very simple and beautiful manner, 433—oil gas the best, but too expensive, 438—heating powers of gases, *ib.*—*vide* Brande.

*Governments*, are the growth of time, not the invention of ingenuity, 461.

*Grattan*, high eulogium upon, 337.

*Gravity*, how the decrease of, from the Equator to the Poles, may be found, 347—greater than it ought to be by the theory, *ib.*

*Greece*, Antient, circumstances in, adverse to writers of tragedy, 271—the attributes, relationships, and characters of the Heathen Deities, an exhaustless source to the comic poet in, 273—the very land for Comedy, 274—abuse of the ancient comedy of, by Plutarch, 276—remarks on that species of composition, 310.

*Hazlitt*, Mr William, Lectures on the Drama, 438—has himself partly to blame if he has not generally met with impartial justice, *ib.*—possesses one noble quality, at least, for the office he has chosen, 439—some of the causes which have diminished the influence of the faculties of, originate in his mind itself,—these briefly specified, 440—the present work of, has more of continuity and less of paradox than his previous writings, 441—combats, in his *Character*, the notion that Shakespeare's contemporaries were of an order below him, *ib.*—investigates that development of poetical feeling which forms his theme, 442—eulogy by, on that fresh dought book *ever* yield us, 444—does not mete the same measure to Ford as to others, 445—fallacious assumption of, in his criti-

- cism upon that author's *Calantha*, 446—seventh Lecture very unequal, *ib.*—account by, of Sir Thomas Browne, characteristic of both, 447—sensations of, on the first perusal of the *Robbers*, 448.
- Herbert*, Mr, erroneous persuasion of, respecting plants, 363.
- Hogg*, Mr, his Jacobite Relics, identifies himself with them, 150—endeavours to prove that the House of Brunswick are at heart Jacobites, 151—instances of, but refuted, 152—plan of the work, 154—character of the songs of, 155—cardinal defect of, 156—his virulent abuse of the constitutional party, 157—Butler's definition of a Whig quoted by, 159.
- Horticultural Society*, Transactions of the, 357—an extensive field of discovery, *ib.*—the motion of sap in trees, 359—a tendency in plants to adapt their habits to any climate, *ib.*—plants admit of two modes of propagation, 361—progressive influence of decay upon old varieties of fruit-trees, *ib.*—hybrid plants from two distinct species, 363—different varieties of vegetables, when long propagated, gradually lose some of their good qualities, 365—forcing-houses furnished with heat by steam, the best form of them, are comparatively of modern introduction, 366—a Roman peach-house and grape-house, 367—plants are injured by an excess of heat in the night, *ib.*—rust or mildew in wheat, 368—means of preventing the common white mildew, 369—improvements in training wall-trees, 370—in France whole villages cultivate one single sort of fruit, *ib.*
- Howlet*, Rev. Mr, his opinion respecting the increase of tithes, 68.
- Hudson*, Thomas, account of, 90.
- Ireland*, greatly and long misgoverned, 320—oppressive laws formerly respecting the Catholics in, 321—the spirit they engendered remains, *ib.*—the law not yet sufficiently relaxed, 322—evils and dangers in increasing, 323—the treatment of a poor Catholic in, and the feelings it excites in him towards Protestants, *ib.*—a rooted antipathy in the people of, towards this country, 326—the emigration from, of the rich and powerful, a serious evil, *ib.*—its attendant, the employment of middlemen, a standing and regular grievance, 327—facts respecting tumultuous risings in, stated in 1787, 329—rapid increase of population in, 330—semi-barbarous by mismanagement and oppression, 333—very little English capital in consequence travels there, 334—idleness of the Irish labourer—an Irishman ploughing, *ib.*—the Irish character, 335—remedies of the miserable state of, are time and justice, 336—representation of, in Parliament, 478.
- Kater* on Pendulums, 338—chosen by the Royal Society to conduct an inquiry, his success amply justified them, 339—the Government no less efficient supporters—the several stations of the survey, *ib.*—the experiments at these, for example at Unst, 340—see his results from observations, of the number of vibrations in 24 hours, 341—their accuracy depends on the steadiness of the transit instrument, and on the number of stars observed, 342—allowance to be made for the height above the sea, and for the attraction of the matter

accumulated between these levels, 343—seems to have mistaken Dr. Young's paper on this subject, *ib.*—one other equation of error, for the buoyancy of the atmosphere, 344—number of vibrations at all the stations, 345—prepared to ascertain the latitudes of them all, 346.

*Keats's poems*, 203—general analysis of, the models of the author in the *Endymion*, 204—this poem a test of a native relish for poetry, and a sensibility to its charm, 205—something curious in the way the Pagan mythology is dealt with in, 206—a hymn full of beauty, 207—picture of the sleeping Adonis, 209—a more classical sketch of Cybele, 210—the widowed bride's discovery of the murdered body strikingly given, 211—lines distinguished for harmony and feeling, 212—lively lines to fancy, *ib.*—the completion of Hyperion not advised, 213.

*Knight, Mr T. A.* Vide *Horticultural Society*.

*Lavoisier*, the labours of, examined, 403—scientific plagiarism of, 405—the just claims and merits of, 407.

*Liberty*, remarks on the establishing of, 462—representation of the people agreed by all men to be necessary to, *ib.*

*Libraries*, public, in France, 381—books are not wisdom, *ib.*—one of the greatest benefits derived from libraries, 385—their value destroyed by the invention of printing, *ib.*—publication after that time, 386.

*Light*, curious analogy between the operation of solar and electric, 438.

*Madame de Souza*, 372—the present state of France not favourable to the interests of literature, *ib.*—the notions of sublimity of, *ib.*—Chateaubriand himself shows how dangerous it is for a Frenchman to meddle with the sublime, 373—Milton and Dryden have little right to reproach him, in particular, *ib.*—Adele de Senange, the story of, 374—in the least popular form, perhaps, 375—Emilie et Alphonse, *ib.*—Eugenie and Matilde, 376.

*Mademoiselle de Tournon*, 377—M. Balançon's account of his family affairs, *ib.*—Marquis de Varambon's interview with the heroine is happily imagined and described, 378—love follows, of course, 379—varieties of its progress and effects—solitary sufferings of M. de V. described with fancy as well as pathos, *ib.*—an altercation with his brother, a new source of fuel to his jealousy, 380—wedlock between History and Fiction, 383—but two works to which this one can properly be compared, *ib.*

*Medicine and Surgery* characterized by many by qualities not appropriate, 396.

*Mitchell, Mr T.*, contradiction of himself of, 275 and 279—confusion in the reasoning of, 276 and 299—qualifications of, as a translator, 292—preliminary discourse of, amusing and valuable, 291—sketch of Grecian education by, 294—delineation of the Sophists by, 291—effect of their tuition on society, 296—plan of the translations by, protested against, 303—description of the plot of the *Archanians* by, 304—not happy in the dialogue of this drama,

305—a few errors in it noticed, 307—choruses of, are good, *ib.*—an account by, of the object of the Knights, a play of a much higher order, 311—this play a monument of the power, patriotism, and skill of its author, 313—translation of it also superior, *ib.*—specimens of it, *ib.*

*Measure*, Colonel, 345—a remarkable anomaly appeared to, in measuring an arc of the meridian, 346.

*Oxley*, Mr John, tour ~~off~~ in Botany Bay, 422—commences his journey from Bathurst, March 1817, 423—from that place through a fine grazing country, containing limestone, to the river Lachlan, 421—makes towards Cape Northumberland, 18th May—a most wearisome expedition, *ib.*—again falls in with the river Lachlan, 23d June, 425—obliged to change his direction, 9th July—on the 19th August finds the river Macquarie, 426—description of it, by, diffused universal joy, 427—another expedition begun on the 5th of June—in danger from the flow of the river, *ib.*—stopped and turned back, it does not appear why, 428—gives the name of Castlereagh to a river, 429—this journey finished at Sydney, 5th November—the result of the two very singular, *ib.*—statistical tables, 420.

*Painters*, character of some, 106.

*Parl.*, number of poor in, 32—number of members sent to the Chamber of Deputies by, 83.

*Parliamentary Reform*, 461—the difficulty, so great at first sight, of a compromise between two hostile factions lessened by a closer inspection, 464—inquiry as to the demands of the people, 465—peculiarly difficult to make the supporters of, act as one body, 466—conditions of a pacific plan of, 467—first article in a wise plan of, 469—a cursory review of the annals of the House of Commons, to show that it is a constitutional proposal, *ib.*—and closed by an appeal, in confirmation, to two legislative declarations, 473—principles of government, 475—maxims often disregarded, and never rigorously adhered to, 476—but they constitute the principles of the British constitution, *ib.*—virtual representation illustrated by the controversy with America, *ib.*—doubtful whether the Treaty of Union took away, in law, the prerogative of granting the elective franchise, 477—the period of the disuse of it, in one respect singularly remarkable, 478—the struggles of the Commons for a proportional share of political power, chiefly caused the civil wars between Charles I. and his Parliament, *ib.*—the safety of the reform proposed cannot be denied, 479—yet it will be rejected by many as unnecessary, by others as inadequate, 480—assertions respecting the power of public, remarks on them, *ib.*—the elective franchise chiefly valuable as a security for good government, 481—the main ground for the change is, that it furnishes the only means of counteracting the growing influence of the Crown in the House of Commons, 483—that House itself has need of being strengthened by popularity, 484—2nd, we would have more effectual means adopted for the disfranchisement of de-

- delinquent boroughs, 485—it is constitutional, and warranted by modern practice, *ib.*—plans of effecting this, 487—a few objections against these being very extensive, 487—representation of Scotland, 489—no popular election, 490—account of this right in counties, *ib.*—the reduction of the expense of elections in England important, 492—5th, the disabilities which affect the Catholics, 493—duration of Parliaments, *ib.*—declarations at the Revolution respecting their shortness, 494—the Triennial Bill passed into a law in 1694, 495—the Preamble of it is deserving of consideration, *ib.*—the principle of the act is of constitutional authority, *ib.*—first principles of political theory formerly proved—the English representation actually founded on them, 499—an answer to the triumphant question, When was the House of Commons in the state you wish restored, *ib.*—benefits of a plan of Constitutional Reform being adopted by an administration, 500.
- Plato's Trilogy*, Apologia, 301—Crito and Phædon, 302.
- Protagoras*, the doctrines of, 294.
- Quaker poets, some restraints opposed to, perhaps by the principles or prejudices of their sect, 349.
- Quarterly List of New Publications, 255, 501.
- Reynolds, Sir Joshua, life of, 79—reasons of his success, 85—character of his discourses, *ib.*—by whom instructed, and low state of the art at that time, 90—what celebrated artist he found at Rome, 96—institution of the Royal Academy connected with, 98.
- Rodriguez, Don J., 345.
- Russell, Lord John, Speech of. in the House of Commons, 461—resolutions moved by, after, 468.
- Scandinavians, ancient laws of, 176—earliest point from which it can be traced, 179—another code formed in, and by whom, 181—antiquity of the laws in, 184—what hieroglyphics used by, 185—publications of the legal forms of, 187—poetical spirit of the law-forms in, 189—legal forms how executed in, 190—litigation not discouraged by, 191—earliest example of a legislative provision for the poor in, 200—agricultural law of, 201—laws which regulate the cultivation and management of the land in, 202.
- Science, state of, in England and France, 383—the advantage France had in the beginning, is now more than compensated to England, *ib.*—England superior to France at the time of Alfred. and at the Reformation, 387—the plan of this comparison, 388—the French inferior in the moral and political sciences, 389—superior. of late, in the Pure Mathematics, 390—French and English list of mathematicians, 391—the English, besides excelling the French in the long balance of mathematical discovery, are more decidedly superior in Astronomy, 392—and in Optics, 393—some general law desirable, to assign discoveries to the proper country, *ib.*—England superior in Natural Philosophy, 394—inferior in Crystallography and Botany, 395—superior in the operative part. and still more in the ratiocinative part of Surgery, 398—still more in the other branch of Therapeutics, *ib.*—the progress of Physic in other coun-



- tries, except France, is astonishing, 399—the English physicians afford infinitely greater relief than the French, 400—the modern theory of Chemistry, 402—the French claim the title of founders of it, on the labours of Lavoisier, *ib.*—these examined, 403—three-fourths of modern chemistry British, one-fourth Lavoisier's, 403—the scientific superiority of Britain undoubted, *ib.*—second charge, the little diffusion of knowledge in France, 409—the ruling passion of the French is, always to appear to advantage, *ib.*—disparity between the learned and unlearned in France, *ib.*—a similar condition of intellect exemplified in other nations, 410—often and untruly asserted, that the French have a greater taste for science—the Royal Society, and the Institute of France, *ib.*—the French at least half a century behind the writers on Mental Philosophy in this Island—the general population much further still, 412—public institutions, to reinstate science, were apparently much favoured by Bonaparte, 413—dearth of mathematical instruction, and of mechanical science, 414—this scantiness of knowledge pervades the professedly learned classes, 415—in France the Government consults the savants, 415—and protects and promotes science, 416—the state of books in England and France is as the state of science, 417—the ratio of periodical letter-press in favour of Britain; Scientific 12 to 1; Literary 30 to 1; Political and Moral 50 to 1; 416—collections of pictures and statues, 419—of machines, 420—geography—globes, 421.
- Science* is rather the pioneer than the impeder of poetical genius, 449.
- Sketch-Book*, by whom written, and character of the work, 160—what authors it imitates, 162—extracts from, 163—legend of Rip Van Winkle in, 161.
- Socrates*, 298—imputations upon his code of morals, 300.
- Tithes*, plan for the commutation of, a subject of no common importance, 61—small advantage of this change to the farmer, 62—effects of, on raw produce, 63—by whom paid, 65—objections to, 67—amount of, belonging to the laity and clergy, 69—who exempted from these, 70—pernicious effects of, 71—Dr Paley's opinion respecting, 72—pernicious effects of, in Ireland, 73—affecting account of, 75—commutation of, considered, 77—poundage of rents in place of, proposed, and its advantages, 78.
- West*, Mr. character of his pictures, 106.
- Whitelaw's History of the City of Dublin*, 320.
- Young*, *Q. J.*, a valuable paper by, 343.

END OF VOLUME THIRTY-FOURTH.

*No LXIX. will be published in March.*

---

D. Willison, printer, Edinburgh.









